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The Protectionist

Home Market Club

EconP28.7



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FROM

The Home Market Club

THE PROTECTIONIST

Devoted to Political Economy

Published Monthly—\$1.00 a Year

VOLUME XXIV

May, 1912 to April, 1913, inclusive

BOSTON:
Published by the HOME MARKET CLUB,
77 Summer Street.

1424-13

EconP28.7

BOUND MAY 1 1913

MAY 13 1912
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The Protectionist

MAY, 1912

Tariff Work at the Capitol

The Free Sugar and Excise Tax Bills

Working and Living Conditions Among Textile
Operatives

The English Strike and its Warning

The British Tariff Outlook

Alphabetical Index on Next Page

PUBLISHED BY THE

HOME MARKET CLUB

77 Summer St., Boston, Mass.

Vol. XXIV. No. 1.

10 Cents Each, \$1.00 a Year

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*Gift of
The Home Market Club*

THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress.

Signed articles are not to be understood as expressing the views of the editor or publishers.

VOL. XXIV.

MAY, 1912.

No. 277

REVIEW OF TARIFF BOARD'S REPORT ON COTTON.

The synopsis of the tariff board's report on cotton manufactures conveys the same impression of painstaking and impartial investigation as the report in schedule K. The number of mills investigated in the United States was 81 out of a total of 1,077, as reported by the census of 1905. The mills ranged in size from one having 5,184 spindles to one having 602,312 spindles, and from one having 54 looms to one having over 20,000 looms. Besides these, 17 mills in the hosiery and underwear industries were examined. The foreign investigation extended to England, France, Germany, Canada and Japan.

A superficial reading of the report might bring considerable comfort to the advocates of a downward revision of the duties on cotton goods. For instance, in regard to yarns, the report says: "Comparing all of the yarns selected, the English labor cost is found on the average to be practically seven-eighths of the American" in the case of two of the most efficient mills examined; and, "a comparison of the cost of production in the two countries shows that

in the case of the ordinary warp and filling yarns, the present duty is regularly in excess of the difference in the cost of conversion." Moreover, figures are presented in the report which show that labor costs in the cotton industry are in many cases lower in the United States than in England, although the wages paid in this country are much higher than they are abroad. Batter down the tariff, then! Why retain any duties, if this is the case? The President, too, recommends that Congress proceed at once to a revision of the schedule, but he asks that it be made on the protective tariff principle.

Effect of Equalizing Tariff.

On the theory that the correct basis of tariff duties is the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad, many duties in the cotton schedule would necessarily be reduced. What does this theory really mean? Tariff duties based on the difference in the cost of production equalize the price of the foreign and domestic product. They put American goods on an equality with foreign goods, and foreign goods on an equality with American goods. Such duties eliminate the principle of protection. Under the policy of

protection, American-made goods are given an advantage in the American market. In the one case, American products are subjected to foreign competition; in the other case they are protected from it. It was a protective tariff, not an equalizing tariff, which built up the cotton industry in the United States, brought about the investment of \$822,000,000 in cotton mills, and divided \$132,000,000 in annual wages among 387,000 wage earners. It was not an equalizing tariff which gave to Massachusetts 158 cotton mills, and led to the investment of eighty-two millions of dollars in cotton manufacturing in Fall River, fifty millions in New Bedford, and twenty-four millions in Lowell.

Under an equalizing tariff the cotton manufacturers of England would control the American market today as they did before protection enabled American manufacturing to become established. There is a vast difference between a tariff which equalizes the prices of foreign and domestic goods and a tariff which restricts foreign importations in the interest of domestic production; and the New England States will be the first to learn this lesson if a tariff based upon the mere difference in the cost of production should become a law.

If the President's recommendation that reduction be made on the protective tariff principle is adopted, some other measure of rates than the cost of production must be considered. For example, in this report figures are presented showing the relative costs of completing and equipping spinning and weaving plants in England and the United States. The figures show that the

cost of erecting a building is about 40 per cent. greater in this country than in England, the cost of equipment for a spinning mill about 70 per cent. higher and the cost for a weaving plant about 50 per cent. higher. Where a mill is equipped with automatic looms, as is more frequently the case in this country, the cost of the looms is at least two and one-half times as much as in a mill equipped with plain looms, as is customary in England. A largely increased capitalization is necessary in this country, and a duty based merely upon the cost of production leaves out of consideration the additional cost of building and equipment, on which reasonable dividends must be earned.

Manufacturers Absolved.

The report completely absolves the cotton manufacturers from blame for the high prices of cotton goods, for it shows that in a majority of cases the American prices for plain goods at the mills are somewhat lower than in England. Many standard fabrics of simple construction are sold by American manufacturers at a price as low as or lower than that of English manufacturers.

One of the most interesting results of the investigation relates to the different methods of distribution in the two countries. A greater margin exists in this country than in England between the price at which the manufacturer sells his goods and the price at which the consumer buys them. The costs of distribution are greater here and the profits added by jobbers and retailers are larger. The significant fact is revealed by this report that it is the jobber and the retailer, not the man-

ufacturer, who have benefited most by enhanced profits in the handling and sale of cotton goods.

An Erroneous Idea.

Tariff changes which will increase the importation of foreign made goods will not bring lower prices to the consumer unless the jobber and retailer reduce their margin of profit and the cost of distribution.

To divide the American market with the foreign producer, as would result from any considerable reduction in tariff rates, would mean a great increase in the importation of foreign made cotton goods, now amounting to almost \$70,000,000 worth annually, equivalent on a duty paid basis to more than the total production of the 61 cotton mills of New Bedford and Fall River for the year 1909. It is easy to see that this would mean less sale for American-made goods, less work for American operatives, less wages for those who do find employment and the complete shutting down of many mills. Is this what the country wants? For this is what the abandonment of the protective policy means.

THE ULTIMATE CRITERION OF TARIFF RATES.

By Joseph Walker, Former Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

The difference in the cost of production at home and abroad is not practical or sound as the sole criterion by which to fix tariff rates. The cost of production is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain with accuracy; it varies in different countries, in different establishments in the same country, and in the same establishment at different times.

The reports of the tariff board, already made, have proved, however, that the difference in cost of production at home and abroad can be ascertained with sufficient accuracy to throw much valuable light on the subject.

The chief value in the reports of a competent non-partisan scientific board is that such reports command the confidence of the general public. Therefore, such reports serve as a firm basis for arguments to show the need of protection. They stand as a bulwark against arbitrary and excessive reductions in tariff rates.

The ultimate criterion of tariff rates is the adequate protection of the home market, nothing more and nothing less. Protectionists would stand for this, but they should not stand, and they should convince the country that they do not stand, for more protection than is necessary. Whatever we may believe to be the economic effect of excessive rates, it weakens our position to prevent the abolition of rates which can be shown to be excessive or unnecessary.

If we act with political wisdom and good judgment in this matter, the protective policy cannot be successfully assailed. When we come down to the hard facts of the situation, we find that there are few Democrats who do not wish adequate protection for the industries in which they are directly interested. The policy of protection in this country is perfectly safe.

The difference in the cost of production, as shown by the reports of the tariff board, should be used not as the ultimate and only criterion of tariff rates, but merely as throwing

light upon the subject. Other facts may properly be considered—especially the record of imports under any particular rate. Tariff rates must be fixed by Congress in the light of all the facts. Reasonable rates made in the light of all the facts and based upon them are more likely to command the confidence of the country, and so to stand, than the rates made merely as a compromise between Congressmen representing various districts. I realize the necessity of reasonable compromise in legislation, designed to harmonize conflicting interests, and there is a vast difference between reasonable compromise and pure-loggling.

Now, then, what should be the attitude of the Republican party at this time? I believe that the Republican platform should announce in no uncertain terms:

1st That the party stands for the adequate protection of home industries.

2nd That the party does not stand for any rate which, after proper investigation, is shown to be excessive or unnecessary.

3rd That each rate should stand on its own merit and no rate should be changed until after investigation and report by the tariff board.

4th That the party stand for a permanent, non-partisan scientific tariff board.

The "Socialist Labor Party" is the first in the field with nominations for President and Vice-President. The nominee for President is Arthur Reiner, a tailor, of Boston, and for Vice-President August Gilhaus, a stationary engineer, of New York.

THE ABERRATIONS OF A FREE TRADE GOV- ERNMENT.

A Study in Psychology.

By a Student of English Politics.

Among the problems daily forcing themselves upon the distracted British voter none is more interesting than the apparently guileless query: "What is Free Trade?" Be it remembered that the implied state of doubt does not rest solely with that overworked newspaper entity, the man in the street, for, if acts count for anything in the way of evidence, highly salaried cabinet ministers are equally in the dark on a subject assumed to partake largely of elementary simplicity.

What, for instance, is to be made of the circumstance that one of the first legislative performances of the present "Free Trade" ministry was to exempt, by a special statute, labor unions from all financial responsibility for their acts? The Trade Disputes Act of 1906 places these organizations in the unique and protected position of being absolved from the pains and penalties under the laws aimed at unlawful conspiracy; it thus endows them with a free hand, careless of the risks otherwise attaching to their accumulated funds, in fomenting and financing industrial warfare. The question arises: Is this Free Trade?

Again, the Patents Act (1907) of this same "Free Trade" government provides for the cancellation of foreign-owned British patents unless it can be shown that the articles covered by patents are being made in that unprotected territory known as

the British Isles—where tariffs are anathema and whose Prime Minister, blissfully ignorant of the impending fate of the Taft-Bryce-Laurier Treaty, took upon himself to celebrate “the obsequies of Free Trade” on the floor of the House of Commons. “A rose by any other name would smell as sweet”—an adage probably gratefully remembered by Mr. Asquith when faced by the fact that this legislation has resulted in the erection of British factories, with a corresponding weekly pay-roll of British workers, for the production of articles which, but for it, would have continued to flood the country, from abroad, with entire indifference to non-existing Customs duties. Is this Free Trade?

Encouraged by such success, this “Free Trade” cabinet found itself impelled—the word is used without malice—to higher flights by the recent coal strike. If any principle of the Cobden fetish worship might have been regarded as immune from assault at the hands of these idolators it was surely the doctrine that labor, in common with every other commodity, should be subject to unfettered sale and purchase in the open market. Nor was this cherished idea of immunity based upon academic beliefs alone; only a few weeks ago, a spokesman of this selfsame government opposed as impossible a Laborite motion in favor of a minimum wage. Alas! all this has had to go by the board under the exigencies of the situation created by this disastrous strike. Here, as in the case of the Trade Disputes Act, the presence of a large Laborite contingent in the House of Com-

mons was doubtless a weighty factor, but does this condone such a decided aberration from Cobdenism or justify the government’s retention of a “Free Trade” title? The question will not down: What is Free Trade?

And now comes the Irish Home Rule Bill, with its provision that the proposed Dublin Parliament may increase the Customs duties by 10 per cent. over those prevailing in the rest of the United (?) Kingdom. That this is a purely protectionist provision is shown by the fact that the Irish exchequer will receive no benefit from the added duties, the entire yield of taxation going, under one of the amazing proposals of a fantastic bill, to the Imperial treasury, as at present, Ireland to receive a fixed sum (not a proportion) named in the bill. The late Mr. Gladstone was credited, by friends and enemies alike, with a phenomenal capacity for making himself believe anything that fitted in with the political needs of the hour. Can it be that, in this respect at least, Mr. Asquith has out-Heroded Herod?

To repeat the text of this article: What is Free Trade?

In a little brochure entitled “The Tools of Civilization,” by Elbert Hubbard, published by John L. Whiting-J. J. Adams Company, Boston, the growth of the world’s tools is compactly stated and economic truths explained. Here are two of them: “If the pen is mightier than the sword, then the brush has the cannon skun a mile,”—and “All the guns in the world might be melted up and no more made, but brushes we must have,”—and there are others. The good qualities of Whiting’s and Adams’ brushes are not forgotten. This book and others will be sent on request.

TARIFF WORK AT THE CAPITOL.

Democratic Senators Move Slowly—Underwood Looking for Delegates—Raw Material Dutiable; Finished Products Free—What Manufacturers Say.

Washington, April 25.

Neither party is showing any great interest in pushing forward tariff bills at this time. The Democrats in the House waited for weeks for copies from the printing office of the Tariff Board's report on the cotton industry, apparently for the reason that they did not want the report. Mr. Underwood gave notice that he did not intend to draft a bill on the subject at this session, saying that he was content with the one passed at the last session, and which failed to become a law. He pushed through the old wool bill, and appeared satisfied with his attempt at this session to ruin that textile industry, both in the production of raw material and in its manufacture. He is looking for delegates to nominate him for President, hence is not anxious now to commit himself further on the tariff question. The Democratic Senators are apparently indifferent as to whether or not an opportunity is offered in the Senate to pass any of the House tariff bills. The Democrats of the Finance Committee waited for ten days after the Republicans made their adverse report on the metal bill, before calling a meeting to consider a minority report. Then Bailey and Martin, the two Democratic leaders, were absent, and a report drawn up by Mr. Williams of Mississippi approving the Underwood bill was adopted. But no one has appeared anxious to

call the bill up for consideration in the Senate.

Finance Committee Hearings.

The Finance Committee goes on industriously giving hearings, first on the metal bill, then on that relating to chemicals, and then the sugar bill, and lastly the woolen measure. Thousands of pages of interesting testimony has been taken, while hundreds of pages are filled with the more or less irritating cross-examination of manufacturers and others by Democratic Senators. Never before has the door been opened so widely to all who want to be heard. A German in the employ of the manufacturers of that country, who could not even speak the English language, was heard with an interpreter in behalf of low duties for the benefit of his employers. A number of foreign manufacturers and of importers have had their say, so that the Democrats can make no complaint on that score. No one expects any tariff bill to become a law at this session, which accounts for the apparent indifference as to their consideration by the Senate.

Raw Materials Dutiable; Finished Products Free.

One of the most extraordinary provisions of the Underwood metal bill is that placing raw materials on the dutiable list, and admitting the finished products free of duty, as in the case of machine tools, typewrit-

ers, printing presses, etc., products which require the most highly paid skilled labor to manufacture, the labor cost averaging from 80 to 90 per cent. of the total cost in many cases. There is no dispute as to the fact that American skilled labor is paid two and three times as much as similar labor in Europe and elsewhere. The British Government furnished the proof of that fact in the reports of the men whom it sent to this country to investigate the situation.

Senator Williams, of Mississippi, who was for years the leading Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, stated at a meeting of the Senate Finance Committee that "whenever any bill puts a man's product on the free list and makes him pay the duty on the things that he has to buy in order to make his product, it is not fair; it is unjust." But the Senator goes right on voting for and advocating Underwood bills that do that very thing, and drew up the report approving the House metal bill.

Stagnation Due to Tariff Agitation.

Some of the manufacturers who have appeared before the Senate Finance Committee have given that body some information that is appropriate, if not pleasing to some of the members. Mr. Metcalf, of the Braeburn Steel Company of Pennsylvania, complained of the depressed condition of the iron and steel industry. He was asked what was the principal item in which there is a stagnation business, and he replied:

"The building of cars and railroad equipments. We furnish the fine steel from which the tools are made that are used in producing such arti-

cles. The plants are not operated to the extent that some of the newspapers assert. There is stagnation in other lines, such as the mining industry for which we supply a large volume of steel for the making of drills and other equipments. The quarrying industry has fallen off. We made no profits at all last year; and there was nothing set aside for a sinking fund. Ever since the summer of 1910 we have seen very clearly a decided decline in business every time something was started in Washington in the line of an investigation. The proposed revision of the tariff has had a disastrous effect. If this bill (the Underwood bill) should by any possibility become a law, I should have to go into court and ask for a receiver for our company; and I should immediately do it, to protect the creditors and stockholders."

Foreign Steel Sold in New England.

Mr. Metcalf testified that until the tariff provided for the manufacture of high-speed steel in this country, it was largely imported; but is now made here, though some of that consumed is still imported. The labor is skilled and must be kept together, and if the tariff were cut, as is proposed by the Democrats, that could not be done. He agreed with Mr. Schwab and others as to the disastrous result that would follow such a reduction. Speaking of steel and foreign products in this country, Mr. Metcalf stated:

"The foreign manufacturer of tool-steel sells in this country because he was here first. There is a brand of English steel that is sold today all through New England, which is one of the best tool-steel consuming districts of the country,

—brand that was popular and sold there from 25 to 30 years ago, before the American product was established. That British steel is selling on its reputation. They have kept up the quality, and the men have become accustomed to using it. The question of price will not alone bring the business. We offered to sell in New England the equivalent of that steel at two cents a pound less. I was met with the reply from a manufacturer that he had been using that steel for 24 years, and that he made tools out of it and sold those tools all over the world. He stated that my steel might be just as good or better, but he knew what the steel was that he had been using, and his men knew how to work it, and he had a national reputation for his product and could not take a chance by substituting some other steel. That is the kind of competition that the American producers have to meet. The same thing applies in other parts of the country. The American steel is becoming more firmly established in this country every day. By reason of having been protected by the tariff, the American manufacturers are making a better steel than the English are making, and are gradually getting the trade of this country. But the reduction of the tariff, as proposed by the Underwood bill, would destroy the business of the American manufacturer."

Watch Manufacturers Protest—Cobden a Poor Prophet.

The watch manufacturers are naturally very much concerned over the proposed change in the duties on their products by the Underwood bill as it passed the House. While

there is no danger apparently of this bill becoming a law at this time, because of the practical certainty that the President would veto it, yet it represents the aim of the Democratic party, and if they should carry the next election, such legislation would go into effect. It is not the worst feature of the matter because all of the Democratic leaders assert that they are not imposing as low duties as they hold to be necessary, for the reason that they have not the full power to put their ideas into effect. If they should elect a President, and control both branches of Congress, much more sweeping legislation in the way of free trade might be expected.

Speaker Clark and Representative Underwood both assert that they do not believe in any protective duty; Mr. Clark says that he has not changed his convictions as expressed in a speech in the last Congress when he favored sweeping away every vestige of a custom house in this country. Even Secretary MacVeagh, the present head of the Treasury Department, in a recent speech in New York, not only declared his belief in free trade, but asserted that this country was gradually reaching the point where free trade would be carried into effect. He holds that this will be the case the world over. In this respect he seems to be a disciple of Richard Cobden, who when he was advocating free trade in England over a half a century ago, declared that every other country would soon follow the course of Great Britain in that respect. That seemed to be the belief in England at that time, and Cobden declared that not only would

other countries adopt free trade, but that it would greatly promote agriculture in the United Kingdom as well as the growth of manufacturing industries.

MacVeagh's Mistake in Following Cobden.

But instead of other countries adopting the British free trade system, there is not now another important nation on earth that has that system. As to the development of agriculture in the United Kingdom, millions of acres of land under cultivation when free trade was adopted have ceased to be cultivated, and are now devoted to pasture or to waste land. But notwithstanding that experience of the British nation, Secretary MacVeagh follows Cobden in advocating free trade and expressing his belief that it will be universally carried into effect. It is this tendency on the part of the administration that is greatly disturbing business and encouraging the Democrats. Many persons who are believers in the protective tariff feel resentful over such speech as that of Secretary MacVeagh, and a somewhat similar one delivered recently in Chicago by Secretary Stimson. These persons do not expect to hurt protection by voting a Democratic ticket, yet they feel resentful toward such men as hold important offices from their own party, but do not stand up for the protective tariff. It is this feeling growing out of the administration's advocacy of the so-called reciprocity agreement with Canada that has caused so much disaffection in the Dakotas and in Illinois and Pennsylvania and in other Republican states. A very promi-

nent member of Congress, a very able man, expressed the belief that if the administration had not advocated reciprocity of a kind that would benefit only Canada, and was not continuously attacking the tariff, the President would be invincible both for the nomination and the election this year. As it is this Senator supports the President, but like many others feels that he is not entirely in accord with him on the tariff question, which he regards as the most important subject now before the American people.

Complaint of the Watch Industry.

The manufacturers of watches assert that their industry is suffering from the tariff agitation. They are not producing to their full capacity and they are threatened with a tariff reduction which would be very disastrous to them. Mr. Spring, of the Waltham Watch Company, says that there are now imported watches running in value from \$1,000,000 a year in good times, to somewhat lower figures in bad times, but never below \$600,000 or \$700,000 a year. He said:

"We are running on just as low a basis of profit as we can and maintain the wages we are not paying. If the tariff is lowered, as proposed by the Underwood bill, we have the choice of either materially lowering the wages and preventing our employes from living as they have lived, and do live, or go out of business. We earnestly believe that there is no other alternative. If the tariff is lowered it will cut down our domestic production and flood this country with foreign watches, and the result is as certain to follow as that two

and two make four. We do not want ad valorem duties as proposed by the Underwood bill; we want specific duties as under the existing law. We have in the past few years been able to earn, after making a small allowance for wear, tear and depreciation, only 3.3 per cent. on our net tangible assets. This is not taking into account at all the value of good will. The average wages of men in our factories is \$3.48 per day, and the average of women, \$1.62. We do not have any children in our factory. The Swiss manufacture exceedingly cheap. They make watches in their own homes, and then they bring them together and assemble them. Practically all of the employes of the Waltham Watch Company are native born Americans, and about 60 per cent. are women. There never has been a strike or any labor trouble in the factory since its organization in 1854. The daily averages wages of a man in the industry in Switzerland is one-third as much as in the United States, and the Swiss watches are the chief foreign competitors of the American watches. Owing to the decrease in the trade in the domestic market, the percentage of exports has increased. This foreign market is held strictly on the merits of the watches, and is sought by the company for the purpose of rendering it less vulnerable to the periodic depressions which occur in the domestic market. It is essential that we keep our trained, skilled employes together, and for this reason must have a regular sale for our product either at home or abroad. The tariff rates under the existing law are specific and ad valorem combined. The Underwood bill makes an ad valorem rate with

the reduction of 41 per cent. from the tariff collected in 1911. The percentage of the cost of labor entering into the manufacture of the watches is from 84 to 87 per cent. That accounts for the larger importations of foreign watches. Should the tariff be lowered, as proposed, it is doubtful if the industry could survive. Prices of watches have been gradually reduced in this country under the protective tariff."

Imports of Watches Largely Increased.

Imports of watches increased 429 per cent. under the Dingley law, and the proposed rate of the Underwood bill is nearly 50 per cent. lower. What the result would be is patent to any sane man. In 1911 the importation of watch materials, cases and parts, was in value \$809,000, and of completed watch movements, \$828,734. This is largely the result of importing watches in a "knocked down" condition to evade duties. The different parts are imported and then assembled after importation. Legislation is needed to stop this evasion of the law, but it is not provided in the Underwood bill, while the foundations of the industry as it now exists are undermined. The American manufacturers import a large proportion of the jewels, mainsprings, hairsprings and hands, and some of them import dials, and pay duties ranging from 10 to 40 per cent. Without adequate protection on the finished product, the industry cannot survive.

The average pay for women in this business in Switzerland, and it requires skilled help, is 80 cents, and for men \$1 a day. In Italy, where many watch jewels are made, the pay is considerably less than in Switzerland. Adjusters receive the high-

est pay of any workmen in the industry. They get as high as \$6 a day in the United States, while in Switzerland the maximum is \$2. The advantage which Americans formerly had in the use of machinery has disappeared, as foreigners now use the same machinery. The export business in one year in Switzerland alone amounts to more than twice the value of the entire business of American manufacturers for the same time. Many of the Swiss manufacturers have agents in New York to whom they send their goods,

making undervaluations comparatively easy. Then the importation of watches in "knocked down" condition allows evasion of the stamping provisions of the law of 1909. This enables the dealers to sell foreign made watches as of American manufacture, and accounts for the increase in 1911 of nearly \$300,000 in the imports of "materials." The depressed condition of the trade of manufacturers in this country is partly due to such practices, and the Underwood bill provides no remedy but makes matters ten times worse.

THE FREE SUGAR AND EXCISE TAX BILLS.

Robert Ellis Thompson in the Irish World.

Sugar is a substance with which even Democratic congresses have dealt tenderly. Partly this was due to the situation of our cane-sugar plantations on the soil of Louisiana, but still more to the fact that Sugar is so little produced in America as to almost entitle it to be regarded as one of those objects of a revenue tax, of which the Free Traders would like to make up our Tariff. Tea and Coffee, Spices and tropical produce generally, would be added to the list, until not a duty in the Tariff would aid any American producer to hold his own against his foreign competitors.

But since 1894, when the Democrats last had to deal with the problem, the protective duty on Sugar has led to the development of a Beet Sugar industry in the Middle and Far West, which puts this com-

modity off the list of substances, on which a tax would yield revenue, and do nothing for American producers. Great sums of capital have been invested; costly apparatus has been installed; by-products have been found useful in other directions. So Sugar is a proper object of Free Trade prescription; and Mr. Underwood puts it on the Free List.

It would disappear from the list of revenue-yielding articles to the grave disadvantage of the Treasury. Even the Cleveland administration advocated its retention on the dutiable list for that reason; but as the Tariff of 1894 changed the duty from specific to ad valorem; and Sugar fell in price, the revenue also fell heavily. The present specific duty makes its importation profitable to the revenue to the extent of between fifty and sixty millions a year. No European

statesman and least of all an English premier would venture to throw away so much income, unless he were very certain to have something to take its place.

Mr. Underwood and his Committee think they will secure this by an excise tax upon earned incomes exceeding \$5,000 in annual amount. He is not sure—nobody can be sure—that this will balance what he is throwing away. He is not sure—nobody can be sure—that the Supreme Court will tolerate this doing by indirection what it has already declared cannot be done in a straightforward fashion. But then Mr. Underwood is in a happier position than a British Chancellor of the Exchequer. He has not to carry on the government and make both ends meet in the national accounts. He has only to define the taxes and let the Secretary of the Treasury make the best of what he gets.

The proposed income tax is as unjust as it is absurd. It is to be paid by those who are earning incomes, doing the work of the country and bearing its burdens. But the man who draws an income from real estate, and spends it in luxurious clubs and yachts, is to pay nothing. "The Idlers of the Gold Coast" are to be favored in this way, at the expense of those who are taking risks, spending their strength and serving the country, either in the professions or in manufactures, in transportation or trading. It is a tax on the workers to the exclusion of the idle. Would even England, at its Tory worst, have endured such a tax as this? In fact the British law lays the heaviest tax on the very class of in-

comes that Mr. Underwood exempts from his "excise tax."

What is an excise tax? Hitherto it has been defined as a tax on the manufacture, or growth, or consumption, or use of some article. In what sense can this be called an "excise tax?" If the recipient of an income neither uses nor consumes his income, but puts it into a bank, or invests it in insurance stock, is he then exempt from the tax? In American legislation excise taxes have been levied upon whiskey, tobacco, luxuries and articles commonly possessed only by wealthy persons. But an excise tax on incomes is a novelty to both America and Europe. It savors more of a country lawyer making out a brief in a doubtful case, where there are no facts in his favor, than a grave statesman dealing with the problems of national revenue.

Nor can it be said that in this case Congress is obliged to adopt this evasive method of surmounting an obstacle to a proper form of taxation, which has been placed in the way by a decision of the Supreme Court. The amendment to make an income tax constitutional has passed a majority of the State legislatures, and lacks but a few additional ratifications to give it force of fundamental law. Why was it judged impossible to wait until those additional ratifications were obtained, and a reasonable and just tax on incomes made possible, instead of hurrying through this unjust and absurd tax on those incomes which are drawn from earnings, to the exemption of those which are got by sitting still?

The only excuse for Mr. Underwood is that he has not the least hope of this and his Free Sugar bill becoming laws, and that he is "playing for position" in the coming political campaign. He knows that even if the House should carry such a bill over the veto, the Senate will not do so. So to enable the Democratic party to "point with pride" to its congressional record, as proving it unfriendly to the protected "interests," he plays at legislation, and wastes the time for which the Nation pays its representatives to do its work.

Even for that purpose the two laws are inexpedient. They are a very poor pretense at an effort to reduce that "increased cost of living," on which the Democrats won their last political victories. Sugar, it is true, is an article of universal consumption; but its cost is not so great as to make an appreciable difference in the budgets of the people. If it were, it would be easy to diminish its use in any home. It is vastly cheaper than in times most of us can recall, when we paid almost twice as much for brown sugar—that is for Sugar and dirt—as we now pay for pure Sugar in its whitest varieties.

But not another article of food has been touched by this legislative gaming. The Democratic party goes again before the people without a single step taken to fulfil its promises to reduce the cost of living to what it was a decade ago, unless it be its support of Mr. Taft's Agreement for Reciprocity with the Dominion of Canada. And, if we mistake not, some of them will find it unpleasant to explain to their farmer constituents why our wheat-growers were to be swamped by Canadian

wheat, in hopes that the newspapers might get wood pulp cheaper than it now is.

What sundry Republicans of the House mean by voting for these two bills, I find it hard to see, unless they are also playing a game of pretended legislation with reference to the elections of last November. No doubt some of them feel free to vote for Democratic bills, in the confidence that the President will veto them, and with the purpose of taking wind out of the Democratic sails when the people come to voting. Some of them probably have no principle in the matter, and no intelligent attachment to the principles of their own party. These are the most respectable voters for such un-Republican measures; and they would be still more so if they would but make their way into the party to which they at heart belong.

But as for the other "waiters upon Providence," we regard them as following a course which leads to political suicide. The American people have small respect for a man who has not the grit to vote in the minority when his principles require him. They like a man who knows where he belongs, and who makes the world see that. They feel as did the London mob, which, while pelting Liberal turn-coats, gave Lord Eldon, the hated Tory Chancellor, three cheers because "He never ratted."

The best news from Washington is that, with the possible exception of the iniquitous metal bill, there is a slim prospect for tariff legislation at this session; and it is hoped and expected that the President will veto the metal bill if it is put up to him.

WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS AMONG NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN TEXTILE OPERATIVES.

An Investigation Showing in Detail Family Economy
Among Cotton Mill Workers.

The results of a general investigation of the working and living conditions of employes in the cotton manufacturing industry in the United States, which was made in the year 1907-8, have been published. The investigation included both Southern and New England cotton mill districts, 198 mills being investigated, employing in all 81,335 operatives. The investigation furnished much information in regard to the conditions and standards of living of the cotton mill operatives as an industrial group, and a study showing in greater detail the family economy of cotton mill operatives was conducted. Because of the short time which could be devoted to it, it was limited in New England to Fall River and in the South, to Atlanta, Ga., Greensboro, N. C., and Burlington, N. C. Fourteen families were studied in Fall River and twenty-one in the Southern cities named. Difficulty was experienced in satisfactorily studying particular families that represented the lowest standards among cotton operatives as many of the latter are constantly moving from place to place. This floating population forms no small part of the cotton mill workers, especially in the South, and such families nearly always live in poverty. It was impossible to obtain information from

them in regard to wages and expenditures for more than a brief period.

This investigation draws attention to the vastly differing conditions in the Northern and Southern mill districts. In the North, there is no large element of the native population which furnishes applicants for the lower paid positions in the mills, and to fill these positions the Northern managers are dependent almost wholly upon the immigrants. In the mountain regions of the Southern states, however, is a considerable population, to whom the ready money afforded to them by the wages in the mills, is sufficient inducement to lead them to seek this work. So the lure of the mills, regular wages and town life attract the mountaineers of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia to the mill districts and they get many things which they never had before, such as ready money, amusements, social contact and comparatively comfortable shelter. But they and their children are subject to hours of regular toil under conditions such as they and their ancestors never knew in the freedom and idleness of the open country.

The less energetic Southern mountaineer occupies a cabin hardly better than his pioneer ancestors built two

hundred years ago, is the testimony of E. N. Vallandigham, who is thoroughly posted on conditions throughout the South. He says that any kind of makeshift serves for furniture, and the family lives on "hog and hominy," with corn bread, and game shot by the fathers and boys. The thrifty have chickens, eggs, milk and vegetables. Such as these are physically poor only in that they have little or no ready money. Much of their trade is in barter. Some of the mountaineers still make a warm dark red cloth woven from the wool of their own sheep. Money is what the back country folk of the South have never had. The possible earnings of a man, wife and children seem princely to a people who see no ready cash from year to year. "To the mountaineer, however, whose ancestors used peltries instead of money, a possible \$20 per week as the joint earnings of the family seems a glittering prize and many a father is ready to violate the laws of the state as to the age limit of employment, and cast his boys and girls of ten, twelve and fourteen years into the maelstrom of the mills. To a family accustomed to a two-room log cabin almost bare of furniture, a 'gourd' dipper at the well sweep or the spring and a diet largely of pork, corn meal and hominy and molasses, the regularly carpentered house of the mill town, with bedsteads, tables and chairs, chromos, and a daily paper to read, seem nothing less than magnificent. The best of the mountaineers that yield to the offer of the mills improve their standard of living, and save money. The worst live upon the earnings of their neglected children and their wives, and waste the family income

upon whiskey and the gaming table."

This transfer of the mountaineer to the mill towns introduces an element in our industrial development which has no exact parallel in New England. Therefore a comparison between the Northern and the Southern mill districts would show many contrasts in wages and conditions of living. The statements following will show how conditions differ in the Northern and Southern cotton manufacturing districts:

SOUTHERN MILLS.

Rent.

The question of a minimum rent for cotton mill workers is easily disposed of. The mill builds houses for its employes and they are obliged to pay the rent charged, which is always less than they would have to pay if they did not live in a mill house. In some places the rent charged is 75 cents per month per room; in others \$1. The 4-room house is the commonest type, so that the families are limited in the number of rooms that they may have as well as in the rent they must pay.

The average rent paid by the 1,364 families visited in the general investigation was \$44.81 per year. This amount has been adopted as the minimum standard, except in the case of those particular families studied where the actual amounts charged by the mill companies was known.

Sundries.

The term "sundries" in this report is not a vague one to cover incidental expenditure. It is limited to soap, starch, bluing, washing powder, brooms and scrubbing brushes. The families spending the smallest amounts on these articles spent between \$5 and \$6. In addition to the sundries there are a few other miscellaneous articles, such as thread, pins, lamp chimneys, burners and wicks that must be included in a minimum standard. A complete account for one family of average size for six months shows an expenditure for these articles of \$1.50, or \$3 per year. It is believed that no family could get along

with less than that. This makes the expenditure for sundries and miscellaneous expenses fall between \$8 and \$9. The sum of \$8.50 is adopted.

Cost of Food and Clothing for One Year for Members of a Typical Normal Family—Minimum Standard.

Member of family	Food	Clothing	Total
Father.....	\$74.88	\$18.75	\$98.63
Mother.....	50.90	9.25	69.15
Girl 10 years.....	44.92	14.83	59.75
Boy 6 years.....	37.44	10.00	47.44
Boy 4 years.....	29.97	5.85	35.82
Total.....	\$247.11	\$58.68	\$305.79

The Fair Standard of Living—Determination of Fair Standard.

The minimum standard is a standard of living so low that one would expect few families to live on it. It will be conceded that a standard of living upon which people are to live must include many things that are not allowed by the minimum standard. It must be a standard that provides not only for physical efficiency but allows for the development and satisfaction of human attributes. Just what is to be included in such a standard depends upon the people to whom it is applicable. Manifestly, a standard that would be considered fair by a laboring man would not appear fair to a financier. Those possessing different degrees of wealth have come to look upon different things as essential to their manner of life.

The cotton mill workers of the South are a distinct laboring class, so distinct that a standard of living applicable to them may not be applicable to other laborers even. These people have come to regard certain things as essential to their every day life. A fair standard to be applicable to them must take these things into consideration.

The aim has been throughout not to impose a standard upon the people that is beyond their reach or beyond their ideals. Nothing is included in the fair standard other than what some families have already attained, and all families are striving to attain.

Incomes and Their Relation to Standard of Living—Normal Family in Cotton Mill Communities.

The incomes of cotton-mill families are composite; that is, they are made up of the wages of several workers. The so-called normal family—father, with wife and children dependent upon him for support—is not a normal cotton-mill family. Indeed, this type of family is rare, because it is almost impossible for it to exist. At one mill studied there were only five individuals whose daily wage amounted to \$1.25 or more per day. The wages of these individuals were \$2, \$1.50, \$1.28, \$1.25 and \$1.25. This means that in that community it would have been possible for one man only to support a wife and three young children according to the fair standard of living, and this would have been impossible unless he worked 300 days in the year. There was only one other individual whose earnings were sufficient to support a family of this size even in accordance with the minimum standard.

In spite of its present rarity, this normal family must be reckoned with. The mills have been able up to this time to bring from the mountains and farms whole families containing enough children and adult workers to run their mill. There is not an inexhaustible supply of these "ready-made" families. Moreover, the other type of family is developing at the mills. The sons and daughters grow up, marry, and have children of their own. Families of this normal type are constantly being created. Trained from childhood in the one industry, the fathers of these families are unfitted for any other. The adjustment of a wage scale cannot always be made on the assumption that there are a large number of workers to contribute to the family income.

Variation in Weekly Earnings.

In the introductory section it was stated that the actual incomes for the families studied were taken from the pay roll, showing not only the total annual earnings, but the actual weekly or bi-weekly sums that the families had to live

on. Charts have been plotted showing graphically how these weekly wages fluctuate. The result is startling, revealing the greatest irregularity for one and all of the families. These families are representative. At one mill they were frankly avowed to be among the best. At another their names were furnished by a mill official as being representative families.

Some variation in weekly income is to be expected where there is a large number of contributors. It means, of course, irregular employment. These incomes are for the year 1908 to 1909. The mills from which they were obtained were not affected by the business depression, but ran full schedule time.

What are the causes, then, of this irregular employment? Here a difficult question is encountered. In an industry where women and children form such a large part of the working force some irregularity must be expected. Illness among the cotton mill people is of frequent occurrence, due in some measure at least to the conditions of the industry. Affections of the lungs are specially common. The sudden change from the highly heated mills to the outside air in winter is conducive of pneumonia and bronchial troubles. There is scarcely a family studied in which some of the workers were not incapacitated for a considerable period of time either by acute illness or accident.

One of the chief complaints of mill owners is that the people do not work regularly. If the mills are to run without loss, all of the machinery must be kept going. To meet this difficulty, an extra supply of workers, "spare hands" or substitutes, are procured.

When once these extra hands are brought to the mill, they must be given more or less regular employment. It is just here that the complication comes in in explaining this irregularity. Equally loud in their complaint are the employes that they do not have regular work; that there are too many hands; that they are "sent out to rest" when they are both able and willing to work. It is a vicious circle. There are too many hands because the people work irregularly. The

people work irregularly because there are too many hands.

NEW ENGLAND MILLS.

Rent.

The rent paid by the English, Irish and Canadian French is higher than that paid by the Portuguese, Polish and Italians. It is difficult to determine what is a proper amount for a fair standard. It is clear that of the houses occupied by the English, Irish and Canadian French families only those paying \$11 per month had a fair standard. The houses of these races that rented for less were in such repair or in such surroundings that they would not furnish a fair standard. On the other hand, \$7.58 per month would supply a house for a Portuguese, Polish or Italian family that would be equal, except in location, to the fair standard.

The races live in different sections or quarters, the English, Irish and Canadian French living together in some sections, and the Portuguese, Polish and Italians in others. A fair standard of living will not compel an English family, for instance, to live in a Portuguese quarter. For the English, Irish and Canadian French \$11 per month is adopted for the fair standard and for the Portuguese, Polish and Italians, \$7.58.

Sundries.

The allowance for sundries is made the same as for the fair standard in the South, 25 cents per week.

A fair standard in the North demands a daily newspaper. The English, Irish and Canadian French families, without exception, take a daily newspaper, including Sunday. The cost is \$8.84 per year. This amount is allowed for the fair standard.

Food and Clothing.

It was found in the South that 23 cents per man per week, added to the cost of the minimum standard, gave a sufficient allowance for food for the fair standard. The cotton mill workers in Fall River are engaged in the same kind of work as those of the South and under conditions that vary but little. The re-

quirements for food caused by the occupation are practically the same in both places. For the fair standard in Fall River 22 cents per man per week is added to the minimum standard. This makes the cost of the fair standard in Fall River \$1.82 per man per week. This amount will not be regarded as a fair standard by some of the English, Irish and Canadian French families and is less than they spend on food, but it is more than most of the other workers give for this item.

In determining the fair standard for clothing it was not desirable to adopt a standard different from that adopted for the South, except in so far as climatic conditions require changes. This fair standard, however, will not be considered fair by the English and Irish, since it is lower than the standard that generally prevails among them. For the majority of workers it will be considered fair.

Incomes and Their Relation to Standard of Living.

In the discussion of this subject with reference to the South, it was pointed out that the normal family, that is, a family consisting of the father, mother and children too young to work, is a family that must in the future be reckoned with.

In the North the situation is similar. Here instead of bringing "ready-made" families from the farms and the mountains as they have done in the South, immigration has supplied them. One race after another has taken its place in the mills. The old employes are crowded out because the new arrivals have a lower standard of living and children grown, ready to work, so that the family wage produces an income sufficient for their needs.

Cost of All Articles, Fair Standard.

The items of rent, fuel, light, sundries, newspapers and incidental expenses are items that do not vary with the size of the family. Rent, however, varies for the two different groups of races. The cost of these items for the fair standard is as follows:

	English Irish Canadian French	Portu- guese Polish Italians
Rent per year.....	\$132.00	\$90.96
Fuel, per year.....	36.50	36.50
Light, per year.....	6.25	6.25
Sundries, per year.....	13.00	13.00
Newspapers, per year..	8.84	8.84
Incidentals, per year...	26.00	26.00
Total.....	\$222.59	\$181.55

The cost for a normal family of five, the father, mother and three children, a girl of ten, a boy of six and a boy of four, will be as follows:

	English Irish Canadian French	Portu- guese Polish Italians
Items that do not vary with the composition of the family	\$222.59	\$181.55
Further cost of the maintenance of the family:		
Father	166.12	166.12
Mother.....	129.99	129.99
Girl, 10 years old.....	85.96	85.96
Boy, 6 years old.....	69.70	69.70
Boy, 4 years old.....	57.28	57.28
Total.....	\$731.64	\$690.60

The total cost of the fair standard for the English, Irish or Canadian French family is \$731.99, and for the Portuguese, Polish or Italian family it is \$690.95.

Variation in Weekly Earnings.

Where the actual incomes were obtained week by week through the year the figures show how the incomes fluctuate from week to week. The incomes cover a period from about May 1, 1908, to April 30, 1909. During May, 1908, there were two weeks in which there were no earnings. At this time the mills at Fall River, because of the business depression, either shut down altogether for short periods or ran on short time. Except for a little while in the summer the figures represent the incomes with the mills running at full time.

Incomes and Standards of Living.

As was said in the discussion of the charts for the Southern families, the total annual incomes do not tell the whole story. The average weekly income was seldom or never the actual weekly income.

The following table shows the race of each family, its total cash income, and the cost of the minimum and fair standards of living:

Income and Cost of Minimum and of Fair Standard for Families, 1908-9.

Race—	Annual cash income	Minimum standard	Fair standard
English.....	\$839.51	\$769.45	\$1,134.73
English.....	1,120.00	704.49	1,151.04
English.....	1,355.55	706.60	1,108.07
Irish.....	1,530.44	689.11	1,134.52
French Canadian	1,073.45	614.49	917.43
French Canadian	735.80	687.26	1,040.15
Portuguese.....	829.15	629.72	945.41
Portuguese.....	680.14	643.30	922.83
Portuguese.....	1,041.32	413.88	624.21
Portuguese.....	964.34	717.39	1,071.34
Polish.....	818.81	550.68	835.44
Polish.....	599.80	499.25	721.76
Italian (North).	899.86	793.56	1,196.47
Italian (North).	344.59	442.13	633.32

AMERICAN SHIPS FOR AMERICAN NAVIGATION.

Views of the Late Capt. William W. Bates on the Way to Obtain a Merchant Marine.

The ocean is open to the navigation of all nations—one having the same rights as another. A monopoly of navigation would violate the rights of mankind. A nation loses no right through the loss of its carrying trade. Vattel says:

“The rights of navigation, fishing and others that may be exercised on the sea, belonging to the rights of mere ability, are imprescriptible.”

Rings, combinations and conferences, of different nations, that of late have possessed themselves of the routes of traffic around the globe, reserving no place for American ships, deserve no acknowledgment of their claims to carry and control the commerce of the world. Their seizure of commerce involves no confiscation of rights. Rights given by nature cannot be taken away by

man, although they may be suppressed for a time.

Main Points of Our Shipping Rights.

Any measure for shipping restoration in the foreign trade should keep within our rights, but should also look to the exercise of every one, no matter what obstacles may appear in the way.

The American doctrine of rights in relation to the shipping trade, briefly stated, is this:

1. To carry American exports to any country whose ports are open to their reception by other vessels.
2. To carry American commerce, exports or imports, between the United States and foreign countries, their vessels participating with ours in the carriage required to the extent of one-half the volume or value of cargoes.

3. To carry all the commerce between the United States and another country, if it has no vessels with which to do its share of carriage. For this share, third parties have no just claims to prefer.

4. In regard to domestic commerce—coasting, lake and river—American vessels are entitled to all the carriage—foreign vessels having no claim to any of it. (Our exclusive right to this carriage has been retained by law, though it has been much wanted by British subjects.)

5. Further, the Government of the United States has the conceded right and is entitled to regulate its trade in a way to secure and protect all our shipping rights against the adverse footing, protective policies, and cunning devices of foreign nations.

6. Further still, the Government of the United States is under a sol-

emn compact, with the maritime, and, indeed, all the States, to perform its duty, in the enforcement of proper laws for the encouragement of American navigation, and to see that engagements with foreign nations involve no sacrifice of this very important interest.

Such being the principles governing the aspiration of the American people to the carriage of their own commerce, it cannot be too often, or too strongly insisted, that "American navigation for American commerce" is not merely a natural sentiment, but more, it is an imprescriptible national right.

What Measures Are Needed.

The difficulties of our shipping situation are now so extraordinary, that the provisions of a bill that would have been effectual forty years ago would be quite impotent at this time. Every route of ocean traffic is now in possession of corporations of large capital. Every nation has its government enlisted as a supporter of its merchant marine—all paying postal subsidies, most adding admiralty subventions or direct bounties on building and running. Beyond the establishment of postal lines—aggregating a tonnage of 8 or 10 per cent. of the tonnage of an adequate marine for foreign trade—the Congress of the United States is bound to supply only such encouragement as may be realized from regulations of commerce. The problem is employment for American ships. Discrimination is the only principle available. Competition used to be a reasonable dependence, but ingenuity has been busy for fifty years devising the tricks that reduce competition to a byword among the

shippers. The means necessary to-day are not competition, but trade regulations of ample power. Foreign shipping must be handicapped in all trades, in some cases severely, in order that our ships when built shall obtain employment. No helpful expedient should be neglected. In these days of monstrous ships, tonnage duties must be proportionate, or they will not be efficacious. Tariff duties cannot be large, and the principal factor of encouragement must be the tonnage-taxing of foreign vessels. Such are the economic advantages of very large ships, they can afford to pay the discrimination against merchandise, should the discrimination against the vessel be too small to prevent it.

Concerning the equities of the measure, there can be but one sentiment, the eternal principles of right—of justice towards other nations, as well as of duty to ourselves—should prevail throughout the Act. Knowing what belongs to our nation by right, we should fearlessly claim it; aware of what belongs to others, we should in justice concede it. The ocean is for the use of all; its monopoly should be permitted to none. "Combinations" and "conferences" for the corraling of freights for foreign vessels, now everywhere established, and all unfair protections and cunning devices for depriving our vessels of employment and thus driving them off the sea, must be broken up, banished or overcome, as not in the purview of "fair commerce," and not to be tolerated as extinguishers of our shipping power. This work can be done by navigation laws alone. We are now so far behind, it will take many years to gather and reinstate the owners,

the merchants, and the underwriters, of loyalty to our Republic, sufficient for carrying on our commerce with its rapid growth and world-wide extension. Moreover, any measure, to be thoroughly well-grounded, must

be devised and enacted in view of perpetuity. Aside from the practical necessity for permanency in our policy, there is the compact of union to be observed by Congress. This must be insisted on always.

THE ENGLISH STRIKE AND ITS WARNING.

By Our London Correspondent.

London, April 15, 1912.

The miners' strike in Britain is but an example of the general revolt against authority and custom, and a fierce defiance of existing economic conditions. During the past ten years a feeling of lawlessness has been sweeping over the United Kingdom. One phase of it was the absurd "passive resistance" movement inaugurated by people who refused to pay the rate for educational purposes, on the ground that they did not agree with certain parts of the religious instruction given in the schools. Then we had legislation which actually placed the funds of trade unions out of the reach of the law and exempted the unions from the ordinary penalties to which other public bodies are subject. Later we had the suffragist movement with which we are all familiar. The idea seems to be at the present time that if you make yourself a sufficient public nuisance, you can eventually get all you want. Sooner or later the general public, both in England and in the United States will have to deal with this sort of thing—this species of blackmail. The miners today are practically

putting a pistol to the nation's head, and saying that unless they get all they want, they won't return to work. The miners' strike will of course be settled, but shrewd people regard it but the beginning of a long series of labor trouble. The crux of the difficulty is that wages have not increased with the additional cost of living. There has been a rise in the cost of foodstuffs all over the world. It has nothing to do with the tariffs or trusts, or anything of that sort; but the people feel the pinch, and they are getting fiercely discontented, at least in England.

This discontent has brought a new factor into life in Britain, and an unpleasant one into the bargain. I refer to what is called Syndicalism. What is the policy of this movement? It is described by its promoters in the following words: "Our objective begins to take clear shape before you eyes; every industry thoroughly organized in the first place to gain control of and then to administer that industry; co-ordination of all industries on a central production board, who will issue its demands on the different departments of industry, leaving to the

men themselves to determine under what conditions and how the work shall be done. So long as shareholders are permitted to continue their ownership, or the State to administer on behalf of the shareholders, slavery and oppression are bound to be the rule in industry."

For instance, take the coal trade to illustrate how and where the Syndicalists wish to arrive. Without coal, they say, the State would die, just as the body dies without food. The Syndicalists order that every miner shall stop working. They do, and the miners as a result obtain higher wages, and drain as much of the coal owners' profits as they can divert into their own channels. The coal owner is injured, the unions are strengthened in confidence by their victory. Owners of other sources of wealth besides coal-fields are injured. Wage earners in other industries are inspired to organize themselves for following the lead of the miners.

With these Syndicalists a victory is only valued in proportion as it encourages the wage earners to reopen the war. Another general strike comes when the Syndicalist generals see that it will most effectively cripple the coal owners. These people are not influenced by laws, conciliation boards, agreements, or other restrictions, neither by the suffering of the general community. The more suffering and robbery, the better it suits their purpose. The idea is to bleed the mine owners of every cent of their profits, and when the profits have disappeared to so multiply their losses that the miners will abandon their mines altogether. So will the capitalists and the small shareholders be

cleaned out. The Syndicalists tell the miners that the whole of the money now paid for coal will then go into the men's pockets. They will pay their own wages and be the owners of the mines. There is here a great cleavage between the Socialist and the Syndicalist. The former want the mines to be owned and worked by the State for the whole of the people; the latter regard State ownership as more powerful tyranny than capitalist ownership. When the owners have been expropriated, the Syndicalist would proceed to administer the business, or what would be left of it, by means of a Statistical Board to ascertain the needs of the people. Further, a "Production Board" would tell the men in the various branches what quantity of coal to dig, "leaving to the men themselves to determine under what conditions and how the work should be done."

All this, of course, reads quite grotesque to sensible people, but these are the proposals actually put forward, and my statements are taken from their own publications. (By the way, I may add that the publisher of the Syndicalists' paper has just been sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labor on a prosecution of the British Government, the offence being a tampering with the loyalty of soldiers, instigating them to revolt from obedience as soldiers.)

Probably we shall have continued unrest until economic conditions become such that working people can earn enough to find them in the necessaries of life. So far as British folk are concerned, they will not strike in a great body unless there is a basis of real grievance. There is,

no doubt, some such basis of grievance today which will probably be settled. Given enough wages to live decently, English people won't strike, but it is the difficulty of rising prices and precarious employment that causes most of the mischief. Agitators work on this and swell the

discontent; but give men enough to live on decently, and the agitators will get the cold shoulder. It is from unremedied grievances that Syndicalism springs, and when people are discontented they harbor any rubbishy theories.

F. C. CHAPPELL.

TARIFF BOARD'S REPORT ON COTTON SCHEDULE.

The President Urges Revision of Schedule— Some Features of the Report.

In a message to Congress, March 26, transmitting the report of the Tariff Board on the cotton schedule, the President recommends action with a view to revision and reductions in duties. He advises Congress that the board's investigations have shown that the duties on some cotton yarns is two and three times in excess of the difference of the cost of productions in the United States and abroad. The duties imposed because of finishing processes are in excess of the difference in the extra cost due to finishing and are often in excess of the total domestic cost of finishing. Prices paid by consumers in the United States are higher than abroad even when prices received by manufacturers in both places are the same. This is said to be due to the higher cost of distribution here. Plain cloths are as cheap here as anywhere, but on fancy fabrics the duties are in excess of the differences in cost and in many cases

the duties are greater than the conversion costs in the mills of the United States. President Taft asks a deficiency appropriation of \$60,000 for the board to continue its work during April, May and June, and urges Congress to further continue the life of the board that it may prosecute investigations of the metal, leather, chemical and sugar schedules which the President has directed.

Abstract of Report.

The report is divided into two parts. In Part I the existing tariff act as it relates to cotton and manufactures of cotton is analyzed by paragraphs, and accompanied by a statistical survey of the cotton industry in leading countries. Part II includes a detailed study of costs of manufactures and prices of yarn and cloth.

The number of mills investigated in the United States was 81; the

number of spindles covered \$5,210,836, and of looms 133,761. Besides these, 17 mills in the hosiery and underwear industries were examined. The foreign investigation comprised England, France, Germany, Canada and Japan. Most of the foreign comparisons are based on English practice. Germany was taken as the leading competitor on hosiery and a comparison of costs and prices on men's and women's hosiery between this country and Germany are given. The board confined its investigation of costs to yarns, threads and textile fabrics and such specialties as tapestries, pile or plush fabrics, table damask, bedspreads, hosiery and underwear.

The method of determining costs adopted by the board does not include the item of interest, so that the cost figures as given show nothing regarding the original investment necessary to carry on the process of manufacture except the item of depreciation. This item is slight so far as cost per yard of cloth is concerned. Obviously, however, the relative advantage or disadvantage of foreign and domestic manufacturers in competition is affected by amount of original capital on which interest must be earned. Consequently figures are presented showing the relative costs of completing and equipping a spinning plant and a weaving plant in England and this country designed to carry on the same line of production. From these figures it appears that the cost of erecting a building is about 40 per cent. greater in this country than in England, the cost of equipment for a spinning mill about 70 per cent. higher, and the cost of equipment for a weaving plant (with plain

looms in both countries) about 50 per cent. higher.

A very small part of the cotton machinery used in this country is imported, a marked contrast to the case of worsted machinery. With the exception of spinning mules, more than 90 per cent. of the machinery is of domestic manufacture. Practically all looms and all ring spindles are of domestic make. Of cards and jack spindles about 15 per cent. are of foreign make. Mule spinning in this country involves only about 20 per cent. of the total number of spindles, and of the mules in use in the mills investigated 83 per cent. were imported.

In comparing the cost of making yarns in England and the United States it has seemed essential, in view of the fact that 80 per cent. of English spindles are on mules and 80 per cent. of American spindles on ring frames, to compare the cost of mule spinning in England with the cost of ring spinning in this country. As a rule, mule spinning is a more expensive process, and the production from mule spinning is of somewhat finer quality, even with yarns of the same nominal count. These facts should be kept in mind, but it is evident that the really significant comparison is that between the actual results obtained under the prevailing methods of each country.

In the cost of raw material, the board reports, there is practically no advantage possessed by either country.

The actual book figures for English mills and the American mills show that in comparing the most efficient mill for which we have figures in England with the most efficient mill for which we have figures

in this country—and these mills are typical in both cases—the per cent. of the total English labor cost to the total American labor cost per pound of yarn varies from 78 to 95 per cent. Comparing all of the yarns selected, the English labor cost is found on the average to be practically seven-eighths of the American in the case of these two mills.

In the matter of general expense the difference between the two countries is decidedly greater, thereby increasing the difference in the total conversion cost of yarn. Again, by comparing the two most efficient mills, as referred to above, it is found that the total conversion cost of yarn in England varied from 65 to 79 per cent. of the American conversion cost. The average on all counts taken shows the English conversion cost to be 72.6 per cent. of the American.

Comparing all of the yarns selected by the board as samples, the English labor cost was found to be on an average of practically seven-eighths of the American in two mills selected. It was not possible for the board with the time and money at its disposal to investigate each of the items of the cotton schedule and its work was confined to yarns, thread, textile fabrics and such specialties as tapestries, plush, hosiery, table damask and the like. Figures are presented to show that although labor costs in the cotton industry are in many cases lower in the United States than in England, yet the actual hourly earnings in this country are in most of the principal occupations much greater. The conclusion is that on many plain fabrics the cost of production in this country is not greater.

In the case of finer goods, however, especially figured goods with complicated weaves, the cost of weaving is higher here than in England. This is due largely to the fact that the difference in the number of looms tended per weaver is less than in the case of plain goods. On a large part of these fancy goods (those requiring more than one kind of filling) the automatic loom cannot be used. Even disregarding the question of automatic looms the difference in the number of looms tended per weaver on such fabrics is less than in the case of plain cloths. Consequently the comparatively small difference in output per weaver does not offset the higher wages paid in this country.

Many standard fabrics of simple construction are sold by American manufacturers at a price as low as or lower than that of the English manufacturer. On the other hand, the English mill price of finer fabrics is in most cases lower than in this country; but it is only in the case of very few fancy specials that the American mill price is greater than the English mill price by anything like the full amount of the present duty. It does not follow, however, that the American consumer gets his goods at the same price as the English consumer. One of the most interesting results of the investigation is to be found in the facts included in the report regarding the different methods of distribution in the two countries and the greater margin which exists between the price at which the manufacturer sells his goods and the price at which the consumer buys them in this country as compared with similar prices in England. The relation

of the tariff to the prices paid by consumers can only be understood by fully comprehending the significance in American trade of the principle of "set prices." This principle is fully explained in the report, and many figures are given to show mill price, converter's price, jobber's price and retail price.

Some examples are given. "In 1908 a quilt sold at the mill for 62 1/2 cents, was sold to the consumer at \$1. In 1910 the mill increased the price to 75 cents and the price to the consumer went up to \$1.50." It may be said in general that goods which are sold at the mill at from 8 to 9 cents reach the consumer commonly at 15 cents per yard. When the mill price is 10 cents per yard, the fabric is thrown into a different classification and will reach the consumer at 19 cents. An increase of the mill price from 10 to 11 1/2 cents would probably not affect the price to the consumer. When, however, the mill price goes to 12 cents, the consumer will pay 25 cents. A further increase in the mill price of 2 cents in this case would not change the price to the consumer. With a mill price of 14 cents the consumer would still pay 25 cents retail. Where the mill price is, however, 15 cents, the cloth enters another classification and probably reaches the consumer at 29 or 35 cents. It will be seen, then, that an increase of 2 cents, from 12 cents to 14 cents, does not affect the 25-cent retail price, while an increase of 1 cent, from 14 1/2 cents to 15 1/2 cents, may increase the price to the consumer by 10 cents.

A few comparisons may be given here to show the wider margin between manufacturer's prices and re-

tailer's prices in this country as compared with England. Thus one fabric which sells at the mill in the United States at 8 1/2 cents a yard will be jobbed at 11 cents and sold at retail at 15 cents. The identical fabric in England would sell at the mill for the same price—8 1/2 cents—be jobbed at 9.75 cents and retail at 13 1/2 cents. A fabric selling at the mill in the United States at 10 1/2 cents would be jobbed at 12 1/2 cents and sold to the consumer at 19 cents, or possibly 25 cents. The same fabric selling at the mill in England at a price identical with that paid at the American mill would be jobbed at 11 1/2 cents and would reach the consumer at 15 cents. A fabric selling at the mill in the United States at 12 cents would be jobbed at 16 1/2 cents and reach the consumer at 25 cents. The same fabric with the same mill price in England would be jobbed at 14 cents and reach the consumer at 19 cents. In the case of these particular samples it will be seen that the price received by the manufacturer is the same in both countries, but that the American consumer pays a decidedly higher price than the British consumer.

In conclusion it may be stated that the foreign cost of spinning is less than in the United States, as shown by the figures above. The same holds true for weaving fancy fabrics, on which the number of looms to the weaver in this country is not much greater than the number of looms to the weaver abroad. On account of the different mill methods in this country, the domestic labor cost of weaving on a large variety of plain fabrics of wide consumption is reduced below the foreign cost. Ex-

cept in the case of a few special fabrics and in the case of various manufactured articles, some of which are produced in this country to a very slight extent, the American industry practically supplies the whole consumption. The imports of yarn in 1910 were less than one-half of 1 per cent. of the home production in pounds. The imports of cotton cloth were less than 2 per cent. of the home production in value. Mill prices are in many cases as low in this country as in the world's markets. Where higher, as in the case of the finer classes of products, they are rarely higher by anything like the whole amount of the duty. The effect of the present tariff, then, in most cases, is not so much to add the duty to the domestic manufacturer's price as to secure him the American market; and, in the case of most articles of widest consumption, to prevent the competition of the foreign manufacturer, either in normal or abnormal times. On account of more costly methods of distribution in this country from producer to consumer, the latter pays a decidedly higher retail price than the European consumer, even in the case of fabrics in which the cost of production and the mill price are as low here as there.

After a legal battle of ten years, a Jury in the Federal Court at Chicago, on March 26, found the beef packers not guilty of violating the criminal section of the Sherman anti-trust law. In his charge to the jury, Judge Carpenter said the men on trial were not to be convicted because the jurors might feel that such a verdict would be popular.

THE WOOD PULP CASE.

Arguments Presented by Attorneys to United States Board of Appraisers.

At the recent hearing before the Board of United States General Appraisers, on the protests claiming free entry of wood pulp from foreign countries because of the concession accorded to Canada in the reciprocity act, Ex-Senator John C. Spooner, representing American paper manufacturers, pointed out that section 2 of the reciprocity act not only constitutes a gratuitous grant of commercial favor to Canada, but that the act admits the products mentioned upon the "condition precedent that no export duty" shall have been imposed upon such paper, board or wood pulp, or the wood used in the manufacture of such paper, board, etc. The power remains with the Dominion of Canada, or the respective provinces, to impose an export duty upon fee land pulp wood and also upon pulp wood taken from the provincial public lands, in which event section 2 would cease to be operative. It therefore is a continuing consideration to prevent the imposition of restrictions upon the exportation to the United States of fee land pulp wood, and it is also a continuing offer of consideration or inducement, and so intended to be, to the provinces to remove the restrictions which they have placed upon the importation of pulp wood cut from the provincial public lands.

Much space is devoted to the discussion of this point, and the conclusion reached is that not one of the nations under the "favored nation" clause of whose treaty free entry of

the articles covered by the protests is sought can by any possibility pay or make to the United States in any substantial degree the same compensation which is paid or made by Canada under the provisions of the act.

"It seems quite impossible," says Mr. Spooner, "for anyone to successfully contend, in view of the history of the Constitution and the vesting in the Congress specifically of the power to lay taxes, duties, imposts and excises, together with the provision that all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the popular branch of Congress, that the Constitution could have been intended by its framers, or by the people who adopted it, to vest in the President and two-thirds of the Senate, the power to make at will, treaties with the nations of the world, raising, lowering, or waiving duties upon imports. The question has never been judicially determined. Much that is informing upon the subject, so far as legislative precedents and debates go, are found collated in the second volume of *Hind's Precedents of the House of Representatives*. If the President and the Senate may make self-executing treaties, affecting duties, where is the constitutional limit to the exercise of such power? Upon the assumed want of such power, we base our contention that the 'favored nation' clauses of the treaties here invoked in respect to customs duties are *ex necessitate* executory, and therefore not capable of judicial enforcement."

The argument of William K. Payne, Deputy Assistant Attorney General, appearing for the Govern-

ment, was on the same lines. He declared, first, "that these so-called 'favored nation' clauses are not in effect self-executing laws, but are mere contracts addressing themselves to Congress and imposing a sort of moral obligation upon the legislative powers to enact laws in conformity therewith. Secondly, that if it can be conceived that they are self-executing, then they are *ultra vires*, in that the treaty-making power as provided for in the constitution gives no power to the Senate and the President to enact tariff law. Thirdly, that if they are self-executing, and the treaty-making power had the right to make such a law, they are not operative on this Canadian act, as Canada is not a country or a nation or a State as those terms are used in the 'favored nation' clause; and, lastly, assuming the negative of all these propositions, they are still inoperative because the 'favored nation' clauses only operate where the conditions under which the concession is granted to a country are like those in the treaty countries claiming the concession."

In conclusion Mr. Payne said: "These imports before you today come from countries which do not and cannot offer the same conditions as are offered by Canada. We have voluntarily given this thing to Canada, but we did it for a purpose, not to benefit Canada in her industries, but to use it as a lever to pry out those restrictions on her pulp wood for which our own manufacturers are starving, to induce them to remove those restrictions and let the wood come over this natural boundary line into our own factories—a

condition, a motive, for this tariff provision which no country in Europe can if it would give us."

A. H. Washburn, in behalf of wood pulp importers, filed a brief, in which he claimed that most of our treaties, with the exception of the treaty with Great Britain—provided any favor granted by the United States to any other nation shall "immediately" or "instantly become common" to the nation with which we have the treaty stipulation. This language imports self-executing force, and if it means anything at all it means that the favor thus granted becomes common automatically without waiting for an act of the Legislature which may never be

passed. In conclusion he said: "Aside from the duty imposed by the Constitution to respect treaty stipulations when they become the subject of judicial proceedings, the court cannot be unmindful of the fact that the honor of the Government and people of the United States is involved in every inquiry whether rights secured by such stipulations shall be recognized and protected. And it would be wanting in proper respect for the intelligence and patriotism of a co-ordinate department of the Government were it to doubt, for a moment, that these considerations were present in the minds of its members when the legislation in question was enacted."

THE COST OF LIVING IN AMERICA.

Observations of an English Correspondent—The Traders' Contentions Not Sustained—Tariff Has Little Effect—The More Potent Causes.

Washington Correspondent of the London Times.

A movement has been started here for an International Commission to study the reasons of the increased cost of living. The American Economic Association asked the President to make the suggestion; he has recommended Congress to provide money in order that the Commission may meet in Washington, and it is expected that resolutions will be introduced into Congress to the same effect. Whether they would pass is, however, a very different question. Naturally the Republicans would favor the institution of such an inquiry. It would be tan-

amount to an admission that high prices have not been primarily due to the high protective system. Vice versa the Democrats are opposed to the plan. They want the tariff to continue to be blamed for the high prices, and as they control the lower house it is probable that they can have their way if they continue to want it. Were they wise they would probably not oppose the plan of the Economic Association, but of fiscal wisdom they have so far shown scant signs. Belief in the theory that commodity prices can be reduced by laws affecting commerce

and industry brought them into power in Congress. It is a belief potent in this country, and to foster it may be of service in the next presidential campaign. It is one of the differences between the statesman and the politician that the latter lays his plans mainly for immediate victory; and in American electoral campaigns it is the politician and not the statesman who usually scores. If the tariff is reduced and prices remain substantially the same the disappointment of the people can be met when it arises.

Prices and Protection.

That prices will not be very materially reduced by tariff reform is nevertheless beginning to be more and more the opinion of competent American economists. It is recognized that the tariff did much to originate the high cost of living in the United States, but it is also recognized that things have now gone further than that. The tariff, for one thing, has become an indirect instead of a primary cause. The abuse of protection and not protection is at fault, and its results have been aggravated by a world-wide movement. In proposing an international inquiry people are influenced by what is happening in Europe, and above all in Free Trade England. If English commodity prices have risen in the last few years (as they are alleged to have done) in the ratio of eighteen pence to half a crown, then the rise has been as great for practical purposes as the simultaneous rise in America. The difference is that things in America started at a higher lever. The tariff has undoubtedly made

easier the task of industrial combination, and combination badly regulated has as undoubtedly tended to raise prices in many ways. Nearly all the industrial concerns which the Government is attacking are accused of forcing up prices by restraint of trade. It may be doubted whether without protection the Steel Trust would have been able to sell rails cheaper in the foreign markets than at home. It is alleged that both the Standard Oil and Sugar Refining companies charged prices that were higher than they should have been. The Meat Trust has been boycotted and is being prosecuted for similar reasons. Other producers, such as wool growers and manufacturers, have certainly obtained undue profits from protection. So soon, moreover, as producers became rich it was possible for them to hold back their products and then to enhance prices. That has been one of the features of the prosperous productive development of the last decade and more. Farmers are no longer oppressed by mortgages; they can hold their grain for a rise. Manufacturers of metal, textile and chemical products formerly were apt to be short of capital and dependent upon commission houses. Now they can often dominate the market, though not, of course, so thoroughly as the producer of living necessities.

Against Unrestricted Competition.

But nobody wants a return to the old era of unrestricted competition. Combination has come to stay, and with it, it is to be hoped, fundamental prosperity for producers. Some prices can probably be reduced by freer international trade,

others by Government supervision; but it is fairly generally recognized by thinking people that no amount of tariff tinkering will reduce prices to what they were a generation ago. It is noted that the upward tendency is universal. It is felt to be partly due to the combination, each in its own interests, of labor and capital, and to the consequent antagonism between them. The disadvantage of this is as patent in free trade England as protectionist America. Nor can increased production of gold be legislated away.

Recent experiences with the tariff are also illuminating. Hides were placed upon the free list of the Payne law, yet the price of leather goods has not fallen. When free wheat seemed imminent under the Canadian trade agreement, the best calculations went to show that the cost of wheat in the United States would be appreciably lowered. Concessions to Colonial and Cuban sugar have done nothing to lower the cost of sugar in this country. It looks, moreover, fairly certain that the lowering of many other duties will produce the same result—or lack of result. Free-traders, in America, have ignored, at any rate upon the platform, the fundamental rules of supply and demand. They have been prone to argue from the assumption that there is an inexhaustible supply of all commodities ready to pour in so soon as fiscal barriers are let down. Yet it is not necessary to have recourse to statistics to show that there are no sources of meat, or eggs, or butter, or lard, or bacon, to take a few food commodities, whence the United States could immediately

get new supplies sufficient to do much in the reduction of prices. What it comes to is that the United States are entering a new commercial era. Their tendency to compete in the world's markets, even over their fiscal wall, is already noticeable in the South American meat trade and elsewhere. If free trade is adopted on this side of the Atlantic other countries may well find that their cost of living problems have been aggravated.

Less Eagerness for Free Trade.

But, as I have pointed out in previous articles, there is not much prospect that the United States will become a free-trade country in the immediate future. The free-trade movement is waning, or is becoming more complicated as its sponsors approach the time when they must put their theories to the test. The crusade against high prices is thus taking new directions. The movement for an international inquiry is in itself a recognition that free trade can be no panacea. There is an increasing tendency to investigate other potential causes. The Government has just started an inquiry into commodity prices and price movements calculated to reveal the progress of commodities through the hands of middlemen, etc., from the producer to the "ultimate consumer." It is expected that it will throw valuable light upon certain fundamental causes of high prices in America. In his annual report the Secretary of Agriculture went into the cold storage problem. It is alleged that cold storage is used to withhold commodities from the market for higher profits. Generally speaking, the report does not bear

out this view. It is found that storage tends, if anything, to prevent waste and to distribute supply, except in the case of eggs, the price of which it probably enhances at one season. The real trouble seems to be that supply no longer keeps pace with demand. In recent years the domestic supply of cattle, wheat and maize, though it has grown, has not grown quickly enough. Had there been a good surplus the effect of cheap gold would have been offset. But there has been no such surplus. The population of the country has increased 21 per cent. during the last decade and the acreage devoted to agriculture by only 4.2 per cent. There has been, in fact, a strong drift from the farm to the factory. That the consequent high prices of agricultural products will produce a reaction is, of course, highly probable, but the reaction has not yet had any practical effect.

Extravagance is another factor that has aggravated the American situation. Standards of living have risen as much as cost of living. Of that there are multitudinous signs. Lack of good roads in the country districts has had the same effect, as is recognized by the movement that has recently sprung up for the improvement of highways. It is often difficult for the farmer to get his products to the railway, and the cost of a few miles' haulage is sometimes as great as the cost of railway freightage for as many hundreds of miles. All these factors are beginning to be taken more and more into account. The tariff has served as a good target for discontent with high prices to rally against, but the real causes of high prices are recognized to be more complex.

WAGE EARNERS IN RHODE ISLAND.

Evidence of Their Prosperity from Foreign Money Orders and Postal Savings Bank Deposits.

Foreign Money Orders.

Providence, R. I.

1907	.....	\$288,250.40	
1908	.....	291,743.98	
1909	.....	292,540.86	
1910	.....	332,122.61	
1911	.....	323,006.91	
Total	.....	—————	\$1,527,664.76
Postal Savings Bank deposit, Feb., 1912	.....		\$32,259.00

Pawtucket, R. I.

1907	.....	\$66,136.21	
1908	.....	64,371.76	
1909	.....	134,024.74	
1910	.....	158,899.05	
1911	.....	134,933.94	
Total	.....	—————	\$558,365.70

Woonsocket, R. I.

For five years, 1907-1911, has been sent to foreign countries	\$315,446.65
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(The postal savings system has only been in operation at this Postoffice since Sept. 23, 1911, but at the present time, March 21, 1912, there is \$2,634.00 on deposit.)

BARRING AMERICAN SHIPS.

Winthrop L. Marvin, in Boston Herald.

The House committee on interstate and foreign commerce at Washington has resolved to bar absolutely from the Panama canal all ships in which American railroads have any interest. Let us see how this will work!

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company, one of the oldest and largest concerns under the American flag, has prepared the plans for four great passenger and cargo steamers to be operated through the canal between

our North Atlantic seaboard and the Orient. No subvention or other national assistance has been asked for. The Pacific Mail undertakes to run these new American steamers, as it is running its present American steamers, against the competition of European and Japanese companies that are lavishly subsidized by their governments. Yet because a controlling interest in the Pacific Mail is held by the Southern Pacific these proposed American ships will be absolutely barred from the canal if the bill before Congress becomes a law, and this means, of course, that the ships will never be constructed, or, if built, will have to be turned over to foreigners.

The Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk of Canada are also largely interested in ocean shipping. All of their steamers fly the British colors. The most important of them are subsidized as a part of the British royal naval reserve. One of these Canadian companies already possesses, and the other contemplates, a line across the Pacific to the Orient, and both concerns have steamers frequently moving between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. It need not be imagined that the British government will tolerate any proposal to shut the Panama waterway to British-owned and registered railroad ships.

The Congress of the United States, if it closes the canal to all American vessels in which railroads have any interest, will, therefore, be grossly discriminating against its own flag and its own citizens. What the American people want is many American ships and not few American ships at Panama. The present management of the Pacific Mail is

exceedingly able and progressive. This is one of the three or four American steamship enterprises which have held their own against the cheap ships, the cheap crews and the open treasuries of foreign nations. It would be the irony of fate if the Pacific Mail flag, which has been kept flying through the victories and defeats of sixty years, should be swept from the seas by the mandate of American lawmakers.

If regulation is needed to guarantee fair rates and freedom from destructive rivalry at Panama, it can readily be afforded, so far as American steamers are concerned, by invoking the authority of the interstate commerce commission. A real, efficient competition at Panama between ships owned by railroads and ships not owned by railroads would be a good thing for the United States. There is such competition now between our Atlantic and Pacific ports via the Panama and Tehuantepec railways and connecting American steamship services, and by far the greater factor in this present competition is the American-Hawaiian Company, which is not owned or controlled either by a railroad or the government.

While these Bourbons of Congress are about it, why do they not change their bill again and proclaim that no vessel displaying the stars and stripes shall be allowed to enter the waterway unless it can prove that it is pleasure yacht or a man-of-war? Nothing could win more applause from or better serve the interests of the foreign peoples and the foreign governments, for whose exclusive benefit some inland statesmen apparently believe that the Panama canal is being constructed.

ENGLAND TURNING TOWARD PROTECTION.

The heart of the protective theory is the encouragement of domestic production. Judged by this test, England is showing many signs of conversion to the policy of protection.

At a meeting of the Birmingham council in February the committee having control of the city electric traction lines recommended the purchase from a firm in Germany of steel tramway rails and fishplates, at a cost of \$55,775. An American bid was \$3,134 higher than the German figures submitted, but the council overruled the decision of the special committee and voted to purchase English products at a cost of \$8,244 more than the German tender. The decision in favor of the purchase of British rails represented the opinion of a large majority of the council and involved an expenditure of 14 per cent. more than the lowest bid in order that British products might be purchased. It is asserted, moreover, that the council was convinced that the German rails would wear better than the English rails. Involved in this decision, possibly, is the ever present element of anti-German sentiment; but it should not be overlooked that the decision ignored the low American bid, as well as the lower German bid.

There is direct evidence that the protective policy is gaining adherents among the British mine owners and manufacturers. One of the most remarkable pronouncements on tariff reform which has been made of late years has just come from D. A. Thomas, who until recently sat as senior member for

Merthyr Tydvil, the junior member being Keir Hardie.

Mr. Thomas held his seat, which is perhaps the most radical in the country, by probably the biggest majority any member has ever had, and when he left it it was to represent the great port of Cardiff. He is a Cambridge man, a scholar of Jesus and Caius Colleges and a well-known colliery owner.

In spite of his traditions, he has just made the admission at a meeting of the famous steel and iron works of Ebbw Vale that his views on free trade are not so adamant as has commonly been supposed; indeed, he went so far as to say that the arguments which had been produced to him, as a director of the company, had convinced him that as far at any rate as Ebbw Vale was concerned a little protection would be a very good thing.

THE USE OF A TARIFF.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

The Chronicle has never agreed with that plank in the Republican platform of 1908 which, so far as it meant anything, meant that the degree of protection should be based on differences of cost of production. All now agree that costs cannot be ascertained in this country or anywhere else, and if they could be ascertained would not be correct costs for a week. In construing that absurd straddle none has been found to say whether, assuming that domestic and foreign costs could be ascertained, we should base our tariff on the cost of those most favorably situated and so drive the others into bankruptcy or on the costs of those less favor-

ably situated and so, as would be alleged, give a few undue protection. It was the folly of the national convention in trying to invent some phrase which would mollify the insurgent Republicans which has laid the party open to the ridicule of such Democrats as Underwood, who shows that the exhaustive figures conscientiously assembled by the tariff board are of no particular value.

The only test of a protective tariff is the amount of importations. If they are small the tariff is protective. If they are large it is not. And that is all there is of it. Costs cut very little figure in determining the amount of exports. Of the great commercial countries the United States is the only one which makes any approach to consumption of what it is able to produce. The others have to sell regardless of costs to keep their men and machinery and money employed. That does not mean that the product of a factory is sold at a loss. If of a given article 50,000 can be produced at a certain cost and sold at a profit at home, 100,000 can often be produced at a much lower unit cost, and the larger profit on the portion sold in the most favorable markets will more than offset the loss on some portion dumped into an unfavorable market.

The German Government, possibly economically the wisest of all governments, deliberately fosters this policy in order to assure work for its people. And its people prosper thereby, even though large quantities of goods are dumped into such a market as ours at a loss. And it is dumping of surpluses that a

protective tariff must prevent if it is to be protective. A tariff based on costs, if they could be known, will not answer the purpose. Its only result is to decrease the loss or possibly turn a loss into a profit on surpluses dumped into our market. Nobody who ever had any experience in production, whether protectionist or free trader, would in good faith propose to base a tariff on differences in costs. The Chronicle and the stalwart Republicans stand for a tariff that will protect against dumping of surpluses. And the test is importations.

CAPITAL HAS RIGHTS.

From the Textile American.

During the recent disturbance at Lawrence the striking operatives received some inspiration and comfort from the Socialistic and inflammatory addresses of two over-enthusiastic professors of Wellesley College, who—armed with undeveloped information and bristling with theories of social and political economy, which they had been teaching to tender girls until they believed they were true—argued that: "There is no just wage so long as there is one dollar of dividend to pay or any surplus to pay the people who do not do any work."

Coming from such a source the advice and inspiration furnished the turbulent element was certainly fuel to a fire which, for the good of the community, and the strikers as well, has been in need of extinguishing. The intent was probably good, but the circumstance was most unfortunate, for the arguments were wrong, and the preaching of them was inap-

appropriate from such a quarter, for the motto of Wellesley College is: "Not to be Ministered unto, but to Minister," a sentiment absolutely at discord with the intent and ambition of the Socialist.

The good women in their heated desire to do good overlooked in their zeal that Capital has rights as much to be respected as those of Labor. Capital believes that a "spry penny is better than a lazy sixpence"; while Labor believes that Capital represents only a lazy sixpence, and that all the results of an industry are those of Labor, and not of the exercise of many active pennies. The Wellesley teachers forget that the very institution which has hovered them was possible because of dividends that proved fruitful, and that every gain in the funds of such an institution is the result of favorable investment. Capital which makes dividends possible is the result of well-conducted Labor, and if Capital cannot be replaced and reproduced by production there can be no Capital.

It is claimed that the wages paid in the Lawrence mills are not in keeping with the dividends assured from the proceeds of the labor. It is not necessary to argue that point, and for convenience it may be allowed such may be the case; but no person either engaged in labor in the mills or interested in the condition of the laboring element, should fail to remember that long before a spindle turned or a loom was set in motion the risk of the enterprise was assumed by Capital.

Capital secured the land, laid the bricks, bought the machinery, equipped the plant and was in readiness to pay the employes before a

single cent was forthcoming as a result of the work of the employes; and during all the time of preparation capital was being paid to other laborers. This being the case, it is not unjust that Capital should be reimbursed for the risks assumed and from the proceeds from the sale of the products of the mills.

WAGE INCREASES AND HIGH PRICES.

Cor. of New York Journal of Commerce.

It has been estimated that the advance in wages of New England cotton operatives will aggregate about \$10,000,000, and in due season the Southern cotton mills will be obliged to make corresponding concessions.

No fair-minded person will grudge the increased share of prosperity which thus goes to an often underpaid class of labor. Yet from whom will the bulk of this \$10,000,000 be taken? Not from the mill owner, because if his profits are reduced below what his capital can earn elsewhere he will quickly close his mill, dismiss his labor and seek other fields of enterprise. Nor will this \$10,000,000 be extracted from the distributor, who for like reasons would withdraw his capital as promptly as possible if profits were cut below the average returns of other pursuits. Capital quickly deserts an unprofitable industry; and, visibly or invisibly, increased costs of production or distribution are ultimately passed on to the consumer.

Labor will certainly pay for much of the present rise in cotton mill wages in higher prices for cotton goods, labor being the largest consumer. The same is true regarding the coal strike, which, if it results in

higher prices for coal, will fall largely upon labor. Thus the process of advancing wages followed by advances in prices goes incessantly on in a never-ending and deceptive circle. Labor is constantly and apparently unconsciously raising the cost of living upon itself, and tugging at the impossible task of lifting itself by its bootstraps. Where the movement will end short of exhausted buying power no one can tell. Very properly the high cost of living is blamed for much of the present unrest of labor; but some day labor will be obliged to admit its share of responsibility for higher prices, and to recognize that some of its worst ills are self-inflicted. So long as labor keeps on shortening hours, curtailing product, lifting wages and adding to the unemployed by keeping down union membership, its claims for higher wages will be regarded as inconsistent. Our trust magnates started off magnificently on similar theories some years ago, viz., that scarcity, small product and high prices spelled prosperity. They quickly came to grief, notably the United States Steel Corporation, and they now recognize that a large product at moderate prices is sounder policy than a small product at high prices.

The wage problem is older than civilization itself; but abundance has always been regarded as the only true basis of prosperity, and the sooner the delusion that "high pay and small output mean prosperity" is broken the better for all concerned. Nobody will benefit more than labor by the policy of a good day's work for a good day's pay.

THE INCOME TAX.

From the Boston Advertiser.

The chief issue presented by the proposition in Massachusetts to adopt the income tax amendment to the federal constitution is that of good faith on the part of this Commonwealth. The state has sold its bonds under a guarantee that they shall not be taxed. Now it is suggested that while the state itself will not tax them, it shall have the federal government do so, thus keeping the letter of its pledge, but cheating the people who trusted the good faith of Massachusetts. Still further, to ask congress to tax incomes, without any regard for the fair distribution of the tax, is merely to force congress into unfair taxation, and to new extravagances. It should be remembered that the present constitution of the United States allows an income tax, and merely stipulates that it shall be fairly distributed. But the men who want the amendment are not satisfied with that. They want an unfair law, or none at all.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE TARIFF.

By the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association.

There has been so much misstatement with reference to the action taken in relation to the tariff at the recent meeting of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, that an exact copy of the resolutions passed will be of interest. They are as follows:

"Resolved: First, this Association, at its May, 1909, meeting, recorded itself as favoring the establishment of a Tariff Commission and now reaffirms that action.

"Second, it now appearing from the preliminary synopsis of the Report of the Tariff Board and from other investigations that in some instances duties on cotton goods are now excessive, owing to changed conditions in manufacturing.

"That this Association records itself as favoring such reasonable revision of the Cotton Schedule, based upon differences in cost of production and other conditions at home and abroad, as shall

be consistent with the raising of revenue and the conservation of our home market."

Probably 90 per cent. of the members of that Association are affiliated with the Democratic party, but many of them are also protectionists and were opposed to a split on the tariff. Any revision that conserves our home market certainly can do no harm.

LIPPITT ON COTTON REPORT.

Senator Lippitt, of Rhode Island, has this to say of the Tariff Board's cotton report:

Their comparisons of costs here and abroad seem to be largely theoretical. They have apparently obtained very complete information as regards the cost of certain branches of the industry in America, which, however, they have not been able to duplicate as regards foreign countries. One of the most important features of their report, and on which they properly lay great emphasis, is the data they were able to obtain of selling prices by the mills, and subsequently by the retailers, in both countries. These show that on many fabrics, in spite of the very much higher labor in this country, American mill selling prices were as low as the prices of English mills, a result contributed to by recent American inventions, particularly of automatic weaving machinery, which could not have occurred except for the fact that our protective policy had built up this industry here.

While it cannot but be gratifying to protectionists to have this report show that the result of that policy has resulted in a substantial equality of selling prices here and abroad, it must in all fairness be recognized that the date at which these price comparisons were made was one of abnormal conditions. The year 1911 was one of almost unparalleled depression in the cotton industry in this country. There was widespread curtailment of production and abnormally low selling prices were made in the effort to keep as much machinery as possible going. It is said that in one large textile centre in Massachusetts the cotton manufacturing operations for 1911 resulted in a loss of more than

\$2,000,000. The reason of this was because cotton cloth was being sold at less than the cost of production.

The Tariff Board's comparison was of prices on July 1, 1911, at the height of this price cutting. While the report shows that at this time cotton cloth of the lower grades was as cheap in New York as in Lancashire, an evidence of the keen competition that exists today and always has existed in the cotton industry, it represents a condition that could not long prevail. It needs no argument to prove that an industry cannot always run at a loss.

THE TARIFF AND COST OF LIVING.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

The tariff is not the cause of the high cost of living, although protectionists might well wish that they could contend that it is, for high living is the cause and evidence of great prosperity. What the tariff does do is to prevent by proper protection that high standard of life from being impaired by the competition of those having a lower standard.

"Living" in this country is now as cheap as it can be without impairing its standard, and cheaper than in any other civilized nation on earth. It is not cheaper in terms of money. On the contrary, it is higher; but expressed in terms of labor, of capital or brains, it costs less to live here than anywhere else in the world. Nowhere else will the same exertion of body or mind, or the investment of a given amount of capital, give so large a return in all that makes life worth living.

As to the trusts and combinations to the extent that they corrupt public servants or oppress weaker competitors, we are disciplining them and will control them, but the real foundation of the assaults upon trusts is that they undersell competitors and unduly reduce the cost of living. All that the tariff does is to protect the American standard of life. So long as that is protected domestic competition always has, does now and ever will make commodities as cheap as they can be without impairment of that standard.

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid

To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

MAY, 1912.

The Washington Post sees that the Tariff Board is trying to scramble on to the Democratic band wagon.

The San Francisco Chronicle well says that the surest way to get cheap sugar is to encourage the beet sugar industry.

Socialism was decisively repudiated in the recent municipal elections in Milwaukee and in two Montana cities. This leaves Schenectady as the only city where socialistic experiments are being tried out.

According to the New York Tribune, the twelve countries having trade unions organizations have a total population of more than 347,000,000, but the total number of trades unions members in them is only a trifle more than 10,000,000. In the United States they are only thirty in the thousand of population.

Critics of the Underwood bill to tax incomes in excess of \$5,000 enjoyed by "persons, firms and co-

partnerships with respect to the carrying on or doing business," raise the point that wealthy idlers or retired multi-millionaires would escape the impost on the ground that they are not doing business.

A bill is pending in Congress providing for a new Industrial Commission to inquire into the general condition of labor in the principal industries in the United States, the relations between employers and employes, methods for adjusting labor disputes, and other matters connected with the industrial situation.

It strikes the American Economist as queer, that while there are many people who regard the appearance of domestic manufacturers before a Congressional committee to defend their interests as immoral and demoralizing, the same people can discover no impropriety in foreign manufacturers and importers doing the same thing.

One of the new Democratic United States senators from Arizona, Henry F. Ashurst, who is a "Progressive Democrat," showed the quality of his statesmanship when after his election he made a speech in which he severely criticised the Senate and the courts, and threatened to put up all kinds of drastic measures to Congress.

With the admission of four new Senators from Arizona and New Mexico, the membership of the United States Senate is increased to ninety-six. The new Senators from Arizona are H. F. Ashurst and Marcus A. Smith, Democrats, and from

New Mexico Albert B. Fall and Thomas B. Catron, Republicans. The Governor of Tennessee has appointed Hon. Newell Sanders, Republican, to serve out the unexpired term of the late Senator Taylor, Democrat.

The testimony of an official of the Federal Sugar Refining Company of New York before the Senate Finance Committee developed the fact that the "sugar trust" wants free sugar. The witness admitted that the company which he represented "was paying for the free sugar propaganda and was a leading advocate of the measure." The witness also "agreed with the Republican members that enactment of the bill would wipe out the entire domestic production of sugar."

Hon. Sereno E. Payne, who agrees with many opponents of the free sugar bill that it is in the interests of the "sugar trust," says: "The most foolish thing I have seen yet, is this Democratic notion that you can give the people cheaper sugar by making sugar free. Every scrap of expert testimony before the Ways and Means Committee went to show that the only effect of free sugar would be to increase the price. I would predict that two years after the operation of the Democratic free sugar bill sugar would be two cents a pound higher than it is now."

If a strike of the locomotive engineers on the Eastern railroads is ordered, as threatened at this time (April 20) they will be entitled to no public support. They receive higher wages now than the average employes in skilled occupations. An

advance in wages was made to them in 1910, at a time when conditions were such that the tendency in other employments was to lower wages and reduce working force. Since that time there has been a decrease in railroad earnings, and the railroads are not in a situation now to meet another advance in wages.

Referring to the scheme of Representative Lindbergh, of Minnesota (who is a native of Sweden) to abolish the United States Senate and the office of Vice-President, the New Orleans Picayune says: "Representative Berger, the Socialist member from Wisconsin, who has already offered a resolution to abolish the United States Senate, is a foreigner, born in Austria-Hungary. Thus it is that the foreigners, who are gradually taking charge of the country, will teach the ignorant and barbarian Americans what sort of a governmental system they should have."

The New York Journal of Commerce says truly that public sentiment in this country is losing sympathy for labor organizations and growing impatient of strikes which interrupt important industries, interfere with transportation and disturb business. It is no longer simply a matter of disagreement between particular employers and their workmen; other rights and wrongs than theirs are involved, affecting a vastly greater number of people. It believes that sooner or later organizations which are not consistent with the rights and safety of the community will be made subservient to law.

The cotton industry in New England, which has been disturbed by strikes and lockouts for several weeks, seems more settled now than has been the case since the first of the year. One hundred and fifty thousand mill operatives have received advances of approximately 10 per cent. in wages, besides securing some changes in working conditions they wanted. Only a few strikes are still in force. The strike in Lowell was settled by an advance in wages on a basis of 10 per cent., and satisfactory settlements have been made in Clinton, Hudson, and several other places.

In some remarks on the Parcels Post scheme, in the United States Senate, recently, Senator Bailey of Texas made this fair hit: "Mr. President, I think more than half of the people of this country are in favor of doing anything at this time that will extend the activities of the Government. I hardly think it is necessary now for a special interest to move them. In this age of 'uplift' and distrust of each other, breeding, I must believe, at last a distrust of ourselves, people lean on the Government. The Senator (Heyburn of Idaho) and the rest of us who oppose that tendency, however, instead of objecting to the arguments in favor of it, ought to occupy ourselves with making arguments against it."

The Marine Journal gives a prominent place on its editorial page to the following vigorous plea for encouragement to American shipping: "Let every American citizen know and remember that more than \$200,-

000,000 goes into the pockets of foreign shipowners every year, for carrying our imports and exports, our mail and our passengers in overseas trade. That enormous sum of money is equivalent to the entire cost of the Navy and Army of the United States, or two-thirds of the whole revenue collected from the Customs tariff. It is a steady, exhausting drain on the financial vitality of America. Pass the Sulzer Preferential Duty Bill on some measure like it, and that huge leak will be stopped and most of this vast sum of money kept at home, for the use of the American people and their government."

The Irish home rule bill which was introduced in the House of Commons, April 11, and which has passed its first reading by 94 majority, provides for an Irish parliament—the Senate to have 40 members and the House 164. The collection of taxes is to remain in the imperial service; but a part is to be paid over to the Irish executive. An additional sum of \$2,500,000 is to be paid to Ireland the first year, and this will diminish by \$250,000 yearly until it is reduced to \$1,000,000. The postal services are to be handed over to Ireland. The Irish Parliament is to have power to reduce or to discontinue the imperial taxes, excepting the income tax and the stamp and estate duties. It will also have power to alter the excise duties, but except in the case of beer and spirits it is debarred from adding to the customs duties anything which will give a greater increase than 10 per cent. The parliament can make no laws favoring or affecting any re-

ligious creed. The lord lieutenant of Ireland is to have the power of veto.

Congress has passed a bill, recently, designed to check the flow of emigration from the United States to Canada. It reduces the residence required on the American homestead from five to three years, and permits an entryman and his family to be absent from a homestead five months during each year of the residence period. It was pointed out in the report on the bill that most of the desirable public lands in the United States have already been settled and that in order to attract homesteaders it has become necessary to soften the rigor of the American land laws. The argument used in behalf of the bill that had most weight was that the states of the North-West had lost 125,000 American farmers and \$125,000,000 in money by emigration to various provinces of Canada where lands were procured practically for the asking.

The Western "progressives" continue to progress at an alarming rate. Senator Cummins, of Iowa, proposes to take away from states the right to regulate their elections and from individuals the right to express opinions, except as they express them secretly by ballot. So says the Philadelphia Telegraph. Representative Lindbergh, of Minnesota, has a plan to abolish the United States Senate and the office of Vice-President, with a reduction of the membership of the House to 300. He would provide, also, for the creation of a "committee at large"

which would have absolute control of the legislative activities of Congress, the members of this committee to be elected by the country at large for a term of fifteen years, with a provision for their "recall" whenever their conduct, in the minds of the people, justified their removal. This committee would have power to prevent the submission of bills to the President if supported by a two-thirds vote of the House.

The great coal strike in Great Britain was terminated on April 4 by declaration of the officers of the Miners' Federation, though the miners had voted by a small majority to continue the strike. The leaders took the ground that, as a two-thirds majority had been necessary to declare a strike, a like majority was necessary to continue it. Parliament had passed a bill requiring the adoption by mine owners of a minimum wage for the underground workers, but a large majority of the miners opposed a resumption of work until the minimum rates of wages should be definitely fixed. Several thousand miners returned to work before the strike was declared off. The financial results of the strike are startling. It cost the miners' trade unions six million dollars, and the railways, steamer lines, and manufacturing industries suffered to the extent of more than sixty million dollars; while thousands of people were reduced to the verge of starvation and half a million dollars of public and private funds was distributed in charity.

The Citizens' Association of Lawrence recently issued a statement of what happened during the strike,

when "an American city of nearly 100,000 inhabitants was seized by a gang of outside agitators and kept in terror for eight weeks." The statement speaks of the grossly exaggerated accounts of police clubbing of defenceless strikers, and of outrages alleged to have been committed by the militia; and says that if it had not been for the soldiers and police there would have been an exceedingly long list of assassinations and assaults to record. The testimony of all impartial witnesses is that the police used no unnecessary force, and that no women were clubbed by them at any time during the strike. On the other hand, "the strikers succeeded in preventing 15,000 skilled operatives going to work. It succeeded in injuring many women who were going to work by jumping on them, knocking them down and kicking them and tearing from their hands their lunch baskets. It succeeded in thoroughly frightening scores of school children who were being conveyed to school in a street car by driving them out of the car, taking their lunch baskets away from them and stamping on the lunch baskets until baskets and contents were ground into the slush of the street."

The Canadian Home Market Club has just completed arrangements for a novel and extremely interesting exhibition of the home manufactures of Canada, which should prove of great educational value to thousands of Canadians remote from industrial centres. Early in May a special train consisting of twelve cars, ten of which will contain exhibits from the

different Canadian factories, will leave Toronto for the Pacific coast, stopping at all the large cities and towns en route where the exhibition will be open to the public and lectures delivered by T. H. Race of Mitchell, Ont., who has been Canada's representative at world's fairs in Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain and Belgium. The exhibition includes textiles of all kinds, stoves, pianos, automobiles, beds, springs, mattresses, engines, packing-house products, confectionery, rubber goods, salt, kodaks, farm implements, paints and oils, drugs, cement, furniture, jewelry, watches, silver plate, sheet-metal products, etc. There will be a model-house car, completely furnished with the products of Canadian factories. In another car will be an exhibit illustrating the manufacture of raw steel into its many finer products. This traveling demonstration of home products is termed the "Made in Canada Exhibition Train," and is in no way a business enterprise as no sales are made of any of the exhibits, and the expenses of the trip are met by the rents charged for the space of each exhibit, each car representing in rents about \$3,000.

Prospects of peace, with an early resumption of mining in the anthracite region, have been clouded by the insistence of the strike leaders for the recognition of the "United Mine Workers," a demand which the coal operators are not inclined to grant. Seventy-five per cent. of the soft coal miners have voted in favor of the proposed new wage scale, and there will be no strike in that branch of the industry.

DOES A PROTECTIVE TARIFF BENEFIT THE WORKINGMAN?

By Thomas O. Marvin.

The relation of the protective tariff to the wages of the American workingman has been raised in many articles written about the Lawrence strike. It is a fair question and it deserves a fair and not a prejudiced answer. Let us look into this question then. Does a protective tariff benefit the workingman?

A tariff law which reasonably restricts foreign importations and safeguards Americans from the ruinous competition of foreign products is a protective tariff law. Such a law affords protection and such protection protects. It protects in the only way possible of accomplishment by a tariff law. A tariff law cannot prevent the inflowing stream of immigration. This serious problem must be dealt with through other agencies. The tariff law prevents the inrushing of foreign-made goods; the inrush of foreigners must be prevented by the provisions of the immigration law. So long as vast areas of country remain unsettled and the West and South clamor for immigrants, just so long will it be extremely difficult to pass through Congress a bill for the proper restriction of immigration and for wise safeguards of our citizenship. These questions are wholly separate and distinct and the approved tariff policy of the country should not be blamed for the effects of an unwise immigration policy.

That the protective tariff does pro-

tect the American working man is plain to all who give a little attention to a comparison of the wages paid in this country and those paid abroad. In the case of the textile operatives, we have the evidence of a recent report of the tariff board on this point. The report shows that the workers in the relatively unskilled branches in American textile mills earn more than many of the workers of the skilled branches of Great Britain and that skilled workers earn substantially twice as much on the average as employes of the same type in the British mills. The British Board of Trade, as a result of its own investigation of conditions in the United States, has announced as its conclusion, that in America, "a much greater margin is available even when allowance has been made for the increased expenditure on food and rent," and the report showed that wages in the United States are as 230 to 100 compared with wages in Great Britain, and that the expenditures for living in this country are 150 compared to 100 there, showing that under the protective policy, the American working man is better off on the average than is the wage earner in any other part of the world. Protection, therefore, does protect.

When the foreigners who flock in such large numbers to our shores, enter the mills, they are not paid according to the wage scale of Great

Britain or of Southern Europe. They are paid the standard American wage for unskilled labor. Wool washers in this country get \$8.21 per week. For the same work in England, they are paid \$4.93; less still in Germany and even less in France and Italy. Comb tenders are paid here \$7.85; in England, \$4.26; and the gill minders are paid here \$5.84; in England, \$2.83; drawing frame tenders are paid here \$6.21; in England, \$2.68; female spinners are paid here \$6.40; in England, \$2.25; weavers earn here \$10.54; in England, \$3.83, and so the comparison runs right through the different occupations. The foreigner gets the benefit of the higher wages made possible by the protective policy. To dispute this fact is idle and puerile. Otherwise, why should they continue to come here in increasing numbers year by year?

The investigations of the tariff board show that 36.5 per cent. of persons employed in the mills were born in the United States and that 63.5 per cent. are foreign born. The report shows that the native born operatives predominate in the occupations that demand skill and ability and in the occupations requiring only a less degree of skill, the natives of the British Isles and of Germany are found; while Italy and the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe are represented largely in the occupations requiring comparatively little or no experience or skill. Out of 35,000 operatives over 83 per cent. had no experience in any manufacturing or mechanical industry before going to work in the worsted and woolen mills. Only 8.5 per cent. had been previously employed in any form of the textile industry. Two-

fifths of the male employes had not been engaged in any gainful occupation before entering the mills, and 64.8 per cent. of the female operatives were entirely new to the industrial world, having entered the mills directly from the home or the school. Necessarily, the wages earned by these inexperienced and unskilled men, women and minors must be below the average earned by skilled workers. Native born operatives do not seek these jobs. Training in the technical schools or in the textile schools fit them for the better paid positions. The immigrants who accept the lower paid positions in the mills count themselves fortunate to obtain the work. It is not a lifelong drudgery for them, for the average length of service is only five years. In this time, they have acquired sufficient skill to win promotion or they have saved enough from their earnings to start in business for themselves, buy a farm, or return to their native land.

Out of their wages, the alien mill help of Lawrence was able to save enough during the year 1911 to send \$128,000 abroad to friends and relatives. For five years ending in 1911, they sent abroad \$727,032.35. From Fall River the sum would be nearly as much; from New Bedford larger; from Holyoke, in five years, it amounted to \$381,421. The industries of Massachusetts cannot be the despotic grasping and cruel institutions, which they are represented as being, when large sums like these can be sent out of the country by the wage earners of our manufacturing cities, to aid the destitute of other lands. This money is not sent by the higher paid operatives, for statistics show that they are largely native

born and are thoroughly established here. The bulk of this money comes from the earnings of those in the unskilled departments, whose wages are asserted to be below a living standard.

If the possible earnings of man, wife and child seem princely to the native Americans of the mountain regions of the Carolinas and tempt them to flock to the mill towns of the South, is it any wonder that the

wages paid in the New England mills tempt the poor people of Southern Europe to cross the seas for jobs, which generations ago were gladly accepted by men and women of New England birth. The policy of protection which has built up the great industries of the United States, has made it possible, so far, to give employment at wages far above the world average to American citizens and to nearly a million of annual immigrants.

THE BRITISH TARIFF OUTLOOK.

By John S. Hodgson.

The different meanings attaching to the words "Tariff Reform" in Great Britain and the United States respectively have become so generally recognized by American readers that there is some danger of their magnifying the essential distinction between fiscal conditions in the two countries. "Free Trade" can hardly be said to prevail in a country which raises \$50,000,000 a year from customs duties on tea, sugar, coffee, cocoa and dried fruits, and \$85,000,000 from similar duties on tobacco—these being the leading items in the United Kingdom's customs revenue of \$165,000,000 for the year 1910-11. This figure is wholly independent of the heavy excise duties levied on inland products, spirits alone accounting for \$93,000,000 out of the annual total of \$201,000,000 under this head.

Not only do these conditions conflict with the definition of Free Trade as "the free interchange of commodities between different countries, unhampered by tariff restrictions,"

but there is the added imposition that the articles on which Customs duties are levied are those which Britain herself does not produce, while articles competing with her manufactures are imported free of duty.

The coincidence of these facts with the palpable determination of other countries to adhere to their protective policies has effected, in nine years, what neither the one nor the other could have brought about, alone, in a much longer period. Successive by-elections, to fill Parliamentary vacancies arising from various causes since the general election of December, 1910, have gone with fatal uniformity against the present Free Trade government, even where the ministry has itself chosen the battle ground by appointments involving an appeal to the constituency under British constitutional provisions. The most recent example—the defeat of Sir Arthur Haworth in South Manchester,

March, 1912, in which a Liberal majority of 2,452 was converted into a Unionist and Tariff Reform majority of 579—is a case in point. Among many evidences of the important share of Tariff Reform in this successful invasion of the Lancashire stronghold of Free Trade may be quoted the declaration of the Free Trade Union's local secretary, at the outset of the campaign, that "however much they may say that Free Trade is not an issue, we shall make it clear that it is an issue. . . . We shall put down man for man and pound for pound against the Tariff Reform League." And Sir George Kemp, M. P., speaking in support of the Free Trade candidate, is thus reported: "If some miracle were to happen, and if Sir Arthur were not returned, this election would be claimed as a signal victory for Tariff Reform." Precisely.

In taking account of the growing Tariff Reform sentiment of the United Kingdom, as revealed by such happenings as the above, it must be remembered that the nominal Liberal and Free Trade majority of 114 in a House of Commons of 670 members affords no real indication of the truth. The largest single party is that of the Unionists, counting 278 against 266 Ministerial Liberals, all but two of the 278 being whole-hearted Tariff Reformers. The 42 Labor members, standing avowedly apart from both of the traditional British parties, are Free Traders as a body, although some significant admissions in the utterances of individual members show clearly the existence of a rift within the lute. The official Liberal party is dependent for its continuance in office upon these members and the

84 Irish Nationalists, the latter being, to a man, Tariff Reformers by conviction. Their votes, honestly cast in a House of Commons division on the fiscal issue, would unseat the ministry, but they prefer the will-of-the-wisp of Irish Home Rule to the solid advantages which Ireland, more than any other part of the United Kingdom, would reap from the adoption of a revised tariff. Few figures are required to show that Irish industries have been destroyed by the working of an economic system to which Ireland was not a consenting party, although this broad statement stands in need of extensive qualification when the unwavering Nationalist support of a government hopelessly committed to Free Trade is kept in view.

It is true, none the less, that the policy of Free Trade was imposed upon Ireland, as part of the United Kingdom, in 1846. Her population had increased from 6,800,000 in 1821 to 8,196,000 in 1841, and her exports and imports had nearly doubled between 1825 and 1835. The Weavers' Committee reported in 1840: "The manufacturing industries of Ireland are doing well. The woolen trade is in a more sound and healthy condition than it has ever been and its yearly advance may be confidently expected." As against these flourishing conditions, the population has fallen from over 8,000,000 to 4,382,000; the acreage of land under wheat has decreased from 743,871 in 1847 to 36,677 in 1908, and Dublin, which possessed 44 tanneries in 1849, now has not one to show.

It is urged by English Tariff Reformers that the inevitable effect of an expanded Imperial tariff would be to open up an immense preferential

market to Ireland, stimulating her agriculture, developing existing industries and resuscitating others which have become extinct through the influence of Free Trade. The need for some such change in conditions is evidenced by the fact that the revenue turned in by Ireland to the Imperial exchequer is insufficient to meet the cost of purely Irish services. In the fiscal year 1909-10 the Imperial exchequer was thus called upon to make a contribution of more than \$11,000,000 toward the cost of Irish government, while receiving nothing whatever from Ireland towards the cost of the army, the navy, the diplomatic and other Imperial services.

These considerations will undoubtedly complicate the solution of the Home Rule problem, with the reservation, however, that if this thorny subject were once disposed of, Nationalist members would be free to vote on Imperial Tariff Reform on its merits. In any case, their influence would be largely diminished, for the long over-due electoral redistribution will surely include the cutting down of Ireland's representation in the Imperial Parliament to something like proportionate figures. Ireland has now one member for every 42,543 persons, as against England's one to every 73,211, and it is clear that the present representation of 103 Irish members would be reduced to about 65 on the basis of population or to 59 if the number of voters be taken as a standard.

The situation may be summarized in the statement that, to an extent far greater than is generally realized, the prospects of British Tariff Reform are involved in the fate of the

Home Rule Bill now before Parliament and the country. The uncompromising declarations of Mr. A. Bonar Law, leader of the Unionist Party in the House of Commons, in regard to the fiscal question, in his speech at Belfast, April 9th, to an audience of 150,000 Loyalists, leave no doubt as to the passage of a tariff reform measure immediately following the overthrow of the coalition. "You know," he said, "that the return of a Unionist Government to power will mean a change in the fiscal system of this country and all parts of the United Kingdom. There is no part which, in my opinion, will benefit more from such a change than Ireland. That system will be framed with special and anxious regard to the interests of Ireland. Ireland has the right to demand that at our hands. The adoption of a system of free imports did, as I believe and as I have always believed, for the time being benefit England and Scotland, but it was never anything but a disadvantage to Ireland."

This outspoken utterance is completely in line with the pledges given by other prominent Unionists notably by Mr. Austen Chamberlain. Their joint effect can be regarded in no other light than as the handwriting on the wall, in characters so plain that he who runs may read.

OBITUARY.

ORIGEN H. MERRICK, a retired thread manufacturer, died in Brookline, March 20, from an attack of pneumonia. He was a son of Timothy Merrick, who was the second President of the Home Market Club, was born in Willington, Conn., in

1854, and was a graduate of Brown University in 1876. He became an active member of the Merrick Thread Company, founded by his father in Holyoke, retiring from business in 1898, when the company was absorbed by the American Thread Company. Since his retirement he had made his home in Brookline. While a resident of Holyoke he was prominent in Republican political circles and was elected to office. He was a member of several clubs, and had been a director in the Home Market Club. He is survived by two sons, Robert and Kenneth, a widow, Hattie Fitch Merrick, two sisters and two brothers.

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

How the List of Delegates Stood on April 20—More than 500 yet To Be Elected by Republicans, and 815 by Democrats.

At this date (April 20), 664 delegates of the total number of 1,078 have been elected to the Republican National Convention. Of this number 363 have been instructed for Taft, and 16 more are claimed for him, making his total 379 or 161 short of the number required to nominate, which is 540.

Number instructed for Roosevelt 180, and 63 more are claimed for him, making his total 243, or 297 short of a majority.

Number instructed for La Follette 36; for Cummins 6.

Many district conventions are yet to be held, and state conventions or primaries in 27 states. The most important are: Rhode Island and Iowa April 24; Massachusetts (primaries and New Hampshire (state)

April 30; Maryland (primaries) May 6; Kansas May 8; California (primaries) May 14; West Virginia May 16; Ohio (district primaries) May 21, and South Dakota (primaries) June 4.

Standing of Delegates.

Claimed for Taft.	
Alabama 21	Mississippi 19
Connecticut .. 14	Missouri 8
Delaware 6	New Mexico .. 5
District of Co-	New York (est) 83
lumbia 2	No. Carolina... 8
Colorado 8	Oklahoma 4
Florida 12	Pennsylvania .. 9
Georgia 26	Philippines ... 2
Hawaii 6	So. Carolina .. 20
Illinois 2	Tennessee 15
Indiana 20	Vermont 6
Iowa 8	Virginia 24
Kansas 2	Hawaii 6
Kentucky 23	Nevada 6
Louisiana 6	
Michigan 6	Total Taft .. 379

Claimed for Roosevelt.

Georgia 2	New York (es-
Oklahoma 14	timated) 7
Illinois 56	New Mexico .. 1
Kentucky 3	No. Carolina .. 6
Indiana 8	Oregon 8
Maine 12	Pennsylvania .. 67
Michigan 6	Vermont 2
Missouri 8	
Mississippi 5	Total Roose-
Nebraska 16	velt 243

For La Follette.

No. Dakota	10
Wisconsin	26
Total	36

For Cummins.

Iowa (three districts)	6
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There are two sets of six delegates-at-large for Michigan, one for Taft and one for Roosevelt, and these six votes are carried in the uncommitted column. Four Roosevelt delegates are contestants from the State of Indiana, and four from the State of Mississippi, two from the 3d Missouri District, two from

the 3d Oklahoma, two from the 4th Alabama, two from the 1st Indiana, two from the 3d Indiana, two from the 13th Indiana, two from the 8th Mississippi, two from the 8th Kentucky and two from the 10th Kentucky. Two Taft delegates are contestants from the 5th Missouri and two from the 14th Missouri, two from the 1st Missouri and two from the 11th Kentucky. In several states a number of district conventions are yet to be held.

The Roosevelt managers give out the following figures: Instructed for Roosevelt, 218; Taft, 77; La Follette, 36; Cummins, 6. Uninstructed and contested, 327.

Delegates to Democratic Convention.

At this time (April 20) delegates have been elected to the Democratic National Convention, in which the total number will be 1,094, and the two-thirds necessary for a choice is 730.

For Clark.

Illinois	58
Maine	1
Missouri	36
Kansas	20
Nebraska	10
Oklahoma (one-half)	10
Pennsylvania	2
Wisconsin	6

Total Clark

For Harmon.

Maine	4
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For Wilson.

Oklahoma	10
Maine	5
Pennsylvania	76
Wisconsin	19

Total Wilson

For Marshall.

Indiana	26
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For Underwood.

Alabama	24
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The San Francisco Chronicle says: "We call Socialism control by

the unfit, and it is. It is a moral certainty that there is not on earth a living avowed Socialist who has ever demonstrated his ability to so conduct any form of commercial or industrial enterprise as to make its income greater than its outgo, and yet they demand to be intrusted with the control of all business."

CONGRESS IN BRIEF.

After a two days' debate, in which much old straw was threshed, the House passed the Democratic wool bill, April 1, by a vote of 189 to 92. Twenty Republican insurgents voted with the Democrats. The bill, which is identical with the wool bill of the previous session, places an ad valorem duty of 30 per cent. on raw wool, and reduces existing duties on wool manufactures from 30 to 50 per cent.

Many opponents of the free sugar tariff representing cane sugar planters of San Domingo, Porto Rico, Louisiana, Texas, and Hawaii, and beet sugar interests of the West, have appeared before the Senate finance committee to protest against the measure. Secretary Wilson told the committee that free sugar would mean the abrogation of the reciprocity agreement with Cuba.

In a special message to Congress, April 4, the President urged many economies in the government service which he says would save millions of expense. He suggests that all postmasters, pension agents, internal revenue and customs officers be put in the classified service.

The House has voted \$26,000 for rivers and harbors. The Democrats in caucus again voted against appropriating money for new battle ships,

or for public buildings. A bill appropriating \$350,000 for strengthening the levees on the Mississippi river and tributaries has passed the House.

The Senate on March 29, by a vote of 44 to 31, adopted the Senate substitute for the Sherwood pension bill, which, it is estimated, will reduce by \$36,000,000 the probable expenditure for five years under the latter bill.

The House will probably pass the bill for the federal acquisition of express companies—full compensation to be given owners for the same; but it is not believed that it will pass the Senate.

The House has passed the bill limiting to eight hours the daily service of laborers and mechanics employed upon work done for the United States.

A bill is pending in the House, providing that July 4, 1913, shall mark the beginning of "qualified independence" for the Philippines, and that on July 4, 1921, the independence of the Islands shall be full and complete.

On April 18, the Senate voted for a special committee to investigate the Titanic disaster, and the following were appointed, who proceeded immediately to New York: Senators William Alden Smith of Michigan, Leroy Perkins of California, Jonathan Bourne of Oregon, Theodore E. Burton of Ohio, F. W. Simmons of North Carolina, Francis G. Newlands of Nevada, and Duncan U. Fletcher of Florida.

The decrease of more than \$1,000,000 in the declared exports from Liverpool of tin, tin plates, andterneplates to the United States

may be charged wholly to tin plates. Shipments of this commodity have fallen off, as explained in England, by reason of the firm bid made for the home market by American producers, dating from the latter part of 1910, and which was continued throughout last year.

WOULD FREE SHIPS PROVE A BENEFIT?

Opposition by protectionists to the free ship plan is founded on an intelligent investigation of the situation, and a consistent application to the question of the principles of the protective system.

The whole gist of the policy for which we stand is that protection throws us back upon our own initiative, compels us to develop our own resources, diversifies industry, and makes us as a nation self-supporting and self-sustaining. Protection, as we believe in it, is a national policy and should be applied nationally. The doubters have always argued that we should not undertake to do things for ourselves, that other nations can do them better and cheaper. This was said about textiles; it was said about steel; it was said about paper; it was said about agriculture; it is said about ships.

In woolen goods, instead of being dependent upon Europe, we now have developed a manufacturing capacity sufficient to supply all the demands of the American market, and our wage earners are today the best clothed of any in the world. In cottons we supply over 95 per cent. of the home demand, and manufacture a considerable surplus for export and have developed such efficiency and such keen domestic com-

petition that the mill cost of many plain fabrics is as low as or lower than the British mill price. Under the protective policy we have developed a silk manufacturing industry which gives to the United States the first place as a silk manufacturing nation; and the same is true of steel. When it was first proposed to put a duty on iron and steel imports, we were told that we could never make enough to supply our own needs. Today we are supplying our own requirements and are gaining more rapidly than Great Britain in the export of steel products.

Our over-seas shipping is the one notable industry which we have failed to protect; and it is the one industry which has languished. From carrying over 90 per cent. of our ocean freight, we have fallen to a position where we carry less than 9 per cent., and over \$400,000,000 of American money goes annually into foreign pockets for a service which we should perform ourselves.

There is no dispute among Americans over such a proposition, it is when methods of changing the situation are discussed that differences arise. Advocates of free ships may believe that they are on the right track, but their advocacy of free ships violates the philosophy of protection. If we are better off making our own paper, textiles and steel products, why are we not better off making our own ships as we did when our shipping like our paper manufacturing was protected.

All material necessary for the construction of vessels, all material necessary for the building of their machinery and all articles necessary for their outfit and equipment are now admitted free of duty.

We have now a free ship policy so far as everything that goes into the construction of a ship, except labor, is concerned, and what good does this do? Our coast and lake shipping, which receives the highest possible form of protection,—the absolute prohibition of foreign competition—has thrived wonderfully and given us a great ship-building industry and a source of employment for many thousands of men.

With the material for ship building as low in this country as it is abroad, the reason why our ships cost more to build is because our workmen get wages from 100 to 200 per cent. higher, and because the great development of British ship-building enables the English builders to standardize their methods and materials and to take advantage of the economies incident to steady work and large production. The purchase by Americans of foreign ships would strengthen the foreign yards and make more difficult our own competition with them. Free ships would be of no more benefit to us than free mills. What good would it do to import "free mills" if the product of the mills was unprotected? What good would free ships be when they cannot be operated at a profit?

It costs more to operate American ships because wages are higher, and regulations in regard to food and other matters are more stringent, and the greatest difficulty of all is the fact that the merchant marine of other nations is supported by subsidies and Government aid of various kinds. This is notably so in the case of Germany and Japan, whose shipping is so rapidly increasing. The English merchant marine is pro-

tected in no less than seven different ways: by fixed postal subsidies; by admiralty subsidies; by commercial subsidies; by post-office payments to ships carrying letters; by high rates paid to ships carrying Government stores; by exemption from or reduction of tonnage and freight dues; by the provisions for the Royal Naval Reserve.

To sum up, the objections to the free ship plan are that it denies to an historic American industry the benefits of our national policy of protection under which our other industries have so wonderfully prospered; and, secondly, the utter futility of free ships, which after we got them we could not operate in competition with the subsidized and protected ships of other countries. If we protected our shipping in one-half as many ways as Great Britain does, American cargoes would be carried in American ships and our flag would once more be seen on all the trade routes of the sea.

THE USE OF SHODDY.

The report of the Tariff Board shows that in 1909 there were 88 establishments in the shoddy industry of the United States. These had a capital of \$6,877,959, employed 2,041 wage earners, and produced products valued at \$7,446,364. The industry has made no decided growth during the last decade. The number of establishments declined and the value of products increased only 10.6 per cent. between 1899 and 1909. In 1904 the industry showed products of greater value than in 1909. The stationary nature of the industry is largely due to the popularity of worsteds, into the making

of which shoddy does not enter. The chief States for the production of shoddy are Massachusetts, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. The largest mills are located at Cleveland, O. The mills of the United States used in 1909, 64,561,713 pounds of rags and tailor clippings, and produced 48,375,724 pounds of shoddy, valued at \$5,699,260. In addition to the shoddy made in shoddy mills, the carded-woolen mills in 1909 made 31,021,323 pounds of shoddy for their own use.

The following table shows that there has been a decline rather than an increase in the production of shoddy since 1890:

Year.	Mills.	Product.
1910	88	\$7,446,364
1905	97	8,406,425
1900	105	6,730,974
1890	94	7,887,000
1880	73	4,989,615

The changes in the wool and worsted industries are shown in these tables:

Woolen Goods.

Year.	Mills.	Capital.	Product.
1905 ...	792	\$140,302,488	\$142,196,658
1900 ...	1,035	124,386,262	118,430,158
1890 ...	1,311	130,989,940	133,577,977
1880 ...	1,990	96,095,534	160,606,721

Worsted Goods.

1905 ...	226	\$162,464,929	\$165,745,052
1900 ...	186	132,168,110	120,314,344
1890 ...	143	68,035,116	79,194,652
1880 ...	76	20,374,043	33,549,942

Itemized data of the census of 1910 are not yet available but figures for the combined woolen and worsted manufactures show:

1910 ...	1,126	\$606,323,000	\$507,219,000
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The combined textiles, cotton, hosiery, knit goods, wool and silk, show an increase from 1904 to 1909

of 12.7 per cent. in the number of establishments; 18.7 in persons employed; 36.2 in capital; 36.7 in value of products.

The relative importance of shoddy and of woolen and worsted goods is shown by the value of shoddy in 1910, \$7,446,364, compared with \$507,219,000, the value of the wool and worsted manufactures for that year. Wool and worsted manufactures have greatly increased from 1905 to 1910, but the statistics of shoddy manufacture show a large decrease. Nor is the supply increased by importations, for imports of shoddy into the United States are negligible. No shoddy was imported during the fiscal year 1911. On the contrary, the amount of shoddy available for use in American mills instead of being increased by importations is reduced by exportations. Figures of the export of shoddy are not separately given by the Bureau of Statistics, but it is a well known fact that the export of shoddy has been constantly increasing since 1907. The statistics of imports into Great Britain from the United States show that in 1910 the United Kingdom bought from us 1,999,771 lbs. of shoddy, valued at \$133,717. These figures do not show the total exports of shoddy, but they indicate that a very considerable amount should be deducted from the supply available for use in American mills. The Census of 1905 shows that the value of materials used in wool and worsted manufactures was \$197,500,000. The total value of shoddy produced that year was \$8,408,425. These figures show the comparative use of shoddy as a material for wool and worsted manufacture in this country.

The Census report describes the changes in the character of materials used in the woolen mills. The quantity of wool consumed increased from 330,179,000 lbs. in 1904 to 474,751,000 lbs. in 1909, an increase of 44 per cent. Reckoning on the secured basis, the increased quantity of wool consumed was 50 per cent. The quantity of raw cotton consumed in the woolen and worsted mills decreased from 40,245,000 lbs. to 20,055,000 lbs., a decrease of 50 per cent. The amount of cotton yarn produced increased from 35,343,000 lbs. to 39,169,000 lbs., or 11 per cent. The net result is a decided decrease in the amount of cotton used as a material by wool manufacturers. The Census report shows also a marked decrease in the amount of shoddy. The quantity produced decreased 35 per cent., and the amount manufactured in woolen mills for use therein fell off 10 per cent. In 1899 the total amount of shoddy consumed by woolen and worsted manufacturers was 68,663,000 lbs. In 1909 it was only 53,621,000, a decrease all the more significant when the decreased use of cotton and the growth of the industry are considered.

Shoddy is wool reclaimed from woolen rags and soft woolen goods such as stockings, sweaters and merino dress goods. The French call shoddy "renaissance wool." Shoddy, therefore, is not necessarily the cheap undesirable material which many take it to be. Some grades of shoddy look better and probably are better than some of the cheap clothing wools.

The greatest shoddy producing centre in the world is in and near Batley and Dewsbury, England. In

the United Kingdom there are 900 rag-grinding machines, 881 of which are in Yorkshire. In the United States there are only 346 rag-grinding machines. The English of the Yorkshire district are very skilful in the production of cloths from shoddy and other waste products and this fact accounts in some measure for their large production of low priced cloth.

TAFT'S TALK TO COTTON MEN.

In an address to the American Cotton Manufacturers' Convention in Washington, April 4, President Taft said:

"We are in this country in respect to every business on a protective tariff basis. I do not mean that every business needs a protective tariff to enable it to live, but I mean that there are so many businesses that are dependent on a protective tariff that they may live, that to take away a protective tariff would disturb the whole business foundation of the country. Therefore it is essential that when we who are charged with authority as to the adoption of laws and the formation of tariff bills attempt to amend them we should know that we are touching the business of the country and probably affecting its prosperity.

"Now reforms are all right and I am as much in favor of them, if I see that they are real reforms, as anybody, but the thing that makes most for happiness is good business and prosperity. We are not all born to be cotton merchants or cotton manufacturers and what we don't know about cotton manufacture will fill a great many books, but there

are methods of finding out through other people, of delegating to other people the investigation of that subject and to find out what the exact facts are. Then if you wish to destroy an industry because you think that industry ought not to be encouraged or because it costs too much in the way of high prices paid for goods, if we want to wipe it out, then you do it knowing what you are doing and why you are doing it. But it is not right that we should treat the industries of this country without an intimate knowledge derived from expert information as to what the effect of those laws will be which we propose to pass revising the tariff, which so much affect the business prosperity of this country.

"Now I am making that argument in favor of a tariff board composed of experts who will give everybody an opportunity to be heard and then will make up its mind as an independent quasi-judicial tribunal and make its report to Congress so that it may understand matters. That is what I am in favor of and I hope you are. I hope it strikes the business men as a useful thing to do, to know where you are going to put your foot before you put it down, in order to calculate what the effect may be"

INCOME TAX AND ECONOMY.

Cor. of New York Journal of Commerce.

The difficulty is that in this country, high as its people are in the average of intelligence, there is what may be termed a large "unthinking class," or perhaps, to speak with more definiteness, an unreflective class, whose sense of hurt, vague as the basis of it may be, has been so aroused by the preachings of mischief-makers against "Capital" as opposed to the interests of "Labor" that

in the blindness of resentment this unreflective class fails utterly in its perspective.

It fails to see how a Federal income tax would bear more heavily and more unjustly on those of moderate means than on those of "swollen fortunes" or on the "idle rich." These misled people lack the independent power of discernment necessary for an appreciation of the situation as it would be found to exist if a Federal income tax were imposed. And we may feel certain that if the power to impose it is conferred upon Congress we shall have an income tax in the course of time "as sure as a gun!" The temptation to so cover the extravagance of Congressional appropriations would be too great to be resisted.

What this country really needs is a policy of wise economy in the administration of its governmental affairs. If the people could be led to clamor for that rather than an income tax the situation would be more promising for the general good.

SOME THINGS THAT INCREASE COST OF LIVING.

F. G. R. Gordon, in Boston Herald.

If you were to attend a Socialist meeting, or a Ford Hall gathering, you would be told that the working class of this country do not get enough to live and that times are growing worse all the time, and more especially since the textile strike in Lawrence, do you hear these calamity speeches. Let's look at a few facts: It is recorded that 9,000 operatives in Lowell received an average of \$1.50 a week in 1843. In 1850 my mother was employed as a weaver in the Lowell mills, and she was a good weaver, too. She made an average of \$2.50 a week and paid \$1.25 a week for board and room in a corporation boarding house. The hours were long, 11 to 12 a day.

The average wage in Lowell and Lawrence today is at least four times as much as it was in 1850-5.

The average wage in the manufacturing industry in this country in 1850 was \$247; in 1880 it was \$348; in 1900 it was \$437 and in 1910 it was \$539 and the hours of labor have been reduced from 66 to 70 in 1850 to 54 and 60 in 1910. So much for that. Now let us look at the cost of living: In the city of Lawrence the workers of the so-called "foreign element" sent to Europe last year more than \$700,000; they spent a million dollars in the 76 saloons, i. e., the working class of that city spent a million for drink, and another \$100,000 in the picture show houses. For the nation these items of waste foot up: \$1,700,000,000 spent in the saloons; \$275,000,000 spent in the moving picture shows; \$135,000,000 for candy; \$500,000,000 for tobacco and the immigrants sent to Europe \$300,000,000. Out of these sums the working class spent at least \$1,300,000,000, or 13 billions in 10 years, yet, we are told by sociologists that unless we have a radical change, the red flag revolution will engulf us.

The cost of living is high, but it is high mainly because we all want the things which the middle class enjoyed 30 years ago. The working class live far better than the middle class lived 50 and 75 years ago. Everybody is glad that this is so, and notwithstanding this, we increased our savings bank deposits by \$2,000,000,000 during the last 10 years and there have been 900,000 new homes acquired in this period. Men are rising from the working class to the middle class and from the middle class to the so-called

wealthy class more rapidly today than ever before in the economic history of this nation, but we must have sensation and muck-raking.

IS THE FREE TRADE ERA NEAR?

The Experience of Ireland under Free Trade and Protection —What Protection Means to United States.

Two interesting allusions to the tariff question were made early in April by an American cabinet officer and by the leader of the Unionist party in England. The Republican Secretary of the Treasury, Franklin MacVeagh, formerly a free trader and a member of the Cobden Club, said in a speech in New York, that free trade would be the policy of the United States and all the rest of the world sometime, in the dim and distant future. How far in the future this change in fiscal policy will be is indicated from the other interesting allusion to the tariff question which was made by A. Bonar Law, leader of the Unionist party in Great Britain. Mr. Law declared that the triumph of the Unionist party meant the abandonment of free trade in England and the establishment of a protective system for Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the British Empire. The conclusions of the protectionists in England as to the results of nearly 70 years of free trade are that British industries fail to furnish the employment and the wages that they should, and that the rate of increase of English industries has been surpassed in amount and percentage by competing protectionist countries.

No more striking illustration of

the distress which followed the abandonment of protection and the establishment of free trade is to be found than in the case of Ireland.

Ireland Under Protection.

It was in April, 1783, that Mr. Gardner, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the Irish Parliament, presented the following report: "The advantages of the man of landed estate and of the manufacturer are reciprocal; for the prosperity of the one is the support of the other. Therefore, I report the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That it appears to this house that the working manufacturers of this kingdom are in the greatest poverty and distress.

"2. That the importation of foreign manufactures into this kingdom has of late considerably increased and still continues to increase.

"3. That this great English importation, by impeding our manufactures, is the cause of this poverty and distress."

These principles soon enacted into law, gave a remarkable impetus to the industries of Ireland. Lord Clare, referring to the condition of Ireland during this period of protection to its manufactures said: "There is not a civilized nation on the face

of the habitable globe which has advanced in cultivation, in agriculture, in manufacture with the same rapidity in the same period as Ireland."

Ireland Under Free Trade.

The policy of free trade was forced upon Ireland, as an integral part of the United Kingdom in 1846. The population had increased from 6,800,000 in 1821 to 8,196,000 in 1831, and the exports and imports had nearly doubled between 1825 and 1835. The Weavers' Committee reported in 1840, "The manufacturing industries of Ireland are doing well. The woolen trade is in a more sound and healthy condition than it has ever been, and its yearly advance may be confidently expected." As against that flourishing condition, the population has fallen from 8,000,000 to 4,382,000, and the acreage of land under wheat has decreased from 743,871 in 1847 to 36,677 in 1908.

This sudden change in Ireland from prosperity to adversity should be a lasting object lesson to all of the sons of Erin who have built up homes for themselves in other lands. Writing of the changed conditions in Ireland, Henry C. Carey said, "While possessed of every advantage that nature could give him, we find the Irishman at home a slave to the severest taskmasters, and reduced to a position of distress and poverty such as is exhibited in no other portion of the civilized world. No choice is now left him but expatriation and starvation, and therefore we see him everywhere, abandoning the home of his fathers, to seek elsewhere that subsistence which Ireland, rich as she is in her soil and minerals, in her navigable

rivers, and in her facilities of communication with the world can no longer afford him." "What has free trade done for her?" asked Sir John Byles, an eminent English judge, writing of Ireland and the Irish people in 1850. "She has even now no employment for her teeming population except upon the land. She ought to have had and might easily have had, other and various employments and plenty of it." And he lays the blame for Ireland's distress to the changes in the tariff laws.

Driven Back to the Land.

The same result will follow the removal of protection from American industries. We will be driven, like the Irish, out of our mills and factories and back to the land. Our shoe factories, our wire mills, our cotton and woolen mills must curtail or close, but the factories of Nottingham, of Leeds, of Manchester and Bradford will run night and day. American money will fill the tills of English factories; swell the revenues of the British government; build British dreadnoughts and support the British army and navy. Then will England have realized her ambition to become the manufacturing centre of the world, as well as the mistress of the sea. That is what free trade for the United States would mean, just as it did for Ireland, and that is what would result from the adoption of the tariff-for-revenue-only program of the Democratic party.

This statement is not based on the fancy or the fear of an alarmed protectionist. It is susceptible of proof from sources which the advocates of "first aid to Great Britain" cannot question. It is demonstrated from

the experiences of our disastrous experiment with the tariff-for-revenue-only Wilson bill of 1894. Comment on the effect of that measure upon American industries is not needed by any man whose memory reaches back to those days of distress and ruin. But the effect of that measure upon the industries of England is not so well understood. Read what a member of a great British firm said in an article to the London Times:

Prosperity in Bradford.

"The year 1895 witnessed a revival in the worsted industry of such magnitude as to be a matter not only for local but national congratulation. After long years of depression, the great manufacturing district, of which Bradford is the centre, was visited last year by the full sunshine of prosperity. Roughly speaking, the Wilson tariff, which came into effective operation in the last month of 1894, in place of the strangling system of duties associated with the name of McKinley, reduced the custom house charges upon the principal products of the Bradford district imported into the States from 100 per cent. of their value to 50 per cent. Thus it came about that the value of worsted coatings imported from the Bradford district into the United States in the first five months of 1895, was more than double that of the like imports during the whole year, December 1893 to November 1894, and the value in dollars for the whole of 1895, as compared with the whole of 1894 (years ending September 30) was \$7,575,052 against \$1,275,626, being an increase of fully 600 per cent.

"What has the future in store? From what has been said it will be

seen that there are two main external influences which have a powerful effect on the fortunes of the Bradford trade—tariffs and fashions. As to the first, there is apparently a good deal of reason to fear that in 1897 or 1898 a system of largely enhanced import duties shall be brought into force in the United States. The more clearly assumed that melancholy anticipation becomes, the larger, let us remember, is likely to be the importation of Bradford goods in America before the new tariff takes effect. And when it takes effect, there must invariably be a heavy drop in that importation. Nothing that Bradford can do can vitally affect the volume of trade passing from its mills across the Atlantic. That issue rests with the American politicians."

Such is the testimony of a British manufacturer as to the effect of the tariff policy of the United States. Low duties here mean a revival of industry in England of such magnitude as to be "a matter of national congratulation." They bring to the Bradford manufacturing district "the full sunshine of prosperity." When imports from England increase 600 per cent., in what figures can we measure the distress of American wage earners or the loss to American mills? If there are "two external influences which have a powerful effect upon the fortunes of the Bradford trade—tariffs and fashions"—let us ape the English styles that sunshine may flood the factories of Great Britain, and let us reduce our tariff that the products of Manchester and Bradford may drive from the American market the products of Holyoke and Worcester, of Lowell and of Lawrence, of New

Bedford and Fall River.

With the plain facts before us of the disastrous effects of the abandonment of the protective policy upon the industries of Ireland and the United States, how can any well-informed and patriotic citizen of this country lend his aid to a tariff program which prostrates our industries and "brings the full sunshine of prosperity" to our most aggressive competitor?

Should Support Protection.

Driven from their homes by free trade, it is one of the anomalies of history that so many Irishmen have aided and encouraged here the effort to abolish the protective policy. They should recall that six years after the Gardner resolution recommending protection for the industries of Ireland was introduced in the Irish Parliament, the American Congress met in Philadelphia and passed our first tariff law for "the encouragement and protection of manufactures." The fathers of our country firmly believed that the policy of protection was as necessary to the commercial independence of the United States as an army and navy are necessary to win and preserve political independence, and it is not without significance to patriotic Americans that our first protective law was signed by George Washington on the Fourth of July, 1789.

Protection has been our national policy with few temporary interruptions from that day to this. Under its operation we have grown from a few straggling states fringing the coast, to a mighty nation of 100,000,000 of the most prosperous people in the world. From a position of de-

pendence upon Europe for manufactures, we have become the foremost manufacturing nation, and are challenging Great Britain for the markets of the world.

Nothing but a misapprehension of economic facts and a culpable indifference to the welfare of the country can suggest any radical change in a system which has produced such stupendous results.

PROTECTIVE AND REVENUE TARIFFS.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

There is to be but one issue; that issue is to be a protective versus a revenue tariff; and a tariff for revenue will lie somewhere between the lowest tax you can levy and the difference between the cost of production "at home and abroad." The object of a revenue tariff is to encourage importations on competitive articles so as to derive the largest possible revenue from such importations. The object of a protective tariff is to discourage such importations and give the business to domestic producers so long as they supply the articles at a reasonable profit.

The test of a reasonable profit is the volume of importations and there is no other test. The Republican members of the committee which framed the Payne-Aldrich bill assumed that where importations were largely in excess of domestic production the duty was too low. If the importations were trifling on commodities largely produced both here and abroad, they considered the tax too high. Such changes as were made in the tariff at that time were upon that principle.

Thoroughgoing protectionists do not reason quite in that way. They demand a protection which protects, and insist that we can and should provide against domestic extortion in other ways than by foreign competition. And they deny that under our present tariff, which does protect fairly well, there is any domestic extortion whatever on non-patented commodities.

EMPLOYERS LIABILITY AND INJUSTICE.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

It is surprising the President Taft, with his presumed legal learning and judicial turn of mind, should give such unqualified approval of the employers' liability and workmen's compensation bill reported by a commission made up of members of Congress. This particular measure applies only to the liability of railroads engaged in interstate commerce to compensate their employes for injuries incurred in their service; but the principles and methods embodied in it are capable of indefinite extension and may be adopted as the basis of legislation generally upon the subject. Some of these principles and methods are in our opinion in conflict with both exact justice and sound public policy. There is one principle that is fundamental in our system of government and administration of justice which is too apt to be forgotten. That is the equality of rights and responsibilities of citizens under the law, regardless of personal or contract relations, and the individual self-dependence of those who are supposed to have an equal share in the powers of government. It is essential to the underlying principle of our free institutions that there should be no "dependent class," no segregated class dependent upon the Government or upon some other class, and it is important that the sense of self-dependence shall not be weakened and the incentive for prudence and self-support taken away.

The employer should be held liable for any injury due to his fault or negligence, or his failure to provide every practicable safeguard and to take every reasonable precaution; but workmen do take the risks of their occupation, as do business men, whether manufacturers, traders or carriers, and their wages as well as profits are in a measure determined by such risks. If an employment is hazardous wages are high on that account. If the defense of contributory negligence on the part of the person injured or of carelessness or malice of those who work with him, is wholly taken away, the employer is subject to liability for what is in no way due to

his fault and what he cannot prevent. It may involve serious loss to him as well as injury to the employe, and yet he is to be made to pay for it while having no redress. This is not equal and exact justice and it outrages the principle of equal rights and equal privileges before the law.

THE WOOL INDUSTRY.

From the Speech of Hon. Thomas S. Crago, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, March 30, 1912.

The wool industry has been an important factor in our development as a nation; it has also played its part in the making of other nations. With us for several generations it has been the football of political battles, and while the men who by their labor have produced it have toiled and worked to make for themselves and families an honest living, statesmen have argued pro and con the right and necessity of its protection. It shall not be my purpose at this time to take up the matter of a tariff on manufactured wool or woolens, at the same time our people realize that unless the home manufacturer of woolens is protected against the foreign manufacturer they have no market, and no matter how high the duty on raw wool may be, they receive no benefit from it. I leave this, however, for men who have made it a study and are familiar with its details. What little I shall say will be in behalf of the men who raise the sheep to produce the wool; the men of southwestern Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and eastern Ohio, who have, by years of toil and study, brought this industry to its present high standard; who have succeeded in producing the finest wool of its kind grown anywhere in the entire world, and who today are willing to meet you in any reasonable reduction of duty and adjust themselves to the new rates, provided they can continue in the business and make a reasonable profit. I have talked with many of these men, and they believe that if the findings of the Tariff Board on Schedule K are accepted and enacted into law they can continue at a small profit, but if you reduce the duty below that line you have

simply made a present of that much to the woolgrowers of Australia, and at the same time our people will pay the same prices for clothing made of wool grown in foreign countries, the product of foreign labor and foreign capital, while the domestic industry will be gradually destroyed. This is no theory, but a demonstrated fact.

Prior to the passage of the so-called Wilson bill the rich hills and fertile valleys of that section, so well adapted to this industry, were dotted everywhere with sheep. The sheep raisers were prosperous, and as a result the communities were also prosperous. And then came the change, and in 1896 the flocks had disappeared from our hills. The sheep were sold for 50 cents and \$1 per head, "for mutton only" was an accomplished fact.

With the return of the Republican Party to power and the passage of the Dingley law these same men, anxious to again engage in this business, sent to other parts of the country for sheep, but it was 10 years at least before the industry was again firmly established, and millions of dollars had been lost to that section of the country. Do you wonder, then, that our people look with disfavor on this attempt to repeat the conditions of 1896?

In 1909, for my own county of Greene, the Census Bureau gives the following data:

Farms on which sheep are raised	1,615
Fleeces of wool marketed	135,791
Number of wool-bearing sheep	141,373
Number of pounds of wool produced	842,495
Value (practically 30 cents per pound)	\$291,447

This county has a population of but 30,000 people. Assuming that on each farm there will be an average of six persons, and you have almost one-third of the entire population engaged partly in the raising of sheep. The reduction of the duties, as proposed by the Underwood bill, will mean a loss, as I figure it, of more than \$50,000 annually to the people of this county alone—will take away all the profit from the industry and in a few years destroy it entirely.

Mr. Chairman, in considering this bill we are face to face with the question of whether the tariff on wool shall be such as will protect our citizens who raise sheep on land worth from \$60 to \$100 per acre, where they must feed the sheep grain many months of the year, where they employ men who receive living wages and who enjoy the benefits of our high standard of living; who pay taxes to keep up the best of schools, build good roads, and make for themselves and families a community life of culture and refinement, or whether that tariff shall be one for revenue only, too small to give any adequate protection to our own people, who have their money invested and have given the best years of their lives to the study of this industry, and which will compel our people to compete with the countries where land is worth but a few dollars per acre, where the sheep graze 12 months of the year, where men live like uncivilized beings on the unkept, boundless domains of a country where modern living and culture are unknown.

From Speech of Hon. A. W. Eucher (Democrat) of Colorado, in the House of Representatives.

I am not at all amazed that my friend from Massachusetts (Mr. Peters) failed to say a word concerning the raw-wool proposition in his speech, nor as to its effect upon the sheepman. When he made his speech at the last session he electrified us by tracing these sheep from the rocky hills of Vermont down through Connecticut, on through this country, eating up everything they could reach—land had gotten so high that the sheep could not justifiably be raised upon it—following them diligently out across the American desert and across the trackless plains, making them climb the snowcaps of the Rocky Mountains, driving them, with their tongues lolling out and their tails hanging behind them, through the desert of Death Valley and beyond into the Pacific Ocean, where he left them eating crabs. (Laughter.) Today there is a different story. A change has "come over the spirit of his dream." There has been an appreciable bit of ground swell. The people of the

West are a little dissatisfied. Ohio is a big wool State and they are looking a little to the future. The sheep business is not disintegrating so rapidly after all, and it may become necessary for us to hold on to it a little longer, and this impression has prompted some faint effort to show that we can survive under this bill.

I desire to refer for a moment to a statement made by my distinguished friend from Alabama (Mr. Underwood) to the effect that the sheep growers of this country have ample protection, that there was a healthy competition existing, and that the report of the Tariff Board would show this. There is a striking dissimilarity between his present line of thought and that of last year, when he, too, indulged in the pleasing occupation of driving these sheep clear out into the Pacific Ocean as a preliminary to our relinquishing the sheep-growing business entirely. With a view to my further enlightenment upon the subject, I took occasion to analyze this report to some extent, and discovered a few large figures, minus the fractions, which accommodated themselves to my understanding. I find that the total labor cost, including the shearing of the sheep and their handling in this country and the competing countries, Australia and South America, was as follows: In the United States, on 52,000,000 sheep—that is all we now have—lambs and all, \$47,580,000; in South America the cost was \$15,080,000; in Australia it was \$7,280,000.

Mr. Chairman, I am going to agree with my friend Underwood in one respect with reference to the Tariff Board. I do not think it was necessary for them to go to that country to get this information. Most of the material information concerning these costs was available in any trade journal. We are perfectly familiar with the geography of that country. We know its climate, we know its area, we know of its immense pampas, we know how many sheep they have, we know also the character of the labor they employ.

With regard to the cost of feeding these 52,000,000 sheep, and dealing in these large figures again, we find that in the United States it is \$23,400,000; in

South America it is \$18,200,000; in Australia, our competitor, as is recognized by everybody, it is only \$4,160,000, as against \$23,000,000 in the United States. That, it will be observed, is for feeding. Of course the climatic condition there is a matter of common knowledge. The sheep can run the year round. The growers there procure a lease for 40 years and are at liberty to fence the land in. Then we should bear in mind the amount of the taxes on 52,000,000 sheep. In this country the annual tax is \$2,000,000, while in Australia it is \$1,000,000, or perhaps a little in excess of that sum. Then there is a very considerable difference in the relative cost of getting the wool into the domestic market as between the two countries, the western American producer paying just three times as much as the foreigner to lay his wool down in the markets of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, for instance, and this item of transportation alone consumes the duty, so far as the western woolgrower is concerned.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR STRIKERS.

From the Boston Journal.

Haywood at Lowell urged the strikers to stand firm and promised them help to keep the wolf from the door. He said that the same methods would be used that were used at Lawrence. That means that the general public is to be asked to send funds for the relief of the strikers, without any supervision except such as is given by the strikers' committee. With no disposition to prejudice the possibilities, the public should be warned against sending funds to anybody other than responsible persons, who can be trusted to give accurate accounting of the funds. The American public is too prone to do these things without thought.

The public is willing to watch and think through real differences between employers and employes, especially when thousands of people and families are involved. It is disposed to be generous to the weaker side. It often assumes that the striking cause is right when it is not, and furnishes funds for a cause which the strike does not repre-

sent. In Lowell, funds sent to strike committee would be understood to represent support of the principle which Mr. Haywood stated with distinctness yesterday—"Allow nothing to move you but your class interests." Outside contributions to the present strike committee are sinews for class war!

EXPORTS AND HOME MARKET.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

The products of American manufactories in 1911 aggregated \$20,000,000,000 in value, and of this vast amount about \$600,000,000 of manufactured goods ready for consumption, and \$300,000,000 of partially manufactured goods, were exported. The figures are sometimes cited as a reproach to American lack of enterprise, the assumption being that we ought to export on a much larger scale, and that we would certainly succeed in doing so if we would devote ourselves to developing the exporting faculty. It is just possible that there are other causes than lack of effort responsible for our relatively small exports of manufactured goods. The fact that we have a home market which absorbs the most of the attention of the domestic producer is one of these causes. If there was anything like the domestic demand of the United States in the great foreign exporting countries, their tables of foreign trade would show up differently. Most of them export on a large scale because they can't sell their products at home. In other words, they have to find markets abroad.

TOURISTS AND TARIFF.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

The proposition of Secretary MacVeagh that tourists and visitors should be liberally dealt with by the customs authorities sounds well, but former efforts in that direction were prolific in abuses. There can be no reasonable objection to a returning tourist bringing into the country for his personal pleasure or to be distributed as gifts to friends curious or characteristic objects

purchased in foreign countries, but that is not what most of the tourists are asking for. What they really desire is the privilege of purchasing things in countries where things are produced and sold more cheaply than in the United States in order to save money. There is no more reason why this privilege should be extended to the person who cannot go touring to order articles by mail and have them come in free of duty. The object of a protective tariff is to protect, and its usefulness should not be destroyed by permitting people who can afford to travel to enjoy advantages over those who are obliged to stay at home. That it is manifestly unfair to permit a well-to-do man to go to London and order his clothes needs no argument. If he is to have that right it had better be given to all hands. Protection means fair play for all.

JAPAN'S CHEAP LABOR.

The Protectionist has from time to time called attention to the rapid increase in manufacturing enterprises in Japan and has pointed out that so far as we are concerned the real Japanese menace consists in the abundance of cheap and clever labor rather than in the army or the navy of the Island Kingdom.

The following paragraph from the latest report of Consul General Sammons illustrates this point:

The manufacture of phonographs in Japan by Americans continues to prove successful, and in some branches native Japanese laborers produce approximately similar results at about one-fourth the wages paid in the United States. The directors of the Nipponophone Co. in their semi-annual report state that as the result of an increase in business of 50 per cent. over the first six months of the year 1911, they are able to pay a dividend of 10 per cent., placing the stock on a 20 per cent. per annum basis. The company has 31 branches and 106 agents. It plans to increase its stock on hand from \$100,000 to \$200,000 in order to supply dealers and agents promptly.

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JUN 1912
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The Protectionist

JUNE, 1912

The Presidential Primary

Reciprocity a Dead Issue

Protection for the Automobile Industry

Home Rule and the Imperial Tariff

Tariff Planks in Republican Platforms

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PUBLISHED BY THE

HOME MARKET CLUB

77 Summer St., Boston, Mass.

Vol. XXIV. No. 2.

10 Cents Each, \$1.00 a Year

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THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress.

Signed articles are not to be understood as expressing the views of the editor or publishers.

VOL. XXIV.

JUNE, 1912.

No. 278

THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY.

On March 11, 1912, Massachusetts swung into line with the western and southern states in favor of a presidential primary for the nomination of candidates for the presidency. The bill adopted by the Massachusetts legislature contained the following provisions:

1. In any year in which candidates for presidential electors are to be elected, the election of delegates and of alternate delegates to national conventions of political parties shall be by direct plurality vote in primaries.

The number of district delegates and the number of district alternate delegates: not less than one from each congressional district shall be fixed by the State committee. Notice of the number of delegates to be elected shall be given by the State committee to the secretary of the Commonwealth on or before the third Wednesday in March.

2. Such primaries shall be held on the last Tuesday in April.

In cities and towns where the question of holding primaries by wards, precincts or groups of precincts is determined by the aldermen or selectmen, notice of such determination shall be given to the secretary of the Commonwealth by the aldermen or selectmen on or before the third Wednesday in March.

3. In Boston such primaries shall be held in the precincts as they existed at the last preceding city election, and in

Ward 26 of said city there shall be but one polling place.

4. In primaries at which delegates to national conventions of political parties are elected, the secretary of the Commonwealth shall cause to be placed upon the ballots of such political party the names of candidates for the nomination by such political party for the office of President of the United States and of Vice-President of the United States, and each voter may express his preference for such candidates in the same manner as in voting for candidates for State offices to be voted for by all the voters of the Commonwealth. The nomination of candidates for nomination for the office of President of the United States and of Vice-President of the United States shall be made by nomination papers as in the case of offices to be filled by all the voters of the Commonwealth. The votes cast for preference shall be returned and canvassed in the same manner as in the case of votes for State offices to be filled by all the voters of the Commonwealth, and the secretary of the Commonwealth shall forthwith certify the result to the State Committees of the respective political parties.

5. All existing provisions of law relating to primaries not inconsistent with this act shall apply thereto as far as practicable.

6. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

The bill received without delay the signature of Governor Foss. The Governor is reported to have said in regard to this measure, "I have signed without a moment's delay the act of the legislature for presidential primaries."

The Roosevelt campaign committee issued a statement in which they claimed the passage of the presidential primary bill "was a great triumph for the whole people of this state," and declared this action to be "to the everlasting credit of this state."

In accordance with the provisions of this law the state wide primary was held on April 30 and resulted in a condition of affairs which was far from creditable to the political intelligence of the Commonwealth. After a most astounding campaign in which President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt indulged in extreme personalities, and the Republican party was rent in twain, a vote was cast which was inconclusive in its results and left neither faction of the party in a position to claim "everlasting credit." By an unfortunate complication there were nine candidates for delegate-at-large in favor of President Taft, and some 13,000 ballots were rendered void, because nine Taft delegates were voted for when the instructions on the ballot called for only eight. In this way a decided victory for President Taft was frustrated, and delegates-at-large pledged to Colonel Roosevelt were elected notwithstanding the preferential vote of the state went in favor of President Taft. There is still some doubt as to how the delegates will vote at the convention. Colonel Roosevelt immediately instructed them to observe

the preference of the voters, but several of the delegates claim that they will stand by Roosevelt to the end.

This first attempt at presidential primaries has not won approval for this system in any quarter. The Boston Transcript declared, "Never before in the history of Massachusetts politics has there been so much blundering and confusion in the operation of the machinery provided for obtaining a record of the popular will." The New York Sun said, "The most vital aspect of the primary must not be lost sight of, that is, the utter and vicious folly of nominating a president by such a loose and misleading method." The New York Journal of Commerce declared, "The exhibition that has been made in the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts is the most emphatic demonstration of the pernicious result of thus outraging the fundamental principle of representative government." F. B. Sanborn, writing to the Springfield Republican, expresses the opinion: "Everything is muddled, nobody is benefited and the State is disgraced, all for what?" The New York Evening Post said: "The vote of Massachusetts will be spoken of as indecisive, but it will decide some things. It did not settle the presidential nomination, but it left no doubts on certain points. One is that the Republican party is in grave danger of being wrecked." It is the opinion of the New York Times that "Whatever the full returns may show, a preference primary, as the plan has worked in Massachusetts this year, is a first-rate device for splitting a party wide-open and inviting defeat on election day;" and, referring to the details of the system, "The ballot put into the hands of the

voters of Massachusetts was a crazy and monstrous thing, clumsy, illogical in form and arrangement, and abounding in pitfalls for the unwary voter. The Democratic ballot was still more ludicrously illogical. The old primary and convention system may have been open to objection, but for any electorate save one confined within the walls of an insane asylum its advantages over this Massachusetts are many and obvious." The Boston Herald said: "The presidential preference is thus a device for conferring authority to that minority which is willing to go to the polls. In Pennsylvania 20 per cent. of the Republican voters accomplished a Roosevelt 'landslide,' and in Illinois 7 per cent." Instead of fulfilling the prophecy of the Roosevelt Committee that this measure would bring everlasting credit to the State, the New York World declares that "the Massachusetts presidential primaries reflect no credit upon either Taft, Roosevelt or the State of Massachusetts." The astounding spectacle, which presidential primaries have called forth, of the President and an ex-President, both members of the same party, assailing each other on the stump, has attracted attention beyond our own borders. Mr. A. Bonar Law, the Unionist leader in the House of Commons, brought forth laughter and applause by these comments on the unutterable confusion of the political situation: "There is an election going on in the United States at this moment. It is very interesting. No style of ours, new or old, comes up to that level."

The primaries have failed to draw out the full vote of either party; they have opened the doors to the partici-

pation in party actions of men who have never been allied with the party and whose allegiance has heretofore been with the opposing party. They have buried important issues under the clamor of insistent controversies, and personalities have usurped the place of principles.

The record of the presidential primary in all of the states where it has been adopted marks a trail of demoralization and disgust from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific.

"And Massachusetts, God forgive her,
She's a kneelin' with the rest."

Referring to the recent action of the New York Chamber of Commerce indorsing a "free ship" bill, the Marine Journal says: "Thirty or forty years ago there wasn't a member of this old and honored organization that would have had the courage to face his fellow members with such a resolution. Had he dared to do it, it would have bred a riot. Some of our readers may not understand this radical change in the members and their opinions during the years that have elapsed since it was loyal to the American ship; the cause is a simple one. In those good old days American shipowners and those connected with the marine industry were really the Chamber of Commerce. It was organized practically by those engaged in ship owning and operating, and their progeny became more largely interested in American shipping, which gave this great port its start toward the prosperity it has attained. But now this Chamber is in the control of those interested directly and indirectly in the promotion of foreign shipping."

RECIPROCITY A DEAD ISSUE.

Induced by the exigencies of the campaign, President Taft adopted the astounding course of publishing a personal letter which he wrote to Colonel Roosevelt in January, 1911, a few weeks before the reciprocity compact was submitted to Congress. This remarkable letter is published below.

[Confidential.]

The White House,
Washington, Jan. 10, 1911.

My Dear Theodore:

... Just at present I am in the midst of reciprocity matters, and it would gratify me a great deal to talk over with you this issue. I have, as you have known, always been a low-tariff and downward-revision man, and the reason why I favored the last tariff bill and praised it as the best one we had ever had was: That the consideration of it on its passage and the efforts of those who defended it afterward to show that it was a downward revision were all a concession by the Republican party that downward revision was necessary, and that the rule upheld by Shaw and Cannon and other standpatters of the orthodox type that no tariff could be too high, because what you needed was a Chinese wall, had been departed from. Now, the probability is that we shall reach an agreement with our Canadian friends by which all natural products—cereals, lumber, dairy products, fruits, meats and cattle—shall enter both countries free, and that we shall get a revision—not as heavy a one as I would like, but a substantial one, and equivalent certainly to the French reciprocity treaty and probably more—on manufactures.

The truth is that the minute that we adopt in convention the proposal that our tariff should be measured by the difference in the cost of production we necessarily adopt a rule which would lead us straight to reciprocity in natural products with Canada, because the conditions in the two countries are so sim-

ilar that there is substantially no difference in the cost of production. Possibly labor is slightly lower in some parts of Canada than in the United States, but it is also higher in some parts, and the adoption of free trade would rapidly increase the cost of labor in those parts where it is cheaper in Canada, so that the conditions would be the same.

It might at first have a tendency to reduce the cost of food products somewhat; it would certainly make the reservoir much greater and prevent fluctuations. Meantime the amount of Canadian products we would take would produce a current of business between western Canada and the United States that would make Canada only an adjunct of the United States. It would transfer all their important business to Chicago and New York, with their bank credits and everything else, and it would increase greatly the demand of Canada for our manufactures. I see this is an argument against reciprocity made in Canada, and I think it is a good one.

The proposition is to make an arrangement by which we shall present to both houses of Congress an identical bill, and pass it as an agreement for joint legislation. In this way we would avoid the necessity for two-thirds in the Senate, and would secure at once the consent of the House, which in tariff matters is generally regarded as necessary, at any rate. This will cause a great commotion, I presume. It will be unpopular in New York because of certain lumber manufacturing interests and the dairy interests. It will be unpopular in Minnesota because of wheat; but on the other hand, free lumber will be popular in some places, and as it includes free paper and free wood pulp we may count on the fairly good support of the press.

This letter, of course, I must ask you to regard as confidential, though I would be glad to have you discuss with your colleagues on the Outlook such a proposition, and should be glad to hear from you as to your judgment of it. I

think it may break the Republican party for awhile. As Elihu Root said when I talked with him yesterday, it may be an entering wedge against protection, although it is not inconsistent with the principle of protection as we laid it down in Chicago. Of course it will be said against it that we are taking agriculture and making it suffer first before we tackle wool and cotton. The bill is not likely to pass the present Congress, and before the new Congress comes together I think I shall be able to make some recommendations as to the wool and cotton schedules and present a problem to the Democrats which they are not likely to find an easy one. At least, it will show the hypocrisy of some people. Of course this is no ground whatever for introducing and pressing such a measure. I believe it to be right, and if it leads, on the other hand, to a reduction in wool and cotton manufactures to the lowest figures and to what is a real measure of the difference in the cost of production, so much the better.

I shall be glad to hear from you as soon as you conveniently can write on this subject, because the matter is just at hand, and it is quite likely that within 10 days we shall reach an agreement.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Outlook*,
New York.

Roosevelt's Reply.

Office of Theodore Roosevelt,
The Outlook, 287 Fourth Ave.,
New York, Jan. 12, 1911.

Dear Mr. President:

I at once took in your letter and went over it with the Outlook editors. . . .

It seems to me that what you propose to do with Canada is admirable from every standpoint.

I firmly believe in free trade with Canada for both economic and political reasons. As you say, labor cost is substantially the same in the two countries so that you are amply justified by the platform.

Whether Canada will accept such reciprocity I do not know, but it is greatly to your credit to make the effort.

It may damage the Republican party

in the end, especially if you tackle wool, cotton, etc., as you propose.

Ever, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The Hon. Wm. H. Taft, President of
the United States, The White
House, Washington, D. C.

Had the above letter been published during the reciprocity debate, intense excitement would have been created in Canada, and the outcome of the measure would not have been in doubt for a moment. Canada had been told that it was "at the parting of the ways" by the President, and he "hoped to see the flag flying all the way to the North Pole," by Champ Clark. Colonel Roosevelt's answer to the Taft letter would have convinced all Canada that a definite plot was under way to absorb the Dominion. Colonel Roosevelt expressed himself as strongly in favor of reciprocity as President Taft had done. "I firmly believe," he said, "in free trade with Canada for both economic and political reasons."

London papers have commented severely upon what they term "Taft's plot against Canada." The Daily Mail said: "Englishmen will ask themselves what wrong the British Empire has done to the United States that the American government should deliberately set to work to plot the absorption of the splendid Dominion of which our nation is so proud. At best, it was an unfriendly act." The Post: "All Englishmen ought to think well over this; that the Americans pressed for reciprocity to make Canada an adjunct of the United States." The Standard: "President Taft has been goaded into candor. He has been induced to admit that Champ Clark, the indiscreet, was correct in his ac-

count of the genesis of the Ottawa-Washington negotiations. It was in his mind, and that of his colleagues, that commercial union would be a stepping-stone to political union, and so eventually to a fusion of Canada with the United States and the dismemberment of the British Empire."

It would be difficult to find in all political correspondence a more indiscreet letter than that written by President Taft to Colonel Roosevelt, and it would be difficult to match in all our political history the indiscretion of giving publicity to such a letter. It must be admitted that the course of President Taft in this whole matter has been more consistent and praise-worthy than has the course of Colonel Roosevelt. A year ago Colonel Roosevelt firmly believed in free trade with Canada for "economic and political reasons." Now he claims that he had not given the subject sufficient consideration, and he is unalterably opposed to such a measure.

These strong expressions in favor of free trade with Canada for economic and political reasons were bravely recanted by Colonel Roosevelt in his Worcester speech April 26. He said: "Later when I came to look up the matter, however, I became convinced that the reciprocity agreement as passed by Mr. Taft was unwise and undesirable, because it improperly sacrificed the interests of our farmers and fishermen, and because it carried indefensible actions on paper. Nevertheless, because I had stated that I would support the treaty, I said not one word against it until it was dead."

President Taft declared to the Ohio voters: "I would not have

your votes if I had to take back what I really believed was for your interest. But I appeal to you whether it is a square deal for a man to change right in the nick of time when he wants votes, although we both were for reciprocity. Now that is a condition I would like to have you study. It is a dead issue, and I see no reason for voting one way or the other so far as reciprocity is concerned, but I ask for a square deal."

Thus are the obsequies spoken of Canadian reciprocity by a man who brought the issue clearly before the people of the United States and Canada, and not for a generation will this measure be revived. "It is a dead issue."

PROTECTION FOR AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY.

Manufacturers Protest Against a Reduction of Duty.

A strong protest against the reduction of the duty on automobiles from 45 per cent., as established by the Payne-Aldrich law, to 40 per cent., the rate proposed by the Underwood bill, or 35 per cent. as proposed by the Cummins' amendment, has been filed with the Finance Committee by a committee of motor-car manufacturers.

No American industry affords a better illustration of the operation of a protective tariff than the manufacture of motor cars, and no industry shows such a large growth in the census figures on manufactures. In the five years from 1899 to 1904, the number of wage earners employed showed an increase of 437.7 per cent., and the increase in the

value of the products was 532.6 per cent. From 1904 to 1909 the increase in wage earners was 528.4 per cent., and the increase in the value of products 729.7 per cent. The capital employed in motor car manufacture in 1909 was \$173,837,000, and the wages paid amounted to \$48,694,000. The total value of products for that year amounted to \$249,202,000. This enormous development was made possible by the protective tariff, and under such a tariff the largest motor vehicle industry in the world has been built up.

The committee of motor-car manufacturers protested against a reduction of duty until an exhaustive, intelligent and impartial inquiry into the conditions of the industry can be made by the Tariff Board. In urging a proper protective tariff the committee says:

"A proper protective tariff protects. A hairsplitting measure of protection only partially protects and stimulates imports and the commerce and industries of foreign countries to a greater or less degree.

"Were it not for the protective-tariff policy of this country at the time the motor-car industry came on the horizon, almost countless millions of dollars would have gone abroad for motor vehicles, by reason of the earlier start of the industry in Europe, and American artisans would have gone without many millions of wages which the tariff has enabled them to earn.

"The commercial-vehicle branch of the industry today stands in its incipient stage. In Europe it is well established and the vehicles generally in common vogue.

"Ought a change in tariff policy be adopted by which the importation of foreign-made commercial vehicles will be stimulated and the business of European motor-vehicle manufacturers promoted? Ought the use of the American markets as a dumping ground for excess products of European cheap labor be stimulated by unwise tariff reduction?"

"A proper and wise tariff is the only safeguard."

Dealing with the question of wages, the committee asserts that the wages paid abroad are one-third to one-half the wages paid in American factories, and that this difference in compensation to American artisans is maintained by the tariff. European artisans are as productive and skillful as are those employed in American factories, and the European operatives have the same American machinery to work with. In the plant of the Fiat Company in Italy \$200,000 worth of American machinery is installed; in the Hotchkiss Company in France \$175,000 worth, and among the other companies which are large users of American machinery are the Isotta, Clement, deDietrich, Darracq, Berliot, deDion and Panhard.

There is no monopoly in the manufacture of motor cars. The industry is conducted under relentless competition. Motor cars have decreased in price and increased in quality each year. A very considerable export trade has been developed, because America has most successfully developed a cheap motor vehicle, and the greater part of our export trade consists of cars of this type.

A 5 per cent. reduction in duty as

proposed by the Underwood Bill would result in a saving to the European manufacturer of \$100 on a car valued at \$2,000. To reduce the cost of a similar car of American manufacture would require a reduction in wages of approximately 8 per cent. In the early stages of the industry motor-car manufacturers purchased a large portion of their accessories from European factories, but the purchase of these supplies abroad has been discontinued to a great extent by reason of the operation of the tariff, which has transferred this production to the United States, where these articles are made by American labor. Many European factories have established branches in this country, employing American labor, and distributing large sums annually in this country, instead of diverting from this country an immense sum of money each year. A reduction of duties beyond the point of protection would result in the closing of these American branches, and of many American plants, and the manufacture of the product in foreign countries.

The committee points out that when an industry is once transferred to a foreign country for economic causes, resulting from the legislation of Congress, to again secure its removal back to the closed and abandoned American plants, would require the restoration of tariff rates in excess of the hairsplitting rate based on the difference in the cost of production in this country and abroad, because something more than equal conditions of cost of manufacture would be necessary to re-establish the industries in America, or to encourage new industries, or promote the extension

of those existing. The committee appeals to Congress for the establishment of stable conditions surrounding industry and commerce, and urges a business administration of business matters, and that the political discussion of tariff rates should no longer menace our prosperity. The tariff should be considered as a business question, and treated as all business questions should be considered, that is, strictly on the merits of the facts.

"Let us have tariff peace."

HOME RULE AND THE IMPERIAL TARIFF.

By a Student of English Politics.

In last month's Protectionist the writer, inspired by the fiscal vagaries of our anti-tariff Bristol cabinet, propounded the query: What is Free Trade? The chief of that body, not content with the dumb acquiescence in its vigorous assertion of free trade doctrines, had ostentatiously celebrated "the obsequies of Tariff Reform" in the last session of Parliament, leaving, one would have thought, no loophole for doubt as to the fiscal convictions of such a speaker.

The greater, therefore, is the mystery underlying the proposals incorporated by this same cabinet in its Irish Home Rule bill. In spite of its many professions of a desire to increase by this measure the unity of the Empire, Americans in particular will seek in vain for any consistency between these aims and the inevitable effect of the bill.

It is not too much to say that the United States of today owes its existence to the replacing of individual state tariffs by a single national

measure controlling the collection of customs duties on a uniform basis. Similarly, Germany had found it necessary, even before the consolidation of the Empire as a result of the War of 1870, to institute a Zollverein, abolishing thereby a maze of differential duties among the principalities. Great Britain, however, assuming that Mr. Asquith and his fellow ministers represent the views of the electorate, appears to think that all these efforts were wrong in theory and practice and that Imperial unity is to be secured by setting up fiscal barriers between integral portions of the Empire.

Not even the existing preferential arrangement voluntarily conceded by Canada can be held sacred if such views prevail. One may wonder, indeed,—still reasoning on the hypothesis of a peoples' mandate—why Britain manifested such relief and gratitude on learning of the Canadian overthrow of last year's Washington pact. The alternative question arises: Did the English people really know what they were rejoicing over, or is it possible that the Premier and his colleagues are, after all, non-representative of British public opinion?

Be this as it may, they must by this time be well aware of what is now in store for them if this bill weathers the storms of Parliament. The power with which the Irish Parliament is to be endowed to increase to any extent all excise duties, the rates of customs duties on beer and spirits and, with a limitation of 10 per cent., those on other taxed commodities, is ministerially defended as enabling the poorer classes to benefit by remissions on tea, sugar, etc. But

nothing is said about the fact that this introduces a differential customs rate operating against English, Scotch and Welsh, who, under the bill, will have to provide large annual subsidies for the maintenance of purely Irish services. Not only so, but an increase of customs duty on spirits and beer would operate as a protective impost, tending to drive English and Scotch distillers and brewers out of the Irish market.

Even the ultra free trade "Spectator" is moved to protest against the possibility of handicapping English trade by the indirect method of reducing the excise duty on tobacco by half, thus enabling Irish manufacturers or merchants to retail tobacco in England through the post office, "at prices which would completely undersell the English traders." The same journal points out that there is nothing in the bill to prevent the system of bounties which prevailed under the ante 1800 Irish Parliament. "Part of the joke would be to see the poor English free trade pig squealing under the treatment meted out to him by Hibernian Protectionists."

Mr. Bonar Law, the Unionist leader, puts the matter in a nut-shell in stating that "every ship coming from Ireland to the United Kingdom will have to be examined, and every parcel and every passenger will have to be examined." And this drastic differentiation between individual units of a kingdom, separated by only a few miles of sea, is to be accomplished in the name of "free trade" and as a part of our effort to secure a larger measure of unity for the Empire of which Ireland is a part. Could inconsistency further go?

AMERICAN FABRICS AND AMERICAN CLOTHES.

William M. Wood, in the New York Sun.

Though the American wool manufacture increased more heavily in the five years between 1904 and 1909 than in any other ten years prior to 1900 in the history of the industry, this growth is not abnormal. It is only a natural and legitimate part of the general industrial expansion of the United States. The amount of capital invested in the woolen and worsted mills of this country shows an increase from \$256,000,000 in 1899 to \$415,000,000 in 1909, or 62 per cent. for the entire decade. During the same time the value of the products of the industry increased from \$213,000,000 to \$419,000,000, or 76 per cent. Between 1904 and 1909 the gain in value of product was more than \$100,000,000.

Great mills have been erected and elaborately equipped, and prosperous smaller mills have enlarged and modernized their facilities. Yet in years of normal business there ought to be employment for all of this woolen and worsted machinery. The United States is the best market for woolen and worsted fabrics in the world. Its people are the most prosperous. They expect to buy and have the money to buy the most durable and comfortable clothing. Most of these fabrics come from American mills, but it must not be forgotten that wool manufactures of a duty-paid value of not less than \$35,000,000 are annually purchased from abroad. These fabrics, or most of them, ought also to be manufactured in America. If this were done there would be no lack of employment, no idle or unprofitable machinery.

It ought to be a point of pride with all American citizens to wear American clothing made out of American fabrics, than which there are no better in the world. Merchants who handle both American and foreign goods have frankly testified of late years to the superiority of American clothes in the beauty of their designs and the durability of the fabrics and their colors. These facts are more and more adequately realized by the purchasers themselves. Both in men's wear and in dress goods the proportion of American fabrics bought and worn in the United States is steadily increasing.

But imports of \$35,000,000 a year, duty paid, are larger than they ought to be. They show that some of our people still retain the old provincial preference for foreign goods. It is quite likely that the total number of people of this kind is decreasing, but there is very little excuse in our time for the notion they cherish.

The newest and best American mills are equipped with the best machinery that can be procured on this or the other side of the Atlantic. The employes of these mills are paid twice the wages of the expert English operatives for doing the same amount and quality of work. This fact the Tariff Board report has lately demonstrated. This Tariff Board report, by the way, pays a compliment to the alert and progressive methods of American manufacturers. Agents of the board found abroad that "foreign manufacturers do not keep their costs in any such detail" as do the best American mills. Good machinery, high wages and administrative efficiency should certainly enable these American mills to produce fabrics

as good as the very best of their overseas competitors. I believe that they are doing this.

In an address before the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Minneapolis, ex-Vice-President Charles W. Fairbanks said: "The times in which we live admonish us that we should guard well our sacred temple of

liberty. Men are questioning the beneficence of our political institutions; they are coming to doubt each other; a note of pessimism is heard here and there; we are becoming intolerant of each other; passion takes possession of our better judgment and we rend each other in the political arena and in the market place; we are in the midst of a mad rush for wealth and place and honor."

TARIFF LEGISLATION LAGS.

Underwood Has His Old Cotton Bill Ready—Tariff Board's Work May Be Transferred—Patent Law Needs a Change
—Duties on Raw Materials Higher than on Finished Products.

From Our Washington Correspondent.

Washington, May 25, 1912.

Little progress has been made in the last month with tariff legislation. The House has done nothing on the subject. The Senate Finance Committee continued its hearings until late in April, since which time the Committee has done comparatively little tariff work. The metal bill, after long delay on the part of the Democrats in presenting a minority report, was finally brought up for consideration in the Senate, and Mr. Cummins, of Iowa, presented a substitute bill. Mr. Simmons, of North Carolina, was chosen by the Democrats to take charge of their interests in the advocacy of the House bill, and he made a speech which lasted for two days in opening the debate. Mr. Simmons is not much of a tariff expert, and his ar-

gument, if it could be dignified by that word, was not listened to by more than a few Senators. Mr. Stone, of Missouri, was scheduled to follow Mr. Simmons, and he showed considerable feeling because so few Senators listened to the vapid stuff put forth by the North Carolina Senator. Apparently Mr. Stone did not expect much more of a hearing, for he did not make his appearance in debate for weeks after Mr. Simmons closed.

Mr. Cummins took three days to deliver his speech, although it was not delivered on consecutive days, and he only occupied a couple of hours a day. Then it took him several days more to revise it before he allowed it to appear in the Congressional Record. This will illustrate the Democratic method of tariff

legislation in the Senate. The Republicans have been willing to go on with the metal bill any time the Democrats were ready, but as the Republicans oppose the measure, they are not particularly concerned about wasting time in its consideration. Hence appropriation bills and various other measures have been given consideration, and it is somewhat difficult to tell what will become of the pending tariff bills.

Underwood's Old Cotton Bill Again.

The Democrats of the Ways and Means Committee in the House have revised their old cotton bill passed last year, and have it ready for introduction whenever they think it may be worth while to fill a gap. At least Mr. Underwood says that he does not see any good of further tariff legislation in the House, unless the Senate considers these bills, and he says that he will wait and see what the Senate does before offering the cotton bill. Evidently the Democrats have given no consideration to the Tariff Board's report on the cotton bill, as they took the ground that that report was of no value.

Senator Simmons speaking for the Democrats of the Senate says that all the tariff bills will be passed in the Senate before adjournment. He says that the appropriation bills have to be given preference, as the fiscal year ends on June 30th, and it takes a good deal of time to bring the two Houses together on the appropriation bills. But Mr. Simmons does not speak for the majority of the Senate, and although he and Mr. Cummins both asserted that the tariff bills will all be passed in one form or another by the Senate, there is no certainty that such a course will be followed. The metal

bill will probably pass, and it is possible that Mr. Cummin's substitute, which is not quite so much of a free trade measure as the Democratic bill, may be passed by the Democrats and the insurgents combined. Mr. Penrose and some of the other Republicans prefer to let the Democrats pass their own bill instead of Mr. Cummin's substitute, and that may be done. It is probable that any bill that passes without the approval of the regular Republicans will be vetoed by the President.

Tariff Board May Be Continued Temporarily.

The fate of the Tariff Board hangs in the balance. The Democrats do not intend to make an appropriation for the Board, but the situation now looks as though the Board might possibly be continued, temporarily at least, with the same appropriation as it had for the existing fiscal year. The legislative and executive appropriation bill, as it passed the House, had a number of provisions attached to it which will not receive the approval of the Senate, according to the present outlook. These provisions relate to the consolidation of the bureau of Statistics and the Bureau of Manufactures in the Department of Commerce and Labor, and also to include with those two bureaus the Bureau of Trade Relations in the Department of State. These three bureaus would be combined under a new head under the Department of Commerce and Labor. There are various other provisions which have no place on an appropriation bill, and it appears now as though there might be a deadlock between the two Houses on this bill. In that case a bill would have to be passed

to continue the appropriation on the same basis as existed for the present fiscal year until the two Houses could reach an agreement. In that event the Tariff Board would continue in existence on the basis of last year's appropriation.

It is rather amusing to note how the Democrats have treated this Tariff Board matter. They favored the Board before it was created, but now Mr. Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Appropriation Committee, refers to the members of the Board as "political hacks" and says their reports are "ridiculous." Speaker Clark and others have made uncomplimentary reference to the Board, while admitting that such a Board is necessary. The legislative and executive appropriation bill as it passed the House contains a provision giving the new bureau to be created in the Department of Commerce and Labor practically all the power now given to the Tariff Board, only the bureau will not be under the direction of the President as the Tariff Board now is, and will not report to the President, except when requested by him to make a special investigation or inquiry. That provision was carried despite the opposition of Mr. Fitzgerald and some other Democrats. Hence, if that provision of the bill should be retained in the Senate the Tariff Board will be supplanted and its work continued, so far as possible without sufficient money, which would not allow it to go very far.

Law Enough But No Money.

As a matter of fact, there is a provision in the existing law which gives the Bureau of Labor in the Department of Commerce and Labor the power to do what is now

done by the Tariff Board. That provision requires the head of that Bureau, whenever called upon by the President or the House, to make reports on particular subjects, but there is little or no money available for such work. Mr. Payne, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the last Republican House, who at one time opposed a Tariff Board, now favors it, and says that all the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee in the last House, excepting Mr. Harrison, agreed in favor of a Tariff Board, but the provision for such a Board did not become a law because of a Democratic filibuster in the House at the close of the last Congress. Mr. Payne has changed his mind on the subject, but he does not seem to have very great confidence in the present Tariff Board, as he says that the majority consists of one free trader and two Democrats. Whatever may be the outcome, the present Tariff Board will not remain long in existence. It is the aim of the Democrats to get rid of it and they will succeed in that endeavor.

Patents and the Chemical Bill.

The chemical bill is brought prominently to the front by the use foreigners are making of patents in this country. Between 1900 and 1910, 4,068 patents relating to principal chemical manufactures were taken out in the United States, and 2,087, or more than one-half were issued to foreigners, of which number the Germans took out 1,754. In other words, 1,552 patents were taken out by Americans, and 2,516, or 62 per cent., by foreigners domiciled abroad, of which total 69.5 per cent. went to Germans. Patentees of foreign birth residing in the

United States, whether or not a citizen of this country, are included among the American patentees. The American market is the most valuable in the world, and the foreign inventors take advantage of it to secure patents and then control this market while not producing anything here. In this way in the chemical industry the Germans furnish our market with a large proportion of its products in some branches, at prices to suit themselves, because there can be no competition in this country. But under the laws of France, England, and other countries, including Germany, patents have necessarily to be operated in those countries, or else they become void. Since England adopted that course in 1907, over fifty foreign firms have been obliged to begin manufacturing in that country, involving an investment of about \$4,000,000 and the employment of 7,000 wage earners. In addition licenses have to be issued to English firms to produce an article unless the inventor produces it himself in that country. In that way assignments have been made of a large number of patents to be manufactured in England by English firms. Such a law in this country would benefit the people to some extent, and lessen the unfair advantage derived now by foreign patentees. The President has recommended Congress to create a commission on this matter, and that probably will be done.

Indigo as an Illustration.

Synthetic indigo is an illustration of the need of such legislation. Practically all the indigo used in this country comes from Germany where

the patents for the production of this indigo are held. The German owners of this patent have been obliged to produce the article in England and in France, and as they charge what they please for the article, so long as they can keep the price a little below that of natural indigo, they should be compelled to produce it in this country. There is no duty on indigo, but the Democrats have sought to impose such a duty, against which the cotton manufacturers are protesting loudly. The chemical bill passed by the House imposes a duty on alazarine and anthracene and dyes derived from the same, including indigo. The cotton manufacturers say that this would add considerable to the cost of indigo dyed fabrics and to low priced garments made from denims, chambrays, cheviots, and gingham, cloths used by the poor people and the working men and women over all the United States. Instead of reducing the cost of living the Democrats increase it with this kind of duties without a shadow of reason, as the purpose is not to help any industry in the United States.

Wonderful Tariff Bills.

This same kind of tariff legislation runs all through the Democratic tariff bills. For instance, bone black, manufactured from bones and used in refining cane sugar, is placed on the free list. This article is manufactured in the United States, and placing it on the free list is simply to benefit the sugar trust and kill the bone black industry in this country and throw all of the workmen employed in that industry out of work. We import \$6,000,000 worth of coal-tar dyes and produce only \$1,-

500,000 worth. We have more of the raw material than any other country in the world, but the Democrats propose to reduce the duty for the benefit of foreigners and make all of the raw material, not found in this country, dutiable. Phenolphthalein, now manufactured in this country to a small extent, is "encouraged" by reducing the duty to 15 per cent. and then imposing a 20 per cent. duty on the raw material, which has to be imported! Caffeine is protected by a duty of 23.80 per cent., but tea siftings, tea waste, etc., the otherwise worthless raw material from which caffeine is manufactured, is made dutiable at 40 per cent.! Dextrines are to be dutiable at three-fourths of a cent a pound,

but potato starch from which dextrines are to be made is to be dutiable at one and a half cents a pound, or twice as much on the raw material as on the finished product. On concentrated sulphide sodium crystals the duty is to be the same as on the same article when it is not concentrated. In other words, the duty on the raw material will be twice as much as on the finished product.

That is the kind of legislation that runs all through these Democratic tariff bills which are alleged to be for "the encouragement of American industries," though, as a matter of fact, they are certain to wipe out many industries and discourage them all.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COTTON MANUFACTURERS.

Annual Meeting—Tariff Resolutions—Extracts From Addresses of President Hobbs and J. T. Lincoln.

The ninety-second meeting of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers was held in Boston, April 24-25.

Secretary Woodbury reported that on April 1, 1911, the membership was 1,047 and the net reduction by death, resignation and non-payment of dues made the membership on April 1, 1912, 969, or about what it was on April 1, 1910. He stated that the Association has received many invitations to join with other organizations, either directly or by

delegates, but has felt obliged to decline all excepting those which were directly connected with the manufacturing or merchandising of cotton goods.

The program for the two days included many papers of much value to cotton manufacturers, but we have no space except for some portions of the addresses of President Hobbs and Jonathan T. Lincoln, of Fall River, which seem of most general interest.

Edwin F. Greene, of Boston, who

is Treasurer of the Pacific Mills, Lawrence, was elected President for the year ensuing. Frederick A. Flather, of Boston, and George P. Grant, Jr., of Fitchburg, were elected vice presidents. The directors elected were: William M. Butler, of Boston; Albert G. Duncan, Cohoes, N. Y., and William N. Kimball, Woonsocket, R. I. C. J. H. Woodbury was reappointed secretary and treasurer.

President Franklin W. Hobbs was the recipient of the 1911 medal awarded each year for the most valuable contribution to the advancement of the industry.

The committee on resolutions reported the following tariff resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The large imports of substantially all products which can be transported oversea are conclusive evidence that such products made abroad can be sold at a profit in the United States market paying present duties, and,

Whereas, This fact should convince the unprejudiced that present duties are not excessive; therefore, be it

Resolved, That in behalf of the owners of sources of production and of all producers in the United States, we urge such rates of tariff at our customs' houses as shall prevent increased importation of competing foreign products.

Resolutions were also adopted, opposing legislation directed against cotton exchanges, and urging standard tests for cloth and yarn. Another resolution directed the president to appoint a committee of three, of which he should be one, to confer with a similar committee from the American Association of Cotton Manufacturers for the purpose of forming a national council to unite the cotton manufacturing

industry of the United States on matters of general importance.

From President Hobbs' Address.

President Franklin W. Hobbs in his annual address reviewed the year in textile activities and called attention to the wave of radicalism which is rolling over the world. He said in part:

The past year has been a most unsatisfactory one for those engaged in our industry. Few mills earned dividends; most mills which paid dividends took them from surplus accumulations of other years and many mills were compelled to pass dividends entirely. Extensive curtailment was the rule, but many mills were run at a loss in order to keep operatives employed and organizations together. The results of the year 1911 throw a strong light on the condition of the industry and give a most effective answer to ignorant or malicious talk about the enormous profits of the business. I am happy to be able to add, however, that it now looks as if the long period of depression which we have just suffered is at an end and the outlook for the immediate future, at any rate, is encouraging. Unfortunately, we have ahead of us uncertainty in connection with tariff legislation and the upset in business which is inevitable in a presidential election year, and no one can predict these two disturbing factors will have on our industry and on the business of the country as a whole. Let us hope, however, that the improvement which has begun may continue and increase until once again every spindle and every loom is running, and that as a result, stockholders and operatives may enjoy a period of contentment and prosperity.

There have been two great textile labor troubles during the past six months, one in England and the other in New England. The one in England was settled by a truce between employers and employes, and during its existence it is believed that the differences will be adjusted. The trouble in New England started at Lawrence and at first involved only a question of wages, but later became much more serious, fundamental questions were raised and

the agitation spread all over New England. An increase of wages is apparently bringing these unhappy conditions to an end and it is to be hoped that the industry will be free from labor troubles for some time to come.

A year ago your attention was called to the question of "The World's Supply of Cotton" and it would seem that now we may profitably consider a few facts in connection with "The World's Consumption of Cotton."

The number of active cotton spindles in the world last year was 137,792,000; an increase since 1900 of 32,111,000 spindles or 30 per cent. In addition to the above there were 1,281,000 spindles in the United States that were not running during the year 1911, and it is estimated that the number of inactive spindles in the world was 3,000,000, which would make the total spinning spindles in all countries about 141,000,000. The mill consumption of cotton for the year ending Aug. 31, 1911, was 19,013,000 bales, as compared with 18,321,000 in 1910 and 19,397,000 bales in 1909. These figures, however, do not include the actual total consumption of cotton, for in some countries large quantities are grown and consumed without entering the world's markets and definite figures cannot be obtained for these amounts. It is estimated, however, that the total consumption of cotton during the year ending Aug. 31, 1911, was 300,000 bales more than the production of cotton from the crop of 1910. During the past year, however, the mills were not running full and in 1909 when the production was more nearly normal the consumption was 384,000 bales greater. Taking into account the total number of spindles now in the mills of the world, it is estimated that if they were all running full time the consumption of cotton would be practically 21,000,000 bales. The United States supplies about two-thirds of the world's consumption of cotton, and in general the world's consumption varies with our production. It would seem reasonable to believe, therefore, if conditions are anywhere near normal, that an American crop of from 15,000,000 to 15,500,000 will be consumed in the mills during the year ending Aug. 31, 1912.

Furthermore, assuming all the spindles of the world were run at maximum production for one year, I repeat my query of a year ago: "Where will the additional amount of cotton needed for the world and its increasing population come from?" I cannot too strongly impress upon our people the necessity of studying and solving this great problem in order that we, as a nation, may maintain in the future our unquestioned supremacy in the raw cotton production of the world.

Over a year ago, at the invitation of your board of government, a conference was held in Washington with the officers of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, and at that time it was suggested that while each association was doing good work in its own field and amalgamation was undesirable, it would be well to have some small representative body made up of officers or members of the two associations which could meet, as often as necessary, to consider national matters of vital importance to both associations.

Several conferences have been held since then and the whole matter brought up again by the president of this association at the recent meeting of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, held in Washington. I am glad to report that the recommendation was unanimously adopted.

It seems clear to me that a joint meeting of the two associations would be unwieldy and unwise, but I favor the organization of a small central body along the lines suggested. Such a body could be given power to act for the two associations on all matters where their interests were identical, and its decision would carry great weight, for it would act in behalf of practically all the cotton manufacturers in the country. At present the members of one association are largely interested in mills in the South and of the other in the North. I believe it well that this should be so, for each association has its field of usefulness and, locally, can be of greater service than would be the case if only one association existed. On the other hand, I sincerely hope that this matter will receive favorable action by our Association at this meeting, so that steps may

be taken as soon as possible to perfect the formation of some sort of a representative national body.

The manufacture of textiles is the oldest of American industries and cotton was spun and woven here over twenty years before it was in England. It is worthy of especial note, at the present time, that cotton manufacturing is one of the great industries which has been carried on in a strictly competitive way and without great combinations of any kind. In comparison with most other industries the net profits on the actual capital invested have been, on the average, no more than the rate of interest charged by banks for commercial discounts. Yet such have been the skill and integrity shown in the conduct of the business that it has commended itself to conservative investors and the fairly uniform, moderate earnings, year in and year out, have justified this confidence. Last September your attention was called to the very large number of small investors who are vitally interested in the future welfare of the industry, a fact which has not been fully appreciated by our legislators, state and national, but which is now beginning to be realized. With a full realization of the importance of our industry, and its allied interests, I am confident we shall see an end to the unwarranted and misguided attacks which have been directed against it and as a result the industry will develop more rapidly than ever and enter upon an era of great prosperity which it deserves.

There has been so much talk of late about the unhealthful conditions under which the textile industry is carried on that it seems well to state a few facts and thus contradict the misstatements that have been made in the attempt to prejudice the public against our business. We find contented, happy, well-paid people working in large, clean, well-lighted, well-ventilated rooms, amid healthful surroundings, far better in every way than their homes and the healthiest places they are ever in.

The laws of Massachusetts require in the public schools 300 cubic feet of air space per pupil and 30 cubic feet of fresh air per minute per pupil. In a spinning mill in Lawrence, Mass., there

are actually 3,000 cubic feet of air space per operative in the mill and the ventilating system furnishes 50 cubic feet of fresh air per minute per operative—air which is cooled in summer and warmed in winter. You will note that the operatives are furnished ten times the air space and nearly twice the amount of fresh air per minute which is required by law for the school children of the state. One of the state medical inspectors, who has made a great study of hygiene and health conditions among all classes of people, recently told me he would state without hesitation and with knowledge gained by actual investigation, that the hygienic conditions in many Massachusetts mills are better than those in any schoolhouse in the state. These are facts but, unfortunately, many well-meaning people, utterly ignorant of the facts, have proclaimed so loudly, in season and out of season, that a textile mill is not a fit place for men and women to work in, that the public has begun to believe it is so. If our philanthropic friends would take the time and trouble necessary to get at the facts, I am sure they would agree with me that the legislators would better turn their attention for a time to the conditions existing in the homes of the operatives and attempt to bring them up to the high standard already found in the mills.

Let us consider the following facts: The modern factory has abolished the sweat shop; the regular life and hours have, of necessity, lessened dissipation; there can be no over-crowding from the very nature of the machinery; labor laws have greatly reduced the hours of work; all sorts of devices lessen hard labor; each new machine not only lessens labor but enables men to earn their livings in less time; it was the necessity of our mills that first made possible the development of humidification and cooling of air which now gives comfort to the afflicted in our hospitals; the incandescent electric lamp was also a development caused by the demand of the mills for a light which would not vitiate the air and which could be placed where needed; libraries, rest-rooms, lunch rooms and Y. M. C. A. rooms are found everywhere; a higher standard of living

exists; the best sanitary and hygienic conditions known are found in the mills. It will be seen, therefore, that the modern factory life does not injure mentally, morally and physically those who are a part of it, but that the contrary is true, and that the modern factory system has been instrumental in lifting the life of the people to a higher plane.

We may well pause a moment to consider some phases of the way in which radicalism has swept over the country, in fact, I may say over the world, for it does not seem limited to any country or any people. In our own country there has been so much talk and so much denunciation of the established order of things that one naturally begins to wonder if, after all, this nation and its form of government are failures. So much has been said about the "Rule of the People" that we are almost led to believe that our rights have been taken from us. It is claimed that we need new laws, new methods and a general over-turning of old customs. It seems to me, however, that we do not need new laws nor more laws, we do not need new methods nor quicker methods of making laws, but that we do need a greater respect for the laws already existing and a firmer belief in law and order itself. Justice Story, one of our great jurists, said, "Ours is emphatically a government of laws, not of men." That doctrine was sound when he enunciated it, it is sound today, and it will be sound always.

It is now claimed by some that "the people" can never do wrong and that their opinion, often expressed under stress of excitement or swayed by the misrepresentations of demagogues, shall prevail regardless of law and that if the courts decide that such an expression is illegal so much the worse for the courts, for it is now proposed to make the decisions of the courts themselves amenable to popular clamor. If such things come to pass of what value are the principles of justice embodied in our common laws for the protection of all and why have a written constitution sacredly agreed to by the representatives of all the people in order to safeguard the rights of the minority as well as the rights of those temporarily in a majority?

It seems clear to me that as a result of this talk, criticism and denunciation on the part of the politicians and demagogues there has followed quite naturally a growth of socialistic ideas and Socialism throughout the country. The agitators have sown discontent and dissatisfaction and the country is reaping socialism and anarchism.

From Address of J. T. Lincoln.

Discussing the labor and wage question, Jonathan T. Lincoln of Fall River said:

The chief criticism which we have to meet from these reformers is that wages in our industry are, as they say, sub-normal, or, in other words, that cotton mill operatives do not receive a living wage. This criticism is in some measure just—the average wage in the textile industry is lower than in many others; a skilled weaver receives less than a skilled mechanic, but it requires three years' apprenticeship to become an average machinist, while one can learn to weave in three weeks; yet comparing cotton manufacturing with other industries requiring no greater skill on the part of the operatives the criticism is without foundation. When the management of a retail store refuses to hire shop girls unless they live at home, because the rate of wages is too low to permit the individual worker to buy food, shelter and clothing, we call that industry sub-normal. The cotton industry, however, does not belong in this classification. I do not know how the operatives in other industrial centres feel, but I do know that in my own city of Fall River the working people themselves resent the sympathy extended by these reformers—resent the imputation that cotton mill operatives are a race of paupers. In the factory, as in all other industries, wages depend to a marked degree upon individual efficiency. It is no uncommon thing in our textile towns for a family of operatives to receive a total annual income of \$2,000; it is no uncommon thing for the families to own their home and put away tidy sums in the savings banks. But the reformers seldom mention these instances that are quite as characteristic

as the distressing cases to which they point as a natural result of the family wage system.

Another illustration of the unjust attitude of sentimental social reformers towards the manufacturer may be found in the child labor agitation which a few years ago furnished the cheap magazines with such a wealth of sensational copy and placed the Southern cotton mills in such an unfavorable position in the public mind. About twenty years ago the cotton industry in the South commenced that remarkable development which transformed the States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia from agricultural to manufacturing communities. To the student familiar with the development of the cotton industry in Lancashire and in New England the employment of children in Southern mills must have appeared to be a natural consequence of industrial evolution. On the farms from which the operatives came to the manufacturing towns each child had his own work to do—that the parents expected of them; and if on the farms children contributed to the family support the parents naturally asked, "why not in the factories?" It was so in Lancashire in the early days of the factory system, it was so in Lowell when that industry was first introduced into New England.

The recent strike at Lawrence directs our attention to another phase of the labor problem to which we shall be compelled with increasing necessity to devote our attention, the question of immigration. For one, I do not look with fear at the rising tide of immigration and I believe that we should gladly welcome to our shores men and women of all nations. The Greek brings to America the latent culture of the land of Socrates, the same blood that ran in the veins of Kosciusko animates the Lithuanian, the spirit of Kossuth comes to us with the Hungarian, Dante was an Italian, nay more, the Carpenter of Nazareth was an artisan and a Jew. America has need of all these immigrants and because of them there will yet appear upon our shores a civilization greater than the world has known before.

This may seem rank optimism with the lesson of Lawrence before our eyes.

We have read with amazement the preamble of the I. W. W. which begins as follows:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system. . . . Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.' It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall be overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.'"

And when we read the incendiary speeches of the leaders of this movement in which they "acknowledge no flag but the red flag," the symbol of bloodshed and revolution, it may well give us pause. Yet immigration, like labor legislation, should not be abolished, but intelligently regulated; let the foreigners come to our shores and then let us make of them American citizens.

The creation of wealth is, indeed, the purpose of our industrial establishment, and to this end our modern machinery of production is admirably adapted. The object for which this wealth is produced, however, is not to make rich and powerful a few industrial overlords, but to feed and clothe humanity—that the physical body being made perfectly comfortable, men shall be able to enjoy the blessings of that freedom from which true soldiers in the ages that have passed gave up their lives in loyal service. In the realization of this ideal we have a cause broad enough to include even the great cause of labor, a cause to which both the employer and employe may be loyal and in which both may join in a common service to man-

kind. For, in my belief, the labor problem in all its varied aspects will one day be solved and a higher civilization will succeed the present. I believe that the conditions of the workers of the world in the age that is approaching will be as far in advance of their condition today as our factory operatives now are in advance of the conditions of mediaeval serfdom and ancient slavery; and that this progress is to be the final result of a three-fold loyalty: first, the loyalty of the employed to the true cause of labor; second, the loyalty of the employer to the ideal that business may be made a ministry of service to the world of men; third, the loyalty of both employer and employe to the eternal cause of human freedom.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND THE TARIFF.

From the Cayuga County, N. Y., News.

The cooling ardor of the Democrats on the Tariff question is a source of encouragement to the Republicans, who need only the right national leader to sweep the country in November. That is the opinion of some of the wisest and most experienced leaders in Congress. But the right man to lead the party has not yet come forward. Neither Taft nor Roosevelt is sound on the Tariff question. That is the acknowledged source of the President's troubles at the present time. Roosevelt is in the same boat, but he is more ready to trim his sails to catch the passing breeze, hence his change on the Canadian Reciprocity question. President Taft, while he acknowledges his weakness from his advocacy of that Canadian agreement, will not say a word of recantation or ask for the repeal of the law of which the Canadians might at any time take advantage. That is where Republicans here think he makes a great mistake.

Roosevelt, on the other hand, condemns the President for signing the Payne Tariff law because it did not, in Roosevelt's opinion, make enough reduction in the Dingley rates. And President Taft condemns the law, but says he took what he could get. That is a fine way to begin a Tariff canvass. The Democrats are building all their hopes on carrying the November election on the attacks they have made on the Payne Tariff law, which both Taft and Roosevelt condemn, without offering a solitary fact to justify that course. The only trouble with the law is that it reduced rates too low in many cases. Instead of building up industries and supplying more of the people's requirements, as would be the case with a proper Tariff law, we are all the time buying more and more from abroad. The imports for the nine months ending with March were much greater than for any corresponding time in the history of the country—\$254,747,732 greater than for the corresponding nine months of the last year of the Dingley law. We are now yearly importing foreign wares to the extent of \$339,663,632 greater than for the last year of the Dingley law. Yet Taft and Roosevelt say that the rates are not low enough!

But that is not the worst feature of the case. Hundreds of manufacturers have testified before the Senate Finance Committee that they are running their mills on short time, in some cases have closed them altogether because of the low prices and lack of demand. In the other cases, as Mr. Schwab and others testified, they are selling whatever they can of their product abroad at cost price in order to run their mills at as great

capacity as possible and thus furnish the demand for home consumption at lower prices. And while this is true of the United States every country in Europe has been enjoying "boom" times, with high prices, and all are making less effort than usual to sell in the United States. And yet we have this enormous and constantly increasing volume of imports, with a large increase in exports sold under such conditions. But Taft and Roosevelt say the Tariff is not low enough!

PRODUCERS AND PRODUCTS.

From the Camden Post-Telegram.

For many years there have been complaints of too much immigration. The Chinese have been excluded, the Contract Labor Law has been passed, many arrivals have been deported, but still the inpour is great. Beyond doubt, there are mines in which the foreigners far outnumber the Americans, Europeans labor in mills that were once operated by native born persons, the French Canadian has settled on many a farm in New England. The growth of foreign population in the great cities of the Atlantic seaboard is not a matter of debate—it is a fact beyond question.

Concerning these and similar facts, there is no room for argument. But those who would greatly restrict immigration or who would abolish it altogether, lose sight of various facts of importance: Do they note the growing reluctance of the native American to engage in unskilled labor? The work of wood chopping, digging, road making, general farm labor, berry picking, street cleaning

was once done by Americans. Few Americans today will do such work, and the foreign laborer is often not merely useful but absolutely necessary.

Have the men who cry "Shut out the foreigner?" considered how the American farmer drifts from stony New England to the richer West? The French Canadian has not driven the native from his old farm, he has saved the farms that might otherwise have gone back to wilderness. Far out in the blizzard-swept Northwest men from Denmark and Norway have proved themselves admirable settlers. The Republican party is not ashamed of Knute Nelson, the Democratic party has no cause to blush for John A. Johnson, and these men came of Scandinavian blood.

Every year the manufacturing centres feel the competition of foreign-born labor and call for restrictions, but every year the West and South call for more farm labor and more new settlers. To say that the manufacturers sustain the inpour of foreigners is only a part of the truth; many foreigners who have found employment here, seek to bring their kin and friends over; and the newly opened parts of the land want immigration as the East wanted it during the war. The whole question is mixed, not simple.

Free traders say that the tariff keeps out foreign products, but not producers. They might add that the product displaces an American product, and takes so much money out of the land; while the producer, even though he sends part of his wages home, may buy ground, build a house, rear children, and spend nine-tenths of his earnings here.

OUR COUNTRY STATISTICALLY.

BY WALTER J. BALLARD.

The Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1911, is a volume of 803 pages, made up almost entirely of figures, prepared with great care by the useful Bureau of Statistics (O. P. Austin, Chief) of the Department of Commerce and Labor. It tells us almost everything about the financial and economic progress of our great country since the various years of earliest official record, and it is the thirty-fourth annual volume of its kind. It shows, for example, that the average per capita wealth of the country (in spite of its immensely increased population) has grown from \$307 in 1850 to over \$1,300 in 1904, the latest official record on this subject; the money in circulation from \$12 per capita in 1850 to \$34 per capita in 1911; the bank clearings, from 52 billion dollars in 1887, the first year of available official record, to 159 billions in 1911; the individual deposits in banks, from 2 billion dollars in 1875 to practically 16 billions in 1911; the number of depositors in savings banks from 1 million in 1866 to 9 1/2 millions in 1911; the exports of domestic products from a little over 100 million dollars in 1840 to over 2,000 millions in 1911; and the value of manufactures produced in the country, from 1 billion dollars in 1850 to 20 1/2 billions in 1910; and many other equally interesting and striking evidences of national growth.

Among the general subjects statistically presented in the 800 pages of the volume are: area, population, natural resources; agriculture, forestry, and fisheries; manufacturing

and mining industries and patents; occupations, labor and wages; internal communication and transportation; merchant marine and shipping; foreign commerce; internal commerce; commerce of noncontiguous territories; prices; consumption estimates; money, banking, and insurance; commercial failures; wealth and public finance, civil service; statistical record of the progress of the United States; and the financial, commercial and monetary statistics of the principal countries of the world.

One need study but a few pages of this great record to appreciate how very much of it has been achieved since the Republican party, with its nation-building policy of protection, got control of the country and the country's fiscal and economic policies some fifty years ago; and how essentially necessary it is, to enable the country to preserve what it has gained and to get more, that a large majority of the votes next November shall be cast for that party and its safe and sane policies. Any other course will be fraught with grave danger to us and to all our interests.

WEBSTER AND ROOSEVELT ON TARIFF AGITATION.

The following words from a speech by Daniel Webster in the Senate Chamber in 1838 might be spoken with equal aptness today by a sane and forceful leader, if we were fortunate enough to possess one:

"There are persons who constantly clamor. They complain of oppression, speculation and the pernicious influence of accumulated wealth. They cry out loudly against all banks and corporations, and all means by which small capitals become united in order to produce

important and beneficial results. They carry on mad hostility against all established institutions. They would choke the fountain of industry and dry all the streams. In a country of unbounded liberty they clamor against oppression. In a country of perfect equality they would move heaven and earth against privilege and monopoly. In a country where property is more evenly divided than anywhere else they rend the air shouting agrarian doctrines. In a country where the wages of labor are high beyond parallel, they would teach the laborer that he is but an oppressed slave."

A somewhat similar idea was in the mind of Theodore Roosevelt when he wrote his letter accepting the Republican nomination for president in 1904. Referring to the Democratic tariff law of 1894 (The Gorman-Wilson bill) he said:

"There is little for me to add to this. It is but ten years since the last attempt was made, by means of lowering the tariff, to prevent some people from prospering too much. The attempt was entirely successful. The tariff law of that

year was among the causes which in that year and for some time afterwards effectually prevented anybody from prospering too much and labor from prospering at all. Undoubtedly it would be possible at the present time to prevent any of the trusts from remaining prosperous by the simple expedient of making such a sweeping change in the tariff as to paralyze the industries of the country. The trusts would cease to prosper; but their smaller competitors would be ruined and the wage-workers would starve, while it would not pay the farmer to haul his produce to market. The evils connected with the trusts can be reached only by rational effort, step by step, along the lines taken by Congress and the Executive during the past three years. If a tariff law is passed under which the country prospers, as the country has prospered under the present tariff law, then all classes will share in the prosperity. If a tariff law is passed aimed at preventing the prosperity of some of our people, it is as certain as anything can be that this aim will be achieved only by cutting down the prosperity of all of our people."

A NEW ERA IN BRITISH ECONOMICS.

By Our London Correspondent.

London, May 15, 1912.

The intervention of the British Government in support of the principle of a minimum wage for miners opens up a new chapter in legislation and economics. What is the proper business of the State? In the words of Herbert Spencer, "For the healthful activity and due proportioning of those industries, occupations and professions, which maintain and aid the life of a society, there must, in the first place, be few restrictions on men's liberties to make agreements with one another, and there must, in

the second place, be an enforcement of the agreement which they do make." The minimum wage law has not proved an altogether unqualified success in New Zealand, where it has been in operation for some years. There its introduction was followed by its rapid spread from one industry to another. But what was at first the minimum wage gradually became the maximum wage as well, and in the process brought down the efficient workman to the level of the inefficient. Instead of the workman aiming at enhanced pay through in-

creasing his skill and application, he sought the desideratum through the law courts. From an investor's standpoint the whole matter narrows itself down to the question whether British industries will be favorably affected or otherwise as the outcome of the recent development. If what has taken place is likely to bring about a prolonged peace in the labor world, then new capital will readily flow into home investments. If, on the other hand, there is likely to be industrial war, or if the investor and capital be exposed to unfair treatment, then it means that new capital will seek investment in countries where more favorable conditions prevail, or, at best, fresh capital will only be available at home on decidedly more onerous terms than at present, to compensate for the additional risk. As matters stand at present, there has been a great loss to the country of which the investor and capitalist will have to bear their part. If this loss is but the price that has to be paid for the bringing in of a better era in the relations between capital and labor, such loss will be gladly written off. But if it is to introduce an era of unjust oppression, or of crude socialistic experiments, he would be foolish if he failed to protect himself by placing at least a portion of his money outside the range of wanton attack.

But far and above all other matters in importance is the question, How is a rise in wages to be brought about without inflicting serious injury on British industries? It is evident that when the minimum wage comes into operation in the mining industry, the cost will be passed on to the consumer. In other words, there will be a general rise in the

price of coal. This means a further tax upon every British industry. As already cited, in New Zealand the demand grew from one trade to another, and we may expect a similar thing to happen in England, and when this is granted it must mean a substantial addition to the cost of production and a proportionate addition to the selling price. The Board of Trade "Labor Gazette" in February last, gave a list of fourteen important industries employing 436,187 mill people, whose collective earnings amounted to only £371,331 in one week, or on an average 17 shillings (\$4.25) each. When we remember the heavy increase in the price of foodstuffs lately no one can say this is a fair wage. But how is it to be raised? To establish a minimum wage of even 25 shillings (\$6.25) a week in these cases would necessitate an extra expenditure of £152,665 a week, or nearly £8,000,000 a year. It is understood that our leading industries are at present worked on the narrowest margin of profit, as for instance in the case of the Lancashire Cotton Mills which showed a profit of only 1 per cent. or less last year. So we see that under our present fiscal system it would be extremely difficult to raise the wages of the workers by any appreciable amount.

It has been recently admitted in the House of Commons that any "sudden increase in the rate of wages would increase the cost of production, dislocate labor and open the door to increased foreign competition. Therefore any general minimum wage under our present system would have a baneful effect. Our manufacturers could not compete with the surplus production of

the foreigner. Mills would be stopped and factories closed. Taking a broad survey of the future, it appears that a general rise in wages can only be effected by safeguarding the British home market, and thus providing more work for the operatives. The passing by a Liberal Government of a minimum wage act is generally believed to mean the final abandonment of the Cobdenite theory of free trade, because the principle of the new act is protection in its best and highest meaning. Free trade means that you cannot prescribe to an employer what he shall and shall not do, but to leave him free to bargain as he likes with his work people. That theory has absolutely broken down, and is no longer possible today.

F. C. CHAPPELL.

A GREATER NATION.

"A greater nation through a greater South" was the animating purpose of the Southern Commercial Congress held in Nashville recently. The whole nation has cause for gratification in the development and prosperity of the South. From its fields two-thirds of the world's cotton crop are harvested; from its forests and its mines comes wealth undreamed of by Ponce de Leon and De Soto; and its mills and factories are rapidly placing the South among the progressive manufacturing sections of the country. The increase of cotton manufacturing in the Southern States is proceeding at a rate unequalled in our older manufacturing communities, and all interested in the industrial progress of the nation will be gratified at the development of diversified industries throughout the South. In this progress lies the hope of a greater nation and a stronger union. "It is calculated," as John C. Calhoun said in 1816, "to bind together more closely our widespread republic. It will greatly increase our mutual dependence and intercourse;" because,

again quoting the words of the great Southerner, "the encouragement and protection of manufactures produces a system strictly American." No system can be strictly American and truly national unless it applies to the industries of the entire country, and there is increasing evidence that the South is turning each year more ardently to the support of that economic policy which has demonstrated its efficacy in the industrial development of the northern states.

LABOR, CAPITAL AND THE PUBLIC

From the New York Times.

It would seem that the time has arrived to call a check to the constant improvement of the conditions for labor by force, at the expense of capital and of the public. This arises through no especial tenderness for capital, but through a regard for the public, which is served as well by capital as by labor. Railway construction has practically stopped so far as new lines are concerned, and the increase of the efficiency of existing lines by capital expenditure has been checked. The railways are not allowed to charge rates which would enable them to enlarge their facilities and pay what labor asks. Thus far they have starved their betterments, and have enlarged their wage charges as far as they could. In 1911 the railways increased wages by forty-two millions and lost forty-one millions in net earnings. In the language of the spokesman for the railways, "This headlong movement toward financial disaster cannot proceed unchecked." It is as necessary for the men to consider that averment as for the railways to consider the condition of the strikers who are now hesitating in their demands.

They cannot expect concessions for their benefit which should be unjust to their fellow employes and the general public. There are no known facts which would justify an exceptional treatment of the engineers, or a general increase to all railway employes at the cost of crippling the public service rendered by the companies.

This is part of a larger problem. If the rewards of labor and capital are compared through a series of years, it will be found that labor has profited at the expense of capital to an unprecedented extent. It is true that these are the days of large profits, and dividends and melons. The conspicuous successes are remarked, but the failures are not observed. The wage index was never so high as now, compared either with itself or with the cost of living. Interest, the wages of capital, tended to decrease so long as it was sure, but latterly has shown some signs of increasing with doubts about its stability. It is a fortunate investor who has not seen his principal shrink more than enough to offset his increase of interest. The problem of the engineers' wage demand is a trifle compared with the uncertainty of the returns upon capital. The reformers who want both railways and what they call social justice must pay for both, or choose between them. Argument will not alter the necessity of choosing or paying.

Business is sound, but no new enterprises are being started. The politicians and newspapers are to blame. There is too much political ghost dancing. The people are not given the facts. There is uncertainty as to the future on this account, rather than on account of thereme court decisions.—James J. Hill.

THE TARIFF IN POLITICS.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

Every now and then we come across the plea that some great question, which has to be determined by legislation and the administration of law, be "taken out of politics." Special stress has been laid of late upon the importance of taking the tariff out of politics in order to get it settled upon some basis which will at least satisfy a majority of the people for the time being. But how is such a question to be got out of politics? The more the effort is made the deeper it gets in. The tariff is a question of policy. What is politics if it does not deal with question of policy? If tariff and currency and shipping and other great questions are to be eliminated from the conflicts of party and treated "on their merits" as economic problems, what would politics become except a contest between two organizations for the possession of offices and "patronage"?

The tariff cannot be taken out of politics so long as people differ regarding the policy to be pursued toward foreign trade. There is nothing upon which they differ more widely than the application of economic principles. The party division upon a tariff policy has been continuous from the time of Alexander Hamilton and it will persist until a policy is established which the people are ready to accept as permanent and the principles upon which it is based are accepted as immutable. The creation of the Tariff Board has done nothing toward taking the tariff out of politics and a permanent commission would accomplish nothing.

ing more than to help clear up the subject and make party positions better defined. It might be well if a body of trained experts could frame a tariff and get it adopted, and could modify it from time to time until it was placed upon a sound and enduring basis; but that would not be democratic government, and it cannot be attained under our system. The people will rule and they will have to blunder along in matters of policy until they have learned their lessons.

The tariff question is pretty well mixed up now in Congress, because neither party has an altogether consistent position or is harmonious in regard to its policy. Republicans are still for protection, but are not agreed upon the measure thereof. Democrats are for a revenue tariff, but with reservations. They will have to adjust themselves in some way to the situation and get their position defined, but they cannot escape the question. It cannot be taken away from them and they cannot get rid of it. It is a question of politics and it can only be worked out by political action.

EARNINGS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Some interesting figures from the Census Bureau as to the wages and incomes of persons engaged in manufacturing and other industries in this country are printed in *The Wall Street Journal*; they are presented as giving "a rough estimate of the earnings or income of the people of the United States." A table of these figures is given, prefaced by the statement that "the present unrest is not the result of poverty or physical discomfort, but rather the natural sequel of a long period of prosperity and of the consequent widespread desire for more com-

forts and more luxuries." The table shows the number of persons employed, their wages and salaries, and their earnings for distribution in enterprises which include manufacturing, railroads, mining, merchandise, banking, and agriculture:

Persons Employed	Wages and Salaries	Earnings for Distribution
Manufacturing: 7,408,313	\$4,365,613,000	\$2,219,472,000
Railroads: 1,662,550	1,170,483,400	744,776,000
Mining: 361,493	574,720,650	338,636,236
Merchandizing: 2,072,113	1,191,464,400	921,366,822
Banking: 358,808	430,569,800	215,285,277
Agriculture: 12,561,986	2,300,998,068	2,412,855,480
Other occupations: 10,558,265	5,329,848,800	3,627,190,400
85,470,423	\$15,368,641,778	\$10,479,519,815

The writer adds that the best information available indicates that the salaries of officials and clerks in manufacturing concerns average \$1,188 per annum, while the pay of wage-earners averages \$518; employes of railroads receive an average of \$704; those of mines about \$675; clerks and salesmen employed by merchants about \$575; and laborers in agricultural and allied industries about \$347. It is estimated that about 38.6 per cent. of our total population comprises persons actually engaged in gainful occupations, the average income of such being about \$738. The average size of an American family is 4.6, and the average family income, including wages earned, dividends, interest, and profits, about \$1,292 per family. The writer remarks that: "Probably no other great nation in the world could show so high an average; and the typical American family surely lacks but few of the real comforts of life, to say nothing of the luxuries."

SOME REFLECTIONS ON HIGH PRICES.

Among the various views on high prices the following opinions by D. S. Gordon, published in the *Daily Trade Record*, deserve consideration:

"Politicians say the tariff is re-

sponsible for the high price of a good suit of clothes. And they have been saying so for so many years that many people are duped into taking the political view of that question.

"I am, however, personally acquainted with thousands of people in the clothing business in the United States and I do not know, nor did I ever hear of a single concern in that business by the name of tariff.

"The sheep grows the wool, and he doesn't make any fuss about it. He just casts off his winter overcoat and lets anyone have it who wishes to take the trouble to gather it. So evidently, the sheep is not the author of high prices. The wool dealer gathers this winter castoff and makes much fuss in so doing to call attention to his dexterity and skill and makes people pay him as much as possible for his commodity, which even a sheep throws away. This is the beginning of high prices.

"Next the cloth manufacturer overhauls this lot of second hand clothing, tries to disguise it as much as he can and he gets all he can for it, all the while proclaiming himself as a philanthropist and distinctly avowing he is not to blame for high prices. But could we see his heart we would find he had added all his cloth would stand, his only conscience in that direction being the prices his competitors are charging.

"Next we come to the suit manufacturer, the next philanthropic man in line. Of course, he is a philanthropist. Why, if he didn't take the trouble to make clothes we would all be arrested for exposing our persons. Now the clothing manufacturer, like the cloth man and the wool dealer, however, is a believer in

the maxim that 'philanthropy begins at home' and so he adds all he can to the price, his competitors' price being the only safety valve in that direction.

"We come now to the next step in high prices, the most villainous of all, the retailer. He keeps an X-ray machine on hand to which he exposes each customer's pocketbook, and having found out how much change there may be in that pocket, simply makes the price correspond to the amount discovered in the buyer's pocket by X-rays.

"The whole situation calls to mind one of my boyhood schoolmates who, whenever the teacher looked up and sternly asked, 'What's that?' would say, 'Twasn't me.' In other words, clothes make themselves high priced. Now would it not be a step in real charity to get together and have a federation of the cloth manufacturers, not a combination for restraint of trade, and not let the clothes be so unkind to all wearers as to make themselves high priced."

LIVING MAY BE TOO CHEAP.

From the Hiawatha, Kan., World.

The Democrats and some Insurgents argue that lower Tariff would mean cheaper living—and it might, but where would any workman be benefited by cheaper living if he was out of employment with no money to buy even necessities with? There is no doubt that with low Tariff duties the cheaper labor of foreign countries can supply our markets with things we now make, cheaper than we make them with well paid labor. And when it is done our own workmen will be out of work and will

not be paying good prices for farmers' products or for articles of manufacture. Things will be cheaper all right, but where will the day's work at good pay be found? There is no way for home workmen to get pay for things made in some other country. Let's don't overdo Tariff talk. We need to be Protected, and cheaper living may be something we will not want when we get it. We had enough of cheaper living when the Democrats gave it to us under Cleveland. They lowered Tariff duties then and talked just as they do now. Do our farmer friends recall 15-cent corn, \$3 a ton hay, 3-cent cattle and 3-cent hogs? Prices are high for living, but prices for labor are high. Everything is higher. Everything might be made lower by voting for lower Tariff, by voting the Democratic ticket. The free soup houses can get busy at the old stand—for men will be out of work and wages will be low and living will be cheaper—but men will be cheaper still.

EDUCATE THE ALIENS.

From Fibre and Fabric.

If America is good enough for a milking ground for every nation on earth, the alien workers can offer no reasonable objections to a set of educational requirements embracing a knowledge of our language and a knowledge and respect for our common laws, and it should be a national law making such education necessary for the newcomer if he remains in the country as long as ninety days. It is a sorrowful fact that our industry is dependent upon the foreigner, but it is a fact, nevertheless,

and the next move is to educate and train the green hands in a way that will make them better people to live amongst and work with, and possibly encourage the better element to stay here and become consumers and producers, something after the American style. The green hands going into our mills are paid as much or more than the best skilled hands in foreign competing countries, and by tactful measures if possible, but if not by force, they should be taught our ways and our simple laws as well as our language, and they would then be no menace to society.

The manufacturers, through their influence, must seek national laws on this alien education question, or they must go into their corporation treasuries and pay for teachers in their own mills. No matter how the result is accomplished, it is demanded as a safety valve for American industry and it is worth all it costs, no matter who foots the bills.

PENSIONS FOR EVERYBODY.

From the Hartford Times.

There are over two millions of pensioners in this country now. There will be five millions of them by the time a pension roll is provided for every kind and class of Government employes. Then only one thing will remain to be done—to pension everybody who hasn't saved a dollar, as Lloyd-George and the other British social reformers have undertaken to do. France and Germany are rapidly becoming nations of pensioners. There was a time when the idea of putting everybody's hand into the public treasury would not have received much toleration in the United States of America. But we have been going fast and far in the other direction during the past twenty years.

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid
To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

JUNE, 1912.

The Massachusetts Supreme Court pronounces unconstitutional a bill to exempt trade unions from actions of tort.

The total wealth of the world is now estimated at the huge sum of \$115,800,000,000, in which the share of the United States is \$25,476,000,000.

According to recent compilations of the Canadian labor department, the cost of living in the Dominion shows an average increase of 5 per cent. over the previous year.

Another presidential ticket is in the field—the Socialist convention at Indianapolis having nominated Eugene V. Debs of Indiana for President, and Emil Seidel of Milwaukee for Vice-President.

A Canadian motto: "The purchase of one thousand dollars' worth of goods from your own town or your own country, instead of purchasing outside, means the addition of one person to your town or your country instead of supporting him abroad."

The Boston Advertiser says: "Arizona now plans an advisory vote for federal judges. It would be polite for Arizona to wait a few moments longer before trying to reform the government. The state is still an infant."

The coining of three-cent pieces and one-half cent pieces is recommended by the House Committee on coinage and the Secretary of the Treasury. The coinage of four-cent and six-cent pieces would not be more absurd.

Says the Philadelphia Inquirer: "Shortsighted persons who would take unholy delight in seeing their employers burdened with an income tax evidently overlook the fact that in the end that tax is bound to directly affect them also."

The San Francisco Chronicle says the preference primary is likely to have fewer advocates after the present campaign is over. Georgia is the only state where a primary election has been held that has cast more than 60 per cent. of the registered vote.

To say, in reference to our national constitution, "The people rule; if they can make a constitution, they can change it or say what it means," in the sense in which the phrase is meant to be understood, is to say in other words, whatever the people have the power to do they have the right to do.

The New York Journal of Commerce well says of the pernicious practice in Congress of putting im-

portant measures of legislation as "riders" upon regular appropriation bills, that this involves a gross abuse of legislative discretion, and it is discreditable that they should be countenanced by a majority of either house.

The highest price reached in seven leading eastern cities for print paper was in 1900 and 1901, when such paper sold at \$57 a ton, the average price for these years, however, being less than \$42. The average price in the same cities for print paper in, 1911 was \$44.31, less by nearly one dollar a ton than the average price for 1910.

The San Francisco Chronicle says: "All producers are consumers, but all consumers are not producers. If those who do produce would reach and adhere to the conclusion that the producer has a right to live and prosper, and would vote for policies calculated to bring about that result, there would be less nonsense talked about restraint of trade."

It is encouraging to note that the recent Socialist convention at Indianapolis repudiated the methods advocated by the "Industrial Workers of the World." Congressman Berger, of Milwaukee, said, "There is no bridge between socialism and anarchism." A decided stand was taken against "violence as a weapon of the working class."

The proposed constitutional amendment authorizing initiative and referendum, was defeated in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, April 24, by a vote of 132 to 80—less than the two-thirds necessary.

In the Ohio constitutional convention, April 23, a proposition for the recall of all public officials, including the judiciary, was defeated by a vote of 45 to 57. This is "progress" in the right direction.

When the import tax was taken off coffee years ago the price to the consumer did not come down and stay down. The only way the price of sugar can be permanently reduced is by producing it more cheaply in our own country. At present our chief supply of domestic cane sugar is produced in Louisiana, while beet sugar production is a flourishing industry in Colorado, California, Michigan, Wisconsin, Utah and Idaho.

A committee of the city-wide congress at Baltimore, which investigated the cost of living, reports that prices have increased for the following reasons: Increased supply of gold; price control; tariff; abuse of cold storage; decreased labor on farms; decrease of farming around the city; excessive profits by middlemen; too much handling between producer and consumer; too much purchasing on much advanced prices; growing luxuriousness.

In the Massachusetts Senate, April 26, the income tax amendment to the federal Constitution was rejected by a vote of 14 to 17. This amendment was defeated in the Senate last year by only one vote. Arizona is the thirty-second state to approve the amendment, and four more ratifications are now needed to add this amendment to the Constitution. There is little probability that

these four additional assents will be obtained this year.

The price of the exclusion of the American flag from the high seas is the three hundred millions of dollars which we pay every year to foreign ships for carrying that American freight which we refuse to handle ourselves. The remedy is to be found in some form of Federal assistance. Any direct subsidy is distasteful to the American people, but an effective relief could be found in the system of preferential duties advocated by Congressman Sulzer in the bill now before Congress.

The general business of the country does have to contend with burdens enough now without being called upon to bear an additional tax that would affect every copartnership and every individual whose income or profits brought them within the scope of Mr. Underwood's project. If business were sedulously let alone by Congress for about ten years we are confident that the close of the decade would witness a degree of prosperity which the United States has rarely equalled.

In the reciprocity negotiations between Canada and Australia, the former intends to ask for a reduction of the Australian tariff on agricultural implements, ammunition, boots and shoes, metal manufactures, textiles and clothing, vehicles, bicycles and motors. The Australian Minister for Trade says that in several of these articles no preference is now granted to Great Britain. In such a case as that of boots and shoes, his government could not

consent to accord any preference that would injure the industry in Australia, but would be disposed to negotiate on printing paper.

The Board of Appraisers at New York rendered a decision in the wood pulp case, sustaining the contention of the government that the "favored nation" clause cannot be invoked, as Canada is a colony and not a nation, state or country, within the meaning of the treaties. From this decision the importers of wood pulp from other countries than Canada have appealed to the United States Court of Customs Appeal. Because of the international importance of the case, several European governments having filed claims for the favor accorded to Canada, both the Government and the importers have agreed to expedite it.

The New York Journal of Commerce (free trade) commends the Lodge substitute for the free sugar bill that passed the House, as entirely unobjectionable. "It merely dispenses with the grading of quality by the Dutch standard of color, and abolishes the differential rates upon refined sugar. The former is antiquated and an imperfect test of saccharine quality or value, and the latter affords a protection which the refiner does not need and ought not to have." It says further: "The sugar duty is distinctly defensible as being for revenue, and the fact that it makes profitable the production of considerable sugar in this country, when otherwise it might not be so, is not an effective argument against it. The maintenance of the sugar schedule is greatly to be preferred to the adoption of the excise tax on

business incomes which is proposed as a means of making up the loss of revenue."

A 54-hour law has been enacted by the New York Legislature, to take effect Oct. 1. It makes a flat reduction of six hours, from 60 to 54. Unlike Massachusetts, there was no gradual modification, changing two hours at a time. "Thus far, in New England, Massachusetts is the lone 54-hour State. But Rhode Island has only 56 hours and is facing a serious agitation for 54. New Hampshire has 58. In Maine, Connecticut and Vermont, where the cost of living in country towns is considerably lower than in the crowded cities, 60 hours is still permitted. It is patent that Massachusetts, with over 11,000,000 spindles, or 62 per cent. of New England's total of 17,735,000, is still at the greatest disadvantage."

A phase of the much-discussed question of the present high cost of living, not always emphasized as strongly as some of the more popular arguments, is the decrease during the last ten years of the actual acreage in America devoted to raising wheat, corn, potatoes and rice. This decrease amounts to 2.5 per cent., while the population has increased 21 per cent. Statistics such as these certainly show the need of a greater number of farms and more extensive stock raising. With the supply of domestic grain, vegetables and meat decreasing, while the population annually increases, prices must necessarily be higher, for supply and demand regulate the price. We cannot build up our cities at the expense

of abandoned farms without paying for it in the cost of our food supply.

The system of protection to domestic industries so wisely adopted by the founders of our government, approved by four generations of American statesmen, ratified again and again by the votes of American citizens, and justified by over a century of unprecedented prosperity, is now in the hands of the American electorate. The ancients believed that the fate of men was in the hands of the gods. The fate of the country is in the hands of the people. It is inconceivable that they will turn back the hands of prosperity, open our ports to the inrush of foreign goods and overthrow an economic system under which the United States has become the foremost manufacturing country of the world.

On May 18, the Anthracite Mine Workers' Convention at Wilkes-barre, Pa., ratified the agreement of the sub-committees of the miners and operators, by a vote of 323 to 64. The opponents of the agreement made a five days' fight against ratification. The term of the agreement is for four years. The chief gain of the miners is an actual increase in wages of about 5 1/2 per cent. The miners' demand that employers should withhold from pay envelopes the union dues of their operatives (regarded as essential to the union's maintenance) was not granted. The suspension of work has lasted seven weeks; millions in wages have been lost, as well as millions in profits and in freight rates, and millions have been taken out of the pockets of consumers.

Referring to the plank in the last (Republican) National platform which declared that the difference in the cost of production here and abroad was the proper basis for a protective tariff, one of the leaders of the Republican party says: "I quite agree with you that the present Republican Tariff Plank looks to a competitive and not a protective tariff. I think its introduction into the last platform was a mistake. I am satisfied, however, that public opinion has been so educated that any step looking towards a return to the enunciation of protective principles as a party policy will be impossible at this time. After the country has enjoyed the experience of a revenue or even a competitive tariff, the probabilities are that the people will be ready to revert again to old-time principles, but I fear not before."

Senator Crane, of Massachusetts, formally announced on May 21, that he would not be a candidate for reelection to the United States Senate, in the following brief statement: "Some months ago I definitely decided not to become a candidate for re-election as United States senator, but I intended to defer making a statement to that effect until after the Republican national convention. There is, however, a proposition pending in the Massachusetts Legislature for the nomination of United States senators substantially similar to the existing law relating to the nomination of candidates for the presidency, representatives in Congress and State elective offices. If this proposed law is enacted a much earlier campaign for this office will be necessary, and I therefore make

known my position at this time in order that those who may be interested in becoming candidates may have the fullest opportunity to have their candidates considered. In making public my decision not to become a candidate again I wish to assure the people of Massachusetts of my deep appreciation of the loyal support and confidence which they have always given me."

A good illustration of the kind of influence brought to bear on striking operatives by sympathizers of their cause, was shown in the recent trouble at the Lancaster Mills, Clinton, Mass. Miss Elizabeth Flynn, one of the leaders of the I. W. W. was present at one of the large mass meetings held by the striking weavers, and urged the operatives to stick together, and in case they did not win their cause within a certain time, to stimulate the workers in the neighboring mills to strike also. She promised them that as long as there was a dollar left in the treasury of the I. W. W., they would not suffer for want of money, and said that contributions to help their cause were being received from Lowell, Lawrence and neighboring cities and towns. This is interesting testimony to the fact that the recent striking operatives of those cities can spare from their "living wage" funds to support a strike in other cities. "But," she said, "if this situation comes to a hunger strike, and the I. W. W. is no longer able to assist you financially, then go back to your work defeated in this present strike, to produce just as little profit for the Lancaster Mills as it is within your power." She then continued to explain to them how they could work

to the disadvantage of the mill officials causing them material as well as financial loss. Such methods deserve the strictest condemnation of all fair minded Americans.

OFFICERS' MEETING.

A meeting of the directors and officers of the Home Market Club was held on May 21 in the Parker House. A committee consisting of Wm. B. H. Dowse, President; Franklin W. Hobbs, R. P. Snelling, Richard S. Russell, and Thomas O. Marvin, Secretary, was appointed to urge the adoption by the Republican National Convention of a plank favoring ample protection to American industries.

Among those who spoke at the meeting in behalf of the protective system were Mr. Dowse; John Hopewell of Newton, Mass.; Louis B. Goodall, Sanford, Me.; George A. Hammond, Putnam, Conn.; Eben D. Bancroft, Hopedale, Mass.; George S. Colton, Easthampton, Mass.; Charles Sisson, Providence, R. I.; and W. H. Priedee, Francis H. Manning, Lewis R. Speare and P. J. Conlan, Boston. It was the general opinion that a tariff based upon the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad did not afford to the American producers the protection which was necessary to prevent this market from being overrun with foreign products, thus curtailing our own production and forcing American workingmen to accept either idleness or lower wages.

In Free-Trade England, as shown by a report of the British Board of Trade, the cost of living has increased 25 per cent. in 16 years. No "robber Tariff" made that advance.—Waverly (O.) News.

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

At this time (May 22) 1,008 delegates have been elected to the Republican National Convention, to be held June 18. This convention will consist of 1,076 delegates, of which 539 will be a majority. Thus far (according to the figures given by the New York Tribune) Taft has 429; Roosevelt 435; La Follette 36; and Cummins 10; and 98 are uncommitted. Sixty-eight delegates are yet to be elected.

The Taft managers at Washington figure out a near majority for him, but they claim most of the uncommitted and contested delegates. President Taft has issued a statement in which he claims 570 delegates, or 30 more than necessary to nominate. The Roosevelt managers give the following figures: Roosevelt (including Ohio) 530; Taft 187; La Follette 36; Cummins 10; uncommitted 83; contested 162.

Republican state conventions and state primaries yet to be held include the following, besides several scattering districts: New Jersey, primaries, May 28; Texas, state, May 28; Arizona, state, June 3; Ohio, state, June 3; South Dakota, primaries, June 4.

At this time (May 22) 795 delegates have been elected to the Democratic National Convention, to be held at Baltimore, June 25, of which 298 are credited to Champ Clark; 151 to Wilson; 84 to Underwood; 14 to Gov. Baldwin; 30 to Gov. Marshall; 38 to Gov. Harmon; 10 to Gov. Burke; and 171 are uncommitted.

The membership of this convention is 1,092, and 728 are necessary to a choice under the two-thirds

rule. Two hundred and ninety-four delegates remain to be chosen in thirteen states.

CONGRESS IN BRIEF.

The Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee reported a substitute for the House free sugar bill, and adversely on the excise tax bill.

No time has been suggested for a vote on any of the tariff bills in the Senate, and much debate is expected.

The President sent in a message, asking for authority to appoint a commission to investigate the patent laws.

The Senate having passed a general pension bill, providing pensions up to \$1 per day for veterans of the Civil and Mexican wars, as a substitute for the Sherwood bill, the House accepted the conference report by a vote of 173 to 57, and the President signed the bill. The bill increases the pension roll about \$30,000,000 a year. (The Sherwood bill would have further increased this amount by \$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000.)

On May 13, the House concurred with the Senate in the adoption of a joint resolution for a constitutional amendment providing for the election of United States senators by direct vote. The House receded from its opposition to the provision granting federal control of senatorial elections. The vote, which was 237 to 239, was preceded by a bitter fight against this provision by several Southern members.

A joint resolution offered by Sen-

ator Works, of California, is pending, for a constitutional amendment, making the Presidential term six years, and Presidents ineligible for a second term.

The majority of the sub-committee of the Senate Election Committee (three Republicans and two Democrats) reported that Senator Lorimer should be permitted to retain his seat, as no new and substantial evidence had been produced establishing corruption in his election, and that the first investigation should be taken as final. A minority of the committee (two Democrats and one Republican) reported that ten votes cast for Lorimer were corrupt, and his election is therefore invalid.

After many years of agitation the Senate passed the employer's liability and workmen's compensation bill. The vote was 64 to 15. The measure is regarded as the most important of all legislation that has been proposed by the Taft Administration in the interest of the employes on interstate railroads. The bill was opposed entirely by Democrats, who argued that the bill unduly favored the railroads. "The plan of fixing the liability of employers and the compensation of injured workmen definitely is sound economically," said Senator Root, "and it will be much better for employes to have a fixed scale of liability which may be enforced without the assistance of lawyers to whom large fees must be paid."

The House has passed a radical anti-injunction bill overwhelmingly, only 31 members, all Republicans, voting against it. It would require

notice and hearing before an injunction could be granted, and in its last section would legalize the picket and the boycott. This bill is now before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The House passed the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill. Among the important legislative provisions in the bill is a section abolishing the Commerce Court on June 30 next, while still another "rider" consolidates the Bureau of Manufactures and the Bureau of Statistics in the Department of

Commerce and Labor and clothes the merged bureau with virtually the powers of a tariff board. The adoption of this latter amendment presages the abolition of the existing tariff board at the end of the present fiscal year. The motive of the vote to abolish the Commerce Court is political. The purpose is to embarrass President Taft, who recommended the creation of the court, and to curry favor in communities where its decisions have been unpopular.

TARIFF PLANKS IN REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS.

1860.

That while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingman liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

1864.

No mention of tariff in either Republican or Democratic platform. Campaign fought wholly on war issues.

1868.

Tariff not specifically mentioned.

1872.

Revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity and growth of the whole country.

1876.

The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

1880.

We affirm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor.

1884.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of the general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborers, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward,

and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our most earnest protest.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the irregularities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

1888.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection. We protest against its destruction, as proposed by the President (Cleveland) and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry. The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production, except luxuries, the like of

which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes, rather than surrender any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

1892.

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff Act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws piecemeal, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of states, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity under which our export trade has vastly increased, and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops.

We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

1896.

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign prod-

ucts and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demands and price; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application, it is just, fair and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be re-established—Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessaries of life which we do not produce; reciprocity agreements of mutual interests which gain open markets for us in return for our open market to

others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade, and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus.

We condemn the present administration for not keeping faith with the sugar-producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than \$100,000,000 annually.

To all our products—to those of the mine and the fields, as well as those of the shop and factory; to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the finished woolen mills of the country—we promise the most ample protection.

1900.

[In the Republican platform of 1900 the Republican party promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures,—a protective Tariff and a law making gold the standard of value.]

We renew our faith in the policy of Protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better condition of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world. We favor the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets.

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction on the immigration of cheap

labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor and an effective system of labor insurance.

1904.

The Republican party entered upon its present period of complete supremacy in 1897.

We replaced a Democratic tariff law based on free trade principles and garnished with sectional protection by a consistent protective tariff, and industry, freed from oppression and stimulated by the encouragement of wise laws, has expanded to a degree never before known, has conquered new markets and has created a volume of exports which has surpassed imagination. Under the Dingley tariff labor has been fully employed, wages have risen and all industries have revived and prospered.

Protection, which guards and develops our industries, is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. We insist upon the maintenance of the principles of protection, and therefore rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration, but this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. To intrust it to the Democratic party is to invite disaster.

Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic party declares the protective tariff unconstitutional, or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system. However specious the name, the purpose is ever the same. A Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity; a Republican tariff by business prosperity. To a Republican Congress and a Republican President, this great question can be safely intrusted. When the only free trade country among the great nations agitates a return to protection, the chief

protective country should not falter in maintaining it.

We have extended widely our foreign markets, and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension, including commercial reciprocity wherever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection, and without injury to American agriculture, American labor or any American industry.

1908.

The Republican party declares unequivocally for a revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President, and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned to the appropriate committees of Congress which are now investigating the operation and effect of existing schedules. In all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries. We favor the establishment of maximum and minimum rates to be administered by the President under limitations fixed in the law, the maximum to be available to meet discriminations by foreign countries against American goods entering their markets, and the minimum to represent the normal measure of protection at home; the aim and purpose of the Republican policy being not only to preserve, without excessive duties, that security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wage earners of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system. Between the United States and the Philippines we believe in a free interchange of products with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests.

The same wise policy which has induced the Republican party to maintain

protection to American labor will be pursued in every legitimate direction. The Republican party recognizes the special needs of wage workers generally, for their well-being means the well-being of all. But more important than all other considerations is that of good citizenship, and we especially stand for the needs of every American, whatever his occupation, in his capacity as a self-respecting citizen.

Beyond all platform declarations there are fundamental differences between the Republican party and its chief opponent

which makes the one worthy and the other unworthy of public trust. In history the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that the one stood for debased currency and the other for honest currency; the one for free silver, the other for sound money; the one for free trade, the other for protection; the one for the contraction of American influence, the other for its expansion; the one has been forced to abandon every position taken on the great issues before the people, the other has held and vindicated all.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

By J. W. Allfree, Newton, Iowa.

Is the tariff that protects American products paid by the American consumer of such protected products? If not, why talk of tariff reduction of such rates to relieve such consumers "of the burden of all excessive tariffs?"

Our American tariff system of Protection was adopted by the patriotic founders of our government after years of careful consideration. They had declared themselves independent of the greatest manufacturing nation of the world; but the test of a few years without protection proved their hard won fight for independence a mockery and a delusion, as England still ruled to ruin by the power of her unrestricted dominating manufacturing influence, which made the colonies more beneficial to her interests than when under her flag.

In considering means of relief and real independence the people were not all of one mind, for England had friends and home manufacturing had

enemies, who were then as now united against the only policy of protection required to make our country truly independent, by giving the American workingman, manufacturer, grain producer and business man a true American tariff system that would not only secure and promote their true independence, but would give them advantages in work and business above all other people.

After the adoption of the tariff policy of protection and its favorable effect on all lines of business became apparent, the question of whether the home consumer of such protected products paid the tariff thereon was given careful consideration and it was found that in many cases instead of the tariff being added and thereby the price increased, the consumer paid less, so the tariff could not have been added to the price and made a part of the cost. This answers our first question, but the answer was given over one hundred years ago and our progressives of

today will accept nothing so antiquated though based on a fixed and unchangeable economic principle; so we must find later evidence.

As a lad favoring protection we heard a good old Democrat make a speech in the Clay-Polk campaign of 1844 and heard him read from the Whig tariff law of 1842, that made the tariff on cut nails three cents a pound, to prove that this useless and extortionate burden of tariff taxation had to be paid by everyone of us who bought cut nails, though he was talking within the sound of a nail mill near Brownsville, Pa., that was making and selling cut nails at two cents a pound, and the man had bought nails at that mill for two cents just as good or better than the English nail he had been paying twelve cents for before the three-cent "tariff tax" was placed thereon. A natural born free trade Democrat has an inherited right to make such an asinine statement, but a progressive Republican cannot be allowed to use that antiquated shield to save his reputation.

But even that convincing evidence was nearly seventy years ago, says the progressive, and this is a progressive age and we will listen to nothing but the best authority of recent date on the question. Well, here it is, and by indisputable authority on both sides of the question. When Cleveland accepted the nomination in 1888 on a Democratic platform calling for "a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor," he said: "I suppose, too, it is well understood that the effect of this tariff taxation is not limited to the consumer of imported articles,

but that the duties imposed upon such articles permit a corresponding increase in prices to be laid upon domestic production of the same kind, which increase, paid by all our people as consumers of home productions and entering every American home, constitutes a form of taxation as certain and as inevitable as though the amount was annually paid into the hand of the tax-gatherer."

There you have it in up to date language from its ablest advocate, and it is the same in sentiment and meaning as our Mr. Smith presented it in 1844, and as born free trade Democrats, Mr. Smith and Mr. Cleveland have the right to so contend against the plainest every day facts of our history and experience on the question. In noticing this letter of acceptance of Mr. Cleveland's, our William McKinley in his *Tariff History* says, "In this he adhered to his oft-repeated declaration that 'the consumer pays the tax,' ignoring entirely the well known fact that not a few articles of common use and American manufacture were then selling in the markets at a less price than the amount of the duty levied upon similar articles made in foreign countries." Here we have the opinions of our greatest tariff leaders on the question under consideration. Cleveland's is entirely theoretical without a positive fact to sustain it, while McKinley's is drawn from facts of actual every day experience. Which of the two great leaders are our tariff reducing Republicans following?

The preceding record gives an emphatic negative answer to our first question; but as the increased cost of living by the increased prices

has given the tariff reducers their means for working up public opinion on the subject, we will note some changes in prices to prove that the tariff has nothing to do directly with prices. In a list of thirty-two articles, twenty-one were on the dutiable and eleven on the free list, and while the eleven articles on the free list made an average advance in price from 1896 to 1904 of 53.54 per cent., the average advance of the dutiable articles was 8.6 per cent. Of this latter class of 21 articles, 12 had advanced, 6 had declined and 3 were the same. It is demand and supply and not the tariff that control prices. When our people have money, as is always the case under protection, they are liberal buyers; but under a low tariff when so many are out of work and have but little money to buy with they cannot afford to be liberal buyers. This is strikingly shown by our consumption of wheat, the most important of foods. In 1894, under the Wilson low tariff, the price of wheat was less than 50 cents a bushel, yet our people only required 3.44 bushels per capita; but in 1907, under the Dingley law, with the farm price of wheat nearly double, they required over seven bushels. These are extreme cases, but they fully show the effect on consumption and prices under a low and a high tariff policy.

We will close the consideration of our first question by making a quotation from our Lincoln which coincides with the claims of Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson, of the founders of the American system of protection, and its best modern promoters, Blaine and McKinley. Lincoln said, "By this tariff system the man who contents himself to live

upon the products of his own country pays no tariff, and surely this country is extensive enough and its products abundant enough to answer all the real wants of the people."

We know that our experience as an independent people establishes beyond question a negative answer to our first question, and although we have gone over items before mentioned and will do the same in getting at the "Why" of our second, they are good reminders of the true conditions of the controversy. In coming to that question we can find no better argument against such talk of tariff reduction than the reasons given in the Republican Campaign Text Book of 1908. In a review therein of our tariff history and experience we find this declaration: "Following these various changes the general statement can be made that whenever in our history the tariff has been reduced in whole or in part, a business depression has followed, and in many cases most severe commercial and industrial panics."

It may appear strange to many Republicans to learn that their platform of that campaign called for what was afterward explained to be "a substantial revision downward" of the Dingley tariff law, yet that platform, as well as the platform of 1904, when rightly construed, committed the party to a tariff for revenue only, whatever that means. Now give attention and we will prove what we say. The Republicans of the Finance Committee of the Senate in their report on the House tariff bill of 1888 in answering the Democratic free trade platform notion of a tariff equal to the difference in wage cost of production at home and

abroad, said, "In the ultimate analysis, the cost of production of manufactured articles is the cost of labor or service of man." That means that all raw material in nature's storehouse, no matter how abundant, is useless and worthless until made available by man's work.

But that committee of true Republicans was not aware that the time would come when their interpretation of this Democratic free-trade tariff notion would show that the Republican platforms of 1904 and 1908 were identical in sentiment and expression with the Democratic free trade platforms of 1884 and 1888. But read the platforms with this correct and logical interpretation and you find they mean the same except as to "reasonable profits;" but as that, with the difference in cost of production, all goes to the government as revenue, it still leaves it a measure of tariff for revenue only, as the foreign producer pays in revenue to our government the exact amount, if a tariff commission can find what that is, that the home producer pays in extra wages.

Now which platform are you on, and how did it come about that you did not know "where you were at" on the tariff question? As Iowa has a man who thinks the people ought to elect him President we may have had better opportunities to keep posted on progressiveness. When Clarkson, Quay, Platt and company failed to run Benjamin Harrison's administration they schemed to beat him for the nomination for a second term, and Clarkson wanted Cummins to help in the work, so he got him to lead in the State and in the National Convention. They failed at Minnea-

polis in June but made it all right in November; but their platform calls for "duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home." This was the first free trade platform the Republican party ever adopted, and is the same as the Democratic platform of 1884; yet nobody knows how it happened.

Mr. Clarkson soon turned the party and state over to Mr. Cummins, who has done wondrous well, having been Governor, United States Senator, and is going to have the people make him President for his work in knocking out their plan of state wide prohibition and for defeating their policy of protection.

We thus use Iowa's candidate because we know him as a politician best; but all the Republican aspirants for the Republican nomination for the Presidency are the same so far as tariff is concerned; competing in the open field for political favors of Republicans as to who of them can guarantee the most radical reductions of our tariff, and all in the name of Republican protection. And here we find an answer to our second question. If the tariff is not paid by the American consumer of protected products, "Why talk of tariff reduction" for the relief of such burdens? These aspirants for the Republican nomination think they have got the party to believe that all tariffs are a direct tax on all they consume, so that the greater the reduction in the tariff rates the less tax they will have to pay and the greater the reduction in their living expenses. It seems incredible that these great leaders should form such discreditable notions of Republican intelligence, but recent demonstrations in a neighbor-

ing State are calculated to encourage them in their work, and freely shows they understand their power over the people to induce them to act contrary to their own belief and interests; so they keep on talking "tariff reduction."

But Iowa's candidate makes a bid that he thinks will knock them all out of the box. He would abandon all tariffs and other sources of revenue and collect all needs of the government by a tax on the rich alone, exempting all incomes of five thousand dollars or less, making all above that pay a proportionate amount of the government's needs. Even the most radical could not get under that in behalf of "the common people." Cummins is a great organizer, and with the help of some forty thousand Democrats he has been able to banish Lesley M. Shaw from the State and silence Hepburn and Lacey, and before accepting the proffered nomination for the Presidency he is going to teach Lafe Young a lesson that will cure him of his notion of being a United States Senator.

Now, Mr. Republican Protectionist, how do you like it when no man is brave enough to offer himself for the Republican nomination for the Presidency on the Lincoln, Blaine, McKinley platforms of true Republicanism; and when that policy cannot be defended in our halls of Congress without bringing abuse and contempt from progressives and free-trade Democrats. All these aspirants for the Republican nomination know that in advocating tariff reduction to relieve our people of all unnecessary and excessive tariff taxation; that is, all over and above the difference in cost of production

at home and abroad, which means a tariff for revenue only, they give away the whole question of Protection and place themselves with Cleveland in his lucid but mistaken arguments for free-trade, the falsity of which McKinley so aptly and effectually exposed by calling attention to the pertinent fact that "not a few" home products were costing the consumers less than the tariff rates thereon at the time Cleveland wrote that letter of acceptance.

We have fairly analyzed the questions and found answers, but in coming down to the last we hear so much from aspirants, both Republicans and Democrats, all working for tariff reduction, about getting down to the "common people" as our law making power, and thus do away with our Constitutional representative government "of, for and by the people," we will here notice this "retrogressive" Athenian hobby of the "people's rule." Through these socialistic measures, such as the initiative, referendum and recall, the "common people" instead of gaining, lose their power to govern themselves. Here is a striking example. The leadership of the Republicans since McKinley's time has actually led the Republicans away from their greatest and most vital party principle onto Democratic ground to which they were always opposed, and judging from Illinois the Republicans of today have gone wild for the leader who has thus led them. And they will not see it.

In this same way they can be led into any kind of government their leaders may plan for them. This is why the wise founders of our government provided our people with a representative government as the

best, safest and most enduring of all governments, and whenever our people are led to abandon such a government under pretense of assuming a more perfect form of "the people's government," they will, like the Republicans of today, lose their governing principle and power and place themselves at the mercy of their most active, ambitious and unscrupulous leaders. These possibilities make honest leadership of more importance than party success or temporary triumph.

Now if the Republicans of the United States want to show that we are mistaken in regard to their submission to leadership opposed to historic Republican principles, let them wake up and boldly face that over-worked stigma of retrogression and go back to the McKinley platform declaration of 1900 on the tariff question. They can, but will they do it? If they do not thus express themselves and get out of their present deplorable condition as a party it will undoubtedly be for want of able and wise leadership.

AN AMERICAN CANAL, BUT NO AMERICAN SHIPS.

From the New York American.

Month by month the time draws near for the opening of the Panama canal. The commercial world of Europe and Asia is aglow with preparations for that earth-changing event. America digs—but takes no thought for the harvest of its own arduous planting. We are creating a waterway that will alter all the long trails of sea travel; we are spending our strength to double the efficiency of the ocean-carrying trade

of foreign nations—but we are making no preparations to increase our own carrying trade. The canal will be American—but it now appears that the ships that sail through it will fly every flag but ours. There is no news to tell of the revival of an American merchant marine; but there is much news of the expansive plans of Germany and other maritime countries in view of the expected opening of the Panama canal.

Thus, for example, Mr. Philip Heineken, manager-director of the North German Lloyd steamship Line, has just completed a survey of our Pacific ports, and announces that, with the opening of the canal, his company will establish a direct service from Bremen to San Francisco, at passenger and freight rates identical with those of its Bremen-New York service. Another German line, the Hansa, will make Tacoma the terminal of an inter-oceanic service, touching at other ports on our Pacific coast. These two projects will not only bear heavily upon our transcontinental railroads, but will materially affect the commerce of New York and will make inroads on our Pacific coasting trade.

Once more this newspaper cries its warning: Wake up, America, wake up! Congress should not adjourn without taking action for the restoration of the long lost ocean-carrying business of the United States. We protect every other staple industry; why should we make an exception of the one industry that involves all other industries, the one industry that gives meaning and use to our great labor at the Isthmus?

THE HOSIERY INDUSTRY AND COST OF LIVING.

From an address of Charles Vein at the Convention of the National Association of Hosiery and Underwear Manufacturers.

The increased cost of living has nothing to do with the tariff as long as there is no increase in the tariff.

It is said that the sentiment of the country on the question of protection is changing. It is not. The change is only one of location. There is a drift against protection in the Middle West which would be fully offset by a change of sentiment in the opposite direction, in the South if it could be made to count. It cannot be made to count because of the negro question, which prevents Southerners from voting for what are considered Republican tenets.

The report of the Tariff Board just issued and submitted by Mr. Taft in a message to Congress shows that the wages of American operatives on fashion hosiery is on some grades 400 per cent. higher than in Germany with an average of about 300 per cent. for the different grades.

In 1909 I wrote: "With this depreciation in the purchasing power of money comes a lagging increase in all incomes except those fixed by law or derived from annuities, interest, etc." We are now having acute symptoms of this process of readjustment in the British railway and miners' strikes, the strike of the New England cotton mills, and our own coal miners' strike, and the threatening strike of railway engineers.

During a period in which, according to Sauerbeck's figures, the cost

of living advanced 25 per cent., the average wages to hosiery operatives have advanced at least 40 per cent., according to the very lowest figures that I can find. The cost of raw cotton and yarns have fluctuated widely. Yarns will never go as low again as the lowest of the past, they will go higher than the highest.

All other materials, such as dye-stuffs, soap, printing, boxes, packing cases, fuel, show great advances in prices. It is safe to say in the aggregate these have advanced considerably more than the general average of 25 per cent. shown by Sauerbeck's figures.

Now, what has the manufacturer to show to offset this increased cost of production? Did he make an inordinate profit in the past? If so, there would certainly be some millionaires among us. He has not only not advanced his price, but he gives infinitely better values for the same price. He gives today a much better quality and gauge than he did 15, 10, 5 or one year ago, and in addition adds many novel features.

One of the manufacturer's greatest increased costs is the ever-growing rate of depreciation of the value of his machinery owing to the constant improvements. This depreciation is probably greater than in any other industry.

The increased cost of living does not extend to hosiery. The consumer is getting more for his money than ever before. Clerks and shop girls are wearing silk hosiery. In fact, just at present they will wear nothing else. The term "silk stocking element" to denote the rich has become obsolete. The thing to give us most concern is not so much the increased cost of living as the in-

creasing cost of living. I am aware that there has been a slight recession in this cost of living in the last two or three years. This is but a counter-current. Our trouble is that all we buy costs more and what we sell brings less. The only thing that saves us is enlarged output with its economies of production.

I have no remedy to suggest; I am diagnosing the case. The first step in the cure of disease is to recognize the cause. There is no use in suggesting treatment until you know whether the patient needs a stimulant or a sedative. We must all of us first recognize that when we sell today an article for \$1 it is dearer than if we had sold it for 75 cents in the year 1900, and that is the point of my discourse.

AUTOMATIC LOOMS.

The automatic looms manufactured by the Crompton & Knowles Loom Works, Worcester, Mass., and equipped with magazines of from two to four color capacity are among the latest and most interesting inventions used in the weaving of multi-colored ginghams and worsteds.

Not only has the automatic magazine been adapted to gingham looms, where from two to six colors are used, but it has also been adapted to looms used for weaving blankets, quilts and worsteds. In the weaving of goods where a large number of bobbins are required for the body of the pattern and but a few for the border, magazines have been so constructed that extra bobbins are carried for the body. For instance, assuming that the loom is a four-color machine, ordinarily there would be four receptacles in the magazine, but where the conditions are as described above, the magazine is made with five or six cells, thereby giving one or two extra cells for the bobbin most called upon in the pattern. The installation of the magazine loom does for the gingham and worsted

mills what it has accomplished for the plain cotton mills. A weaver on ginghams generally runs about six looms, while with a magazine equipment he can run twelve or sixteen, and on worsted and blanket looms a much greater number can be taken care of by one weaver. This does not mean that the placing of more looms to a weaver is a hardship, for he can earn more money, and at the same time materially reduce the weaving cost to the mill.

The loom with the automatic magazine will stop, as will the ordinary loom, if the filling breaks, but it replaces the almost exhausted bobbin at a predetermined time. The detector feels through the binder to the bobbin and by the proper setting of this detector the bobbin is replaced when two or three picks are left.

The putting on of a magazine running colors does not militate against the operation of the loom for the movement of the shuttle box, but the calling of the various colors as required by the pattern controls the escapement of the magazine for the releasing of the corresponding color to the one in the shuttle, from the magazine.

The looms both of the ordinary and magazine type are equipped with warp stop motions which practically eliminate the sewing in of broken warp threads in woolen and worsted goods, and in gingham and cotton mills it prevents seconds on account of missing warp threads.

The Textile Manufacturers' Journal says "the Japanese are making great strides in the woolen industry, and by importing the latest modern machinery are striving to manufacture all classes of woolen goods that find a market in Japan." It is predicted that they will do this in a few years, with the exception of goods intended for men's outside wear, and there is good reason to believe that in course of time they will be invading other markets with their surpluses unless, happily for themselves and the Western world, they meantime manage to elevate their standard of living high enough to deprive the abundance of their labor of some of its formidableness.—San Francisco Chronicle.

HAMPERING THE MANUFACTURER.

From the Worcester Magazine.

Many crocodile tears are shed in this country on the hustings, in the press and elsewhere over the woes of the farmer. Every possible provision that science can suggest or money can provide for his welfare is eagerly embraced. A fond government provides doctors for his hogs and prizes for his children, but as for the manufacturer there is none so poor as to do him reverence. On the contrary he is fair game for everybody from Congress to the I. W. W. If he is manufacturing a cheap product and has to pay low wages to get by he is conducting a parasitic industry which ought to be suppressed. If he manufactures a good article and pays good wages and earns a dividend he is robbing his help because he does not turn over the dividend to them as well—the modern theory of the sociologist being that capital shall take all the risks and receive none of the returns. If he combines with others in the same line to reduce the overhead charges and gives the public the benefit of the combination, as the Standard Oil Company did in the case of kerosene, he is guilty of a combination in restraint of trade, and it must be dissolved in order that the public may have the privilege of paying more for the article under competition than it did for it under combination. He cannot make a contract less it land him in jail, and unless he does make contracts he cannot run his works.

The Interstate Commerce Commission cuts the country up into five zones, and the next step is to put all

freight rates on a mileage basis, thereby limiting the activities of the manufacturer as far as possible to the zone in which he is located. At the same time in order to make things more interesting Congress proposes to take down the tariff wall permitting foreign importations, manufactured at 50 per cent. the labor cost of similar goods in America, to come in duty free, and by reason of their cheapness penetrate all zones.

In practically every State in the Union now, except New York, all a manufacturer's common law defences in case of an accident in his works have been swept away and he is at the mercy of a new law known as the Workingmen's Compensation Act, under which he has no rights, except the right to settle if he can and go broke if he cannot.

To this has been added in three States, Massachusetts, Wisconsin and Minnesota, the latest piece of speculative philosophy in the manufacturing world known as the Minimum Wage bill. This proposition carries the era of collective bargaining one step farther than it has ever been shouldered before. Under its provisions an employer is no longer going to be able to fix the wages of those he employs. This is to be done hereafter by wage boards appointed by the State. All the employer has to do now is to find the money to carry on the industry, pay whatever he is ordered to pay and take all the risks. Should he fail under these circumstances the backers of this bill propose that the State shall take over the industry in question and manage it collectively. What this means in Worcester is that we shall have laundries, for in-

stance, run by the State in active competition with laundries run by both white men and yellow men—the State in active competition with its own citizens and others, until the citizens and others are made bankrupt and socialism reigns supreme.

Is the picture too black? At one of the last hearings before the Minimum Wage Commission one of the advocates of the bill declared, "Too long in this State has labor had half a loaf. Capital can now take a half and see how it likes it," and the statement was applauded to the echo. "Furthermore," he added, "if capital cannot pay its bills after these minimum wage boards are established it can go broke. The State can take over all such enterprises, paying as high wages to the employes as it sees fit."

The general government, in a burst of foolish generosity, has for several years appropriated as much as \$140,000 a year—about one-half what it spends in stamping out hog cholera—to the maintenance of a Bureau of Manufactures in the Department of Commerce and Labor. The manufacturer, being by way of a nuisance and practically without friends in this country at the present time, is to have this toy taken away from him and a hot air balloon tied with pink ribbons labeled "The Bureau of Trade Relations" handed him in its stead. The manufacturers will not know the difference, and the hogs need the \$140,000.

It is of course barely possible that the manufacturers and business men of this country will some day awake from their Rip Van Winkle sleep and demand of the government the same rights and privileges accorded to every other interest in America.

It is high time they did, for as you read these words in a hundred cities the red rag of revolution ripples its rebellious ribbons in the very faces of the militia and the police, while capital, sunk in the lethargy of despair, betrayed by every interest and damned by every demagogue, sleeps on and on and on.

RAPID PROGRESS IN MACHINERY.

BY R. P. SNELLING.

Great Britain owes her pre-eminence in textile manufacturing, not only to her great abundance of low-priced skilled labor (skilled by years of steady practice, where father has handed down to son his knowledge of some particular line of work), but largely to the energy and resourcefulness of the textile machinery manufacturers, who have been closely allied with and a very necessary part of the development of the textile arts.

In the United States the textile manufacturing industry began, it might be said, in small machine shops, where the genius of mechanical skill was called upon to design, often without models, the machinery necessary to make a start in the first mills in the early part of the 19th century, and, under a protective tariff, the industry has had a wonderful growth, where conditions were otherwise adverse. This growth has been made possible in a large measure by the development of the textile machinery shops, where machinery has been perfected from the first rude designs to standard machines, which are now unsurpassed by those of Great Britain or Europe for ordinary textile goods, and in some par-

ticulars, notably the looms of the Draper Company and the Crompton & Knowles Loom Works, are in the lead even of the old country.

All the improvements which have originated in the machine shops have been of immense advantage to the textile trade, and the importance of fostering the growth of the textile machinery shops, not only on this account, but on account of the immense advantage of having repairs and supplies quickly furnished to the mills, cannot be overestimated. Each year has seen some further advance by the mills into the field of finer and more difficult goods, and, if tariff conditions are not materially changed, the United States will in the near future be able to supply its people with the finest grades of textile goods, which are now imported from Great Britain and Europe.

Except in small details, the same general system of machinery has now been adopted all over the world in cotton manufacturing, and although 20 years ago the United States was somewhat behind Great Britain and Europe in cotton carding, great improvements have since been made in American carding machinery, so that today this department of manufacturing is fully equal, if not superior, to the foreign. This country has always been behind England in mule spinning, but has been in the lead in frame spinning, and our improvements in this line have been adopted abroad. As stated above, for ordinary goods our looms are in the lead, but they are now being manufactured and used in Great Britain and the continent. On very fine goods we have still

much to learn from the older countries, although we are going ahead with rapid strides.

In woolen and worsted machinery this country has not been as far advanced as Great Britain and Europe, but in recent years some of the American shops have been giving this machinery more attention, and undoubtedly they will soon be able to supply the needs of this country if they are not hampered by tariff changes.

To develop a line of textile machinery and properly equip a plant for its manufacture the work and thought of a generation are required, and the textile machine shops of the United States were founded many years ago, and there has been an immense and constant expense for new improvements in patterns and plants, the capital invested today in the various textile machine shops being not far from \$50,000,000. The principal shops are located in New England and around Philadelphia.

THE LABOR SITUATION.

From the Bache Review.

Another obstacle which might be viewed as adverse to a business revival is the labor situation. Neither has this apparently had great weight with the progress of business. The settled conviction seems to be that some way out will be found with reference to each of the problems of this character which presents itself. This view, early maintained, has proved true so far and will probably continue to do so.

It is to be contended that the labor situation has never been liqui-

dated since the panic of 1907 and for a long time a liquidation with revision of wages downward was looked for. This did not materialize and now we are getting a revision upward. The demand of the locomotive engineers having been passed on to arbitration, the railway firemen now come forward asking for still larger increases. There is said to be a rivalry between the two organizations. A strike of pressmen has been started in Chicago. It is perhaps unfortunate that at the first sign of business prosperity, the trades unions take the opportunity to jack up their prices before the business community has begun to realize many new profits. The danger in all this is that proprietors, anxious to take advantage of reviving volume, will make settlements with the workers at such higher figures as will make impossible any profit, even with the business increased heavily. We shall then be continuing as we have been for two years, doing a large business without profit, and the ultimate result of this must be disastrous. As far as the railroads are concerned, if these demands of the workers turned over to arbitration are met even in part, there is but one remedy on an economic basis, and that is to permit the railroads to raise rates, which, in fact, should have been done long ago.

One of the most prominent railroad men in the country, in a letter to us commenting on the article in the Review last week on "Strikes," says:

"Is it not about time to institute a campaign for a permanent national commission of arbitration to take up all controversies in regard to wages,

conditions of service, etc., requiring railroads, under the Interstate Commerce Law, to accept the decision of this tribunal; and requiring the employes, as a condition of exemption from the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, to in like manner submit all controversies of this character to this commission and abide by its decision?"

"It is intolerable to think that any organization, and in some cases practically one man at the head of an organization, should have the power to paralyze the industrial and commercial life of all or any portion of the Nation.

"Corporations which furnish transportation, light, heat, power, and water should be so regulated as to make an interruption in their operation and service to the public an impossibility; and I believe it can be worked out, and that in the long run an arrangement of this character will be beneficial to employes, employers, and wonderfully so to the public."

REPUBLICAN POLICIES IMPERILED.

From the Portland Press.

With the exception of the two terms of President Cleveland, the Republican party has governed this nation for the past fifty years. Coming into power on the issues that rent the American union in 1860, it has continued to maintain issues and uphold principles which the true blue Republican believes essential for the highest interests of the country. That is as true of the time here and now as of any period in the past half century. There are great well defined, distinctive political and economic principles which we advocate and believe essential. Hence we

deprecate excessive zeal in behalf of any personality in leadership, holding that the individual is of secondary importance and that measures should be put before men.

What are these principles? One of them is the protection of American industries. Every Republican of whatever shade of belief, whether conservative, progressive or radical, whether for Taft or Roosevelt or La Follette, believes in tariff protection. No real Democrat stands for that. What he stands for is tariff for revenue only. That has been stated in numerous Democratic platforms, and it is shown in the course of the Democratic party now in control of the House of Representatives in bringing in bill after bill on that basis. Chairman Underwood, Governor Wilson, Governor Harmon, Speaker Clark—all the leading Democrats agree that the tariff is the great issue before the country. If they prevail in the elections—as they are likely to if the Republicans cleave into hostile factions—the country may know what to expect; and from experience of the four years of complete Democratic ascendancy in 1893-5 there is reason to fear a repetition of that experience. The Republican position on the most important question is definite and unequivocal. President Taft has presented it over and over again, and from Mr. Roosevelt's recent speeches in the West it appears that he is in substantial agreement. This is a maintenance of a degree of protection to be sufficient to maintain the American standard of living but not so large as to afford a shelter for greedy monopoly. This is but one of the principles, though a leading one, that would be im-

periled by Democratic ascendancy. Republicans should keep it in mind and not allow themselves to be carried away too far by zeal for this or that candidate. It is the fortunes of the party that are at stake.

CHENEY BROTHERS.

Founded in 1838, and incorporated in 1854, the firm of Cheney Brothers, located at South Manchester, Conn., has grown steadily until it is now the largest silk manufacturing company in the world. There were eight brothers of whom five were actively engaged in the original company. They first became interested in the importing and raising of mulberry-trees and silkworms when the silkworm-mulberry-tree craze was at its height in America in 1835. After the failure of the mulberry-tree business owing to the climate of this country, the firm began the manufacture of sewing silk, later dropping this part of the industry for the then better paying business of weaving broad silks.

Cheney Brothers have continued the manufacture of broad silks and have from time to time added other lines until at the present time there is not a silk manufactory in America or Europe to be compared with theirs in scope. A "silk manufactory" may mean a number of different things, for instance, it may be a mill where nothing but the throwing or weaving of silk, etc., is carried on. Cheney Brothers buy the raw and waste silk from abroad, make their own spun silk, do their own yarn dyeing, and weave all classes of goods—yarn dyed and piece dyed dress goods, upholstery and decorative goods, ribbons, velvet ribbons, neckties, plushes and velvets—as well as selling yarns for special uses in the trades and woolen and cotton manufacturers and electrical concerns. While there may be other concerns which in one branch of the industry may be larger, such as the weaving of one class of goods, Cheney Brothers' is the largest in the aggregate for one concern. They occupy 32 acres of floor space, and it would be difficult for a person to make a complete tour of the works and see all of the different proc-

esses in a day. There are over 4,000 employes.

In connection with the manufacture of silks, Cheney Brothers operate a railroad $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, connecting their works with the main line of the N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. They also operate a gas plant, a light and power company and a water works.

The best of feeling exists between the company and its employes. They mutually maintain a benefit association which grants relief in case of sickness or accident, and a just pension system has been maintained for years. The company has also just lately established a silk trade school in connection with the common schools, the only thing of its kind in the United States. Cheney Brothers sell land to the workers and all of the employes are encouraged to own their own homes.

Cheney Brothers' Sales Department is located in New York City with branches in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco. The New York offices are located at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Eighteenth Street, and are well-equipped and up-to-date in every way.

"Cheney Silks" have attained a world-wide reputation.

THE WOOL TARIFF.

In a letter to the editor of the Newark (N. J.) News, Joseph D. Holmes says:

"It has been suggested recently that President Taft might be justified in now signing the woolen tariff bill that he vetoed last year.

"It is stated that this measure accords a fair amount of protection to our industries, and shows also that the report of the tariff commission did not indicate any change necessary in the bill.

"As for the tariff commission being unable to ascertain the exact difference in costs between foreign and home made products, no one expected that they should do so. But

as they have made an approximate estimate, that the foreign labor cost is about half that in this country, there is a plain enough basis of what protection is needed.

"But when one looks at facts, instead of theories, or prophecies, no room is left for guesswork.

"We are importing, at the port of New York, under present duties of 100 to 125 per cent., about \$25,000,000 worth of woolens per annum.

"If the duties were reduced, it is as plain as possible that the importations would increase. And unless all our looms were fully employed, the goods so imported would take the place of goods made here, and cause further unemployment. The industry has not been flourishing since the tariff agitation began. There is no wide margin of profit to be cut to meet the new competition. The average profit on woolen or worsted cloth is less than 5 per cent. and dozens of mills have gone out of business in the last few years, unable to make any profits at all.

"Mr. Underwood gives us 20 per cent. on wool, and a low tariff on cloth.

"In Canada the preferential duty is 30 per cent. on cloth, with free wool. In consequence a large and flourishing industry has been ruined.

"Canadian woolens at one time had a high reputation. They were honest and durable cloths, similar to the Scotch tweeds and homespun.

"Their mills today are closed and for sale or changed to other industries, or struggling along hoping for a return to better things.

"All the talk about wages paid in Lawrence has nothing to do with the case. One has but to ask whence

came the \$21,000,000 in the Lawrence savings banks, or the millions that have been sent out through the Lawrence postoffice, to bring relatives from Europe to share in their new world prosperity.

"The whole matter boils down to this: Woolen goods can be produced and purchased abroad for about one-half of what they cost here. If that is the better economic plan, then place the importation on a revenue basis, give the people cheap woollens, and close our mills as has been done in Canada. But do not pretend that the result will be the betterment of woolen mill operatives in this country."

SHAWKNIT HOSIERY.

In our varied paths through life how often do we hear all classes of persons quoting passages from writings of well known poets and writers; recognize famous paintings and sculpture; apply well known proverbs, and in fact display such a knowledge of art and literature it leads one to think that it could be obtained only by constant study and application, when in reality it is simply reiteration of what has become common knowledge by reason of some inherent appeal to some one of the senses, and adopted as being some of the good things to always keep in mind.

This would explain why Shawknit has become such a well known article of hosiery, as for 35 years it has been before the eyes of the people as an exponent of what is good to wear on the feet, insuring comfort in walking, long wear and perfect fit, so that at the present time the goods stamped with this trade-mark are considered and quoted as being the standard for merit.

This has been the result of a constant endeavor to supply the wearer with a covering for the foot that would appeal to their sense of comfort, attained by the use of the best combed yarns; perfect knitting and finishing and pure,

clean dyes. So well known has the trade-mark become throughout the whole world, and so confident have the manufacturers been in the excellence of their product, it has been a source of great satisfaction that so few wearers have ever taken advantage of the privilege of the unlimited guarantee of perfection attached to each pair of Shawknit.

The hosiery bearing this trade-mark can be obtained in every grade, color and style from heavy goods for severe wear to the finest silks for society functions and at prices to please the most critical.

Details of how these goods can be ordered and obtained can be had by addressing the Shaw Stocking Co., Lowell, Mass.

THE TAYLOR SYSTEM.

Fair Rewards for Speeding Up.

The "speeding up" process in the "scientific" or Taylor system is an attempt to supply in factory labor that incentive which exists where a man is working for himself. The reward is increased when the effort is increased, which is according to the law of nature. No impossible task is set and no hard taskmaster stands over the workmen in a "scientific shop," but, having determined what is a fair day's work for an efficient laborer, the employer offers a bonus for exceeding that work. There is no penalty for not equalling the standard output for a day, except that plainly inefficient workmen will be weeded out; but the intent of every shop is to weed out its plainly inefficient men. The man who voluntarily exceeds the standard is paid for the excess. But that is precisely what happens to the man who is working for himself and who works harder or more effectively than the average man. His return is larger. This is the incentive that makes him put forth greater efforts than the hired worker.

Before the days of the factory, when a good many men worked for themselves, the incentive to work efficiently was general, but who would say that humanity suffered because of the conse-

quent "speeding up"? Who would say that the tailor or cobbler in business for himself today, or the farmer having his own small farm, was "speeded up," and suffering accordingly, because of the incentive to work supplied by the possibility of thus increasing his income?

INWARDNESS OF RECIPROCITY.

From the Canadian Gazette.

We are beginning to see some, at least, of the inwardness of the Reciprocity campaign which was waged so furiously last summer in the United States Press. A Boston dispatch, discussing the break between the Hearst newspaper syndicate and the International Paper Company, tells us that the profits of the Hearst papers (between \$700,000 and \$800,000 annually) have been made with paper at about 1.8 cents per pound on a contract for 125,000 tons annually. When International Paper became tired of selling 25 per cent. of its total product at a loss and decided to advance the price to Mr. Hearst as well as to all others, to 2 1/4 cents per pound, the difference reached \$700,000 per annum, or just about enough to cancel the Hearst profits. The New York World says that its paper is costing \$300,000 more a year than was the case two or three years ago, and the higher cost of paper is said to have taken \$200,000 from the \$1,000,000 profits of the New York Herald. How all this might have been changed had Canada negotiated reciprocity with free paper and pulp! But Canadians see no reasons why they should not make pulp into paper for themselves and for export.

WAGE ADVANCE BY INTERNATIONAL PAPER CO.

A despatch from Glens Falls, N. Y., tells of an advance in the rate of wages paid to the workers at the mills of the International Paper Company, on May 1, of one cent per hour. This increase amounts to approximately \$150,000 per year, and is voluntarily granted by the company. Taken together with the increase granted last June for extra work, which amounts to \$35,000 per year, and

the amount earned in the form of bonuses on paper production, which amounts to \$15,000 per year, this makes a total wage increase of \$200,000 per year. Several thousand employes throughout the country will be benefited. These increases, the company states, have been provided for in appreciation of service rendered and with the firm belief that continual interest and increasing efficiency in our manufacturing business as well as mutual benefit to the company, its employes and the communities wherein we operate will follow.

THE ASSAULT UPON OUR FOREIGN COMMERCE.

The action of the Democratic House in reducing the appropriations for the State Department by over \$94,000, thus abolishing the entire organization by which the Department has been able in the past three years to advance American commercial interests and enterprises in foreign countries and to extend to those interests that measure of support which every other great nation extends to its commercial interests, is another evidence of that party's antagonism to the expansion of the country's business and commerce.

The situation is considered so serious by the officials of the State Department that Huntington Wilson, Acting Secretary of State, has issued a public warning of the ill effects of the proposed legislation.

"If the bill should stand as it has just passed the House it would wreck the whole reorganized Department of State, which has given the American people for the first time a modernized State Department. By doing this it would almost nullify all the efforts of the whole Diplomatic and Consular Service es-

tablishment, because these are useless without an efficient State Department to direct them. In particular, this astoundingly reactionary legislation if passed would destroy the Divisions of Latin-American, Far Eastern, Near Eastern, and European Affairs, and would deprive the Department of the services of the some dozen Diplomatic and Consular Service men who are attached to the Department in order to give advice from intimate personal knowledge and to carry on all the detail of important political and commercial diplomatic correspondence with each country. It would deprive the business men of the United States of the advantage of all that these men are able to give them in the way of accurate information. It would destroy the Bureau of Trade Relations, whose efficient efforts to expand American foreign trade have brought expressions of appreciation from the manufacturers and business men of the whole country, North, South, East, and West.

"The proposed legislation eliminates the Director of the Consular Service, an office created to give that service, so vastly important to our commerce, the live and energetic direction essential to its present high efficiency. This bill destroys the Division of Information, the only means by which two or three embassies, co-operating for the same purpose, are kept informed each what the other is doing.

"Without further elaboration, it may be said with absolute accuracy that such legislation would put the United States in the rear rank of all governments in the matter of legitimate and effective support to

worthy American enterprises and to foreign commerce, and would do all this at the very epoch in our history when our foreign relations and our foreign trade have become vastly more important than ever before and are plainly seen to be on the way to an importance which will be every year greater to the manufacturer, the business man, the exporter, the farmer, and the laborer of the United States.

"Before the reorganization three or four men were expected to handle the mass of the most heterogeneous matters — Chinese, Latin-American, and what not. Result, a large proportion of opportunities to advance the Nation's interests simply went by the board. It was physically impossible to do the work. Since the reorganization the business men of the country, finding in the Department an up-to-date, efficient machine to help them in their efforts for foreign trade, were at first surprised and then began eagerly taking advantage of the opportunities offered. The result is that the business of the Department in promoting foreign trade, as, indeed, in all political and diplomatic directions as well, has incredibly increased. If all these instrumentalities are to be destroyed, it will be far worse than if we had never tried to have a modern foreign office.

"Practically without debate and apparently without knowledge or realization on the part of the public and the press of what was being done, a really momentous thing has been done. In a few hours a great Department has been practically wiped out, so far as any hope of the continuance of real efficiency is concerned."

NO WOOL MONOPOLY.

American Woolen Co. Controls but Small Part of the Industry in America, According to Census Figures.

If the Federal Government should attempt to prosecute the American Woolen Company under the Sherman law on the ground of being a monopoly, or in restraint of trade, it would encounter difficulty. Including the business of the Ayer Mill and the recently acquired Wood Worsted, its gross turnover in a year like either of the past two will be less than \$60,000,000 and in 1909 was less than \$65,000,000.

On the figures of the census themselves, such business constitutes less than 15 per cent. of the total output of all of the American woolen and worsted mills. And the monopoly line is supposed to be in the neighborhood of three or four times this figure.

Of the 1,200 woolen and worsted mills in the United States American Woolen controls only 35, or under 3 per cent. of the total. Of the 168,000 wage earners, no more than 30,000 are enrolled under the American Woolen banner. And the highly capitalized Woolen Corporation can only be indicted for less than 10 per cent. representation. Of some \$415,000,000 woolen and worsted mill capital, it has only \$40,000,000 and with its Ayer mill notes its financial obligations are only \$42,000,000. The following tabulation of woolen and worsted mill operations as of 1909 show how small is the percentage American Woolen controls:

	Mills.	Capital.	Em- ployees.	Output.
Total.....	1900	\$415,000,000	168,000	\$419,000,000
American Woolen.	85	40,000,000	30,000	60,000,000
Per cent of total.	2.9		9.6	19.1

THE MINIMUM WAGE.

The agitation for a minimum wage prompts John E. Fogg of Candia, N. H., to write as follows in a letter to the Boston Herald: "It is an odd condition of things that we are experiencing in this country: the government is busy compelling competition among employers of labor; the state of Massachusetts

is busy agitating to stop competition among laborers; the government is busy making higher prices by denying the right to lower them by business combinations on a large scale; the state of Massachusetts is busy making higher prices by compelling laborers to stop competition among themselves and compels the man who buys labor to pay higher prices for it. Meanwhile people do not know why it costs more to live! 'What fools these mortals be!'"

Mr. Fogg then proceeds to ask these pertinent questions: "When we get the 'minimum' wage shall we then get the 'minimum' barrel of flour? Shall we get, too, the 'minimum' importation of labor from the starving poor of Europe, and shall we get, too, a 'minimum' family of children asking for jobs? Shall we get a 'minimum' of common sense, too, or is Massachusetts showing that already? What has become of the old economic doctrine of supply and demand? Was it a farce? Is there no such a thing any longer as abundance or scarcity? Are prices of labor and commodities no longer to be affected by the causes that have operated since time began? Are we on the eve of obliterating time and space and all hitherto operative laws, or so-called laws of nature? Are they all fakes?"

THE ARLINGTON MILLS.

The Arlington Mills at Lawrence are reported not only running at larger capacity than before the recent strike, but actually employing nearly 20 per cent. more hands than at that time. "In this respect Arlington stands almost alone, if not alone, among the Lawrence mills," says a local report. "It is today employing 5,700 hands, as against 4,900 previous to the strike, and its business today would warrant the employment of an additional 800, were they available. Prospects are that May will be the largest month in the history of Arlington so far. The first four months of the current year, business booked was fully 25 per cent. to 30 per cent. ahead of last year, and there are more looms in operation than at any time since November, 1909. All departments are booked up practically full for some time to come,

including the Arlington cotton department, which does an annual business of approximately \$2,500,000, or about one-sixth the total gross for the big mill. Unless unforeseen tariff legislation or other disturbing influence should arise, 1912 will be quite a prosperous year, despite its unpropitious beginning with labor troubles."

THE NEED OF POLITICAL SANITY.

From the Speech of Hon. Edward L. Hamilton, of Michigan, in the House of Representatives.

There never was a time of greater need of level-headed stability than now. The Nation was never more in need of the kind of patriotism and political sanity that rises above mere self-seeking than now. And yet there never was a time when men were apparently more willing to fan any smoldering discontent into a blaze for personal political gain than now. There never was a time when men were more willing to sow grudges and discontent than now. There never was a time when men were more ready to strain or amend the Constitution than now. On the other hand, there never was a time when a larger element of our population were susceptible to inflammatory influences than now. There never was a time when a larger element of our population could be played upon by opera-bouffe, whirling-dervish methods than now. And there never was a time when party fealty sat more lightly upon American citizenship than now.

The danger to our Republic is not in a strong, central, constitutional government—a government of "indestructible States in an indestructible Union of States"—but it is in the clamorous contention of the men of the hour for the loosening of constitutional restraints. The danger to our Republic is not the power lodged by our fathers in executives, courts, congresses, and legislatures, which serve in the open and can be called up or called down, but in the breeding of public want of confidence in our institutions and in the men temporarily intrusted with power to run them. The danger to our Republic is not in the men drawn from the ranks

and temporarily intrusted with power, but in the light, flippant, vaudeville, rag-time treatment by a part of our public press of the serious efforts of honest men in public office to better conditions; in the blighting want of confidence in public servants, engendered by a certain sort of journalism, which creeps like a pestilence among the people and not only poisons the sources from which patriotic service must be drawn, but atrophies the patriotism that ought to make a man proud to die for his country if need be. It cannot be that the greatest good of the greatest number can be subserved by destroying public confidence in our public men and our public institutions. While punishment swift and sure should follow every act of official corruption, because it is wrong and because every unpunished act of official corruption lowers the public estimate of the whole service, at the same time the reputation of every honest public servant is part of the assets of the Nation, and generous credit ought to be given to every man who faithfully performs the trust reposed in him.

PULP AND PAPER INDUSTRY OF SWEDEN.

The pulp and paper industry of Sweden has enjoyed a period of prosperity. Loss in production is occasionally caused by failure of the water supply. The last year closed with fair prices and a steady demand. Four-fifths of the anticipated production was sold in advance. Chemical pulp closed very firm with a tendency to rising prices. Quotations per metric ton of 2204.6 lbs., f. o. b. Gotherburg on January 1st, were as follows: strong sulphite, \$32.16 to \$24.84; easy bleaching sulphite, \$36.18 to \$38.06; strong sulphate, \$30.02 to \$32.16; easy bleaching sulphate, \$31.36 to \$33.50.

Shipments of wood pulp to the United States for the calendar year

1911 showed an increase in value of 54 per cent. from those for 1910, and amounted to \$1,899,289. In 1910 the wood pulp shipments represented about 38 per cent. of the total exports from Gothenburg to the United States.

The export of paper from Sweden to the United States has developed since the year 1904; it reached its maximum in 1909, and then decreased until the fall of 1911 when exports began to rise again.

This trade consists mostly of the wrapping paper known variously as kraft, ropene, sheepskin, leather and sulphate sealing paper and imitation parchment. Large quantities of wood pulp adapted to the manufacture of this kind of paper have been imported by the United States for some time.

Sixty per cent. of the paper manufactured in Sweden is produced in the Gothenburg district and 80 per cent. of Sweden's exports to the United States are declared at this consulate. The value of the wrapping paper invoiced through the Gothenburg consulate for shipment to the United States during the last seven years has been as follows: 1905, \$81,767; 1906, \$189,403; 1907, \$402,318; 1908, \$576,569; 1909, \$671,371; 1910, \$563,627; 1911, \$433,357.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

From the Indianapolis News.

The principle could hardly be better stated. What do we mean by the rule of the people? The words are lightly used, and often with no understanding of their practical bearing. In such a country as this, rule of the people can mean only the

rule of the majority. To be sure, all the people vote, all have a chance to be heard. But the Government is created by a majority vote. The majority rules. For the purpose of ruling, therefore, the majority is the people.

If that is so, several rather important consequences follow. One is that the minority, though beaten at the polls, still has some rights as against the majority. If that is so, the people—that is, the majority—are not supreme, cannot be supreme. If they could, we should simply have the majority in place of the old absolute monarch. If ten men vote one way and nine men the other, it would be most unfair to say that the ten, as representatives of the people, should be allowed to do whatever they pleased. They might please to rob the nine altogether of their rights. Property might be confiscated, liberty impaired, and even life forfeited, and all in the name of popular government.

So there must be restraints on the majority, on the people themselves. And that is the reason why we have constitutions and courts. Without them liberty would soon degenerate into despotism. The people themselves have said that there are some things which they, acting through majorities, ought not to be allowed to do. And so they put into the Constitution those great prohibitions for the protection of the minority, for the protection, perhaps, of one man against the millions of others. And this is popular government as the President understands it, as it has been understood by every well-informed man who has ever written or spoken on the subject. No majority vote can make

right the confiscation of property or the invasion of the personal liberty of the citizen. So we have said that these things shall not be done. To talk about a "pure democracy" in this country is folly. We have no pure democracy, and it is to be hoped we never shall have such a thing. It has failed horribly wherever tried, and has, as a rule, been the precursor of anarchy and dissolution and tyranny.

LOGICAL EFFECT OF WAGE INCREASE.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

The demands of the railroad men and the coal miners for an increase of wages seem to be made and insisted upon with little or no regard for what the economic effect will be upon their industry or upon the general industrial situation, if the demands are granted. It is always possible that the employer may be getting an undue share of the proceeds of labor in his profits, and that he can afford to incur a larger expense in wages without charging more for what he sells in products of service. If that is not the case, an advance in wages means either a reduction in a profit which is legitimate and a reduction which will discourage the industry and diminish employment in it, or a higher charge for service or higher price for products, which is not always possible without diminishing demand and reacting upon the industry to make it less prosperous.

Take the case of the railroads, the demand of whose engineers for increased wages is to be submitted to arbitration and whose firemen are making similar demands, to be followed, very likely, in case of success by those of other railway employes. Success in this industry in getting higher wages would probably incite to further demands in other employments and so extend all along the line, raising the level of expenses and consequently of prices and the cost of living, until wages were worth no more in what they would pay for than before,

while business would be prevented from supplying a surplus to trade beyond the market of high prices in which the movement prevailed.

Of the general effect of such a movement, if in any degree successful, there can be no manner of doubt. It would raise wages, cost of production, expense of conducting business, and prices in many lines, and would thereby restrict industrial and commercial activity in those lines, and depress it outside of them. The lines not dominated by the organizations that force the level of wages and prices up would have the burden of cost thrown upon them; there would be low wages in comparison to the artificial cost of living, and much unemployment and privation, and the inequality of conditions would be aggravated. The tendency would be still further to restrict trade with other countries by keeping down surplus production and keeping up cost of production, thus crippling the nation for competition with others in the world's commerce. The net result of high wages and high prices would be a lower degree of real prosperity. Few workmen and not all employers will reason out the logical consequences, but before a board of arbitration economic considerations beyond the narrow range of one demand for higher wages should be presented.

THE MENACE OF SYNDICALISM.

From the Textile Manufacturers' Journal.

We may believe and claim that the I. W. W. was not victorious in Lawrence, but it is useless to close our eyes to the fact that its leaders and their movements have been enormously strengthened in all parts of the country by the garbled and lying publicity given to that strike by the sensational press. The labor disturbances of the early '90s were child's play compared with what the industry is now facing. Those strikes were fomented by labor unions organized along national and State lines. Syndicalism, which is the basis of the present movement, involves organization of industries, and its freely acknowledged weapons are the sympathetic strike, direct action, rioting, intimidation, "sabotage," and other forms

of lawlessness. The I. W. W. and other revolutionary socialists sneer at the exercise of the ballot as a means of righting their fancied wrongs, have no respect for wage and other agreements with the employing class, and have as their ultimate object the confiscation of all industries and the abolition of the wage system—a social transformation that is concisely expressed by one of their revolutionary songs: "We have been nothing, let's be all."

AN ANARCHIST MOVEMENT.

from the New York Journal of Commerce.

This pretentious title, the "Industrial Workers of the World," does not stand for any real organization of labor. The "movement" that it represents had its origin among the anarchistic miners of the West, for whom this same Haywood and one Moyer, as strike leaders, conducted a campaign of violence, dynamiting and assassination, which terrorized certain parts of Idaho, Montana and Colorado. If exact justice had been done, Haywood rather than the tool of the organization he then headed, the penitent Orchard, would have suffered the penalty for the assassination of an ex-Governor of Idaho who had insisted upon the vindication of law in that State.

These trouble-makers, who seek wherever they can to rally industrial workers to serve their own lawless ends, are not themselves workers, but extreme Socialists of the lawless order, who are against all government and all safeguards for property. Their avowed purpose is to destroy the system of capital-ownership and distribute all the fruits of production among laborers. The scheme is too crazy for serious consideration, but in seeking to promote it these "organizers" and "leaders" defy all law and public authority, purposely incite to riot and advocate force and violence, as means to their end.

This makes it necessary to give serious attention to them, for there are many communities in which they can find inflammable material to work upon in time of strike excitement. There are laws, not only against mob violence and attacks upon person and property, but against inciting to riot, and wherever

these men appear to harangue crowds, instigate mobs and foment attacks upon persons and property, they should be promptly arrested and dealt with as peremptorily and summarily as the law allows. They are a dangerous nuisance, as pernicious as those who sow the seeds of infection to destroy the public health.

PER CAPITA TARIFF TAXES.

The Sheffield (England) Daily Telegraph of April 14th ventures to cast a doubt on the belief that Great Britain is a free trade country. The doubt seems justified by the fact, shown in the following table, that English people are more heavily taxed by their so-called free trade tariff than are avowedly protectionist countries.

The figures give the revenues from tariffs, per capita of population. They are taken from the "Statistical Abstract of Foreign Countries" recently published by the British Government:

United States (1910)	\$3.50
Germany	2.63
United Kingdom	3.65
France	2.80
Italy	1.90

The duties collected in the United States during 1911 were \$3.25 per capita.

RAILROADS NOT MINTS.

From the Boston Traveller.

The average observer who notes the activity of a railroad company, its passenger trains filled with people and its long lines of heavily loaded freight cars, might be excused for thinking that the corporation was in a condition to create a lot of wealth for those who owned it and managed it. Yet an analysis of the figures of one of the big railroad corporations of the country, compiled with care and fairness by one who knows whereof he speaks, might afford a different impression.

For instance, out of every dollar which this company earns it paid 44.5 cents for wages of its employees, nearly half its income. Fuel for locomotives consumed 10.5 cents of the dollar; rails, ties and other materials and supplies

took 31.5 cents of the dollar; taxes ate up 4.5 cents; interest, sinking fund and leased lines took 15.75 cents.

When one figures this up, there does not appear to be much left. There is not. There is but 1 per cent. of the gross receipts left for payment of dividends to the thousands of estates, savings banks and individuals from whom money has been received for investment. And this dividend is paid when only 1 cent out of the dollar in computation has been paid to salaried officials.

Is it any wonder that managers of railroads seek for every method of economy and that they view with justifiable alarm any movement which shall take away from them the opportunity to earn that little margin between gain and loss? When a profit in any business is based upon 1 per cent. of gross receipts it does not take much to turn a paying business into a losing one, and a losing railroad is a burden upon any community, in loss of service, in loss of investment and a retarding of development.

The man who thinks that railroads are mints may get some other idea if he will but study the question.

STRIKE LEGISLATION IN ARGENTINA.

The provisions of a bill recently introduced in the Argentine Congress to protect the public from the inconvenience and distress of strikes should prove of interest at a season when strikes are as numerous as spring freshets. The object of the bill, according to a correspondent of the London Financial Times, is to preserve the public services in times of industrial unrest and to insure the performance of those functions which are essential to the national life. The bill therefore begins by defining with unusual precision the matters to which it specifically relates. These include hygiene, water distribution, hospital services, lighting, police and other administrative functions, while even the conduct of the auxiliary forces comes within its all-embracing scope. The postal and telegraph services are of course included, while the working of the docks is made subservient to the measure. Public companies are not to

be allowed to suspend their services except under the authority of the Government or when the continuance of their operations is proved to be impossible. Another clause stipulates that employes may not resign their posts except at a minimum of 15 days' notice, while employers are under a similar obligation toward their staff. Further, no coercive movement in this direction of causing others to abstain from working will be permitted, while any dispute relating to wages or conditions of work which cannot be settled between the parties concerned is to be submitted to a permanent tribunal constituted for that purpose, and composed of both official and commercial representatives.

THE GROWING TAXES.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

If the people could fully appreciate the extent to which the cost of living is affected by taxation, local, State and national, there would be a call for efficiency and economy which would not pass so completely unheeded as the feeble cries which are now intermittently heard. There is one general principle which is so elementary that it ought to be within the comprehension of most voters, but it is so general in its application and so elusive in its aspect that it makes little impression. Whatever is expended by anybody for any purpose must be earned by somebody in producing values, and whatever goes to the support of government or is squandered by those entrusted with the powers of government, is deducted from that distributed among the producers, to be consumed or saved by them. All the hundreds of millions that go unnecessarily through public treasuries into the pools of extravagance and waste, is drawn from the pockets of the people and leave them so much the less for their own support. This is a serious factor in the cost of living.

When Congress cuts down the Tariff it is to be feared that some of its members will not be able to stand out from under in time.—Cleveland Leader.

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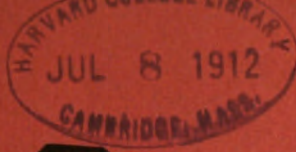


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The Protectionist

JULY, 1912

The Republican National Convention

Progress of Tariff Legislation

Protective *versus* Competitive Tariff

Significance of Tariff Board's Reports

The Retrogression of British Labor

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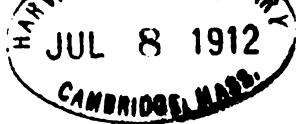
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Vol. XXIV. No. 3.

10 Cents Each, \$1.00 a Year

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THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress.

Signed articles are not to be understood as expressing the views of the editor or publishers.

VOL. XXIV.

JULY, 1912.

No. 279

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TARIFF BOARD'S REPORT.

It is a narrow and perverted idea of the functions of the tariff board to suppose that their reports are designed to bring comfort to the advocates of any particular tariff theory. The work of the board consists of an investigation of the facts and an unbiased report of their findings. The board makes no recommendations in regard to rates and submits no argument for or against protection. The thoroughness and impartiality with which the board has performed its work is evident from the fact that both protectionists and free traders claim that its findings justify their position and the country as a whole will endorse President Taft's request for a sufficient appropriation to "keep the board going." The unfortunate feature of the situation is the recklessness with which some writers, who have not even read the reports, boldly sum up the conclusions of the board and misrepresent its findings. One of the most common of these misrepresentations occurs in an editorial in the Post. It said, "In the matter of both the wool and the cotton schedules the tariff

board has exposed the robberies of the Payne-Aldrich law and has very completely justified the claim that the duties were unnecessary and oppressive." On the contrary, the wool report definitely shows the small margin of profit for the manufacturers of woolen and worsted goods—their profit on the cloth used in making up a suit of clothes which sells for \$23.00 is 23 cents. Is this robbery? The cotton report shows that the mill prices of many of the plain fabrics in this country are as low or lower than they are in England. If the price to the consumer is higher, it is not the fault of the manufacturer, it is due to the cost and methods of distribution. The Democratic theory, that the duty is added to the price, is thoroughly exploded by the wool and the cotton reports. In the case of woolen goods the difference between the American mill price and the English mill price is much less than the amount of the duty; and in the case of many plain cotton goods, the price at the mill here is even less than it is

in England. How, then, are the duties oppressive?

The Republican tariff laws have made possible the great development of American manufacturing. Protective duties have restricted the importations of foreign-made goods in the interest of domestic production until today the American market is

largely supplied by American products. Domestic competition keeps the factory price down to a small margin of profit. There is no robbery of the American public, so far at least as the manufacturers are concerned. To whom, then, does the Post refer in its insinuations of robbery and oppression?

A PROTECTIVE VS. A COMPETITIVE TARIFF.

Amount of Imports, not Difference in Cost of Production,
the True Measure of Tariff Difference.

This cost of production theory was first advanced in modern political discussion by the Democratic National Convention of 1884. The tariff plank of that convention contained these words: "The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country." The Democratic Convention of 1888 declared that the interests of labor will be benefited by "a revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor."

In opposition to this tariff theory of the Democratic party, the Republican National Convention of 1884 demanded "that in raising the requisite revenues for the Government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborers"; and in 1888 met the Democratic challenge by declaring: "We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection. We protest against its destruction, as proposed by the President (Cleveland) and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. The protective

system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff."

Four years later, however, the Republican National Convention of 1892, voiced practically the same demand as the Democratic Conventions of '84 and '88 when it said that "on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home."

But in 1896 the Republican Convention renewed and emphasized "our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages."

In 1900 the Republican National Convention renewed "our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened."

In 1904 the Republican National Convention declared: "Protection, which

guards and develops our industries, is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. We insist upon the maintenance of the principles of protection, and therefore rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration."

In 1908 the Republican party declared unequivocally for revision of the tariff and declared that "in all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries."

This brief review of the political history of "the cost of production" theory shows that it was first advocated by the Democrats and when abandoned by them was taken up with varying qualifications by the Republicans.

That the theory has proven impracticable is demonstrated by recent experience.

President Taft in a speech at Winona said, referring to the Ways and Means Committee, "They found that the determination of the question, what was the actual cost of production and whether an industry in this country could live under a certain rate and withstand threatened competition from abroad, was most difficult."

To supplement their investigations the Tariff Board was appointed and this Board found great difficulty in obtaining full and reliable information as to the cost of production in foreign mills, difficulties which could not be overcome in the time which they had at their disposal or by the expenditure of large sums of money.

The lack of full and reliable data in regard to foreign costs of production has been pointed out repeatedly by the critics of the Tariff Board's reports. Hon. William C. Redfield, in a speech in the House of Representatives, June 4, 1912, said "Many examples could be given from the report (of the Tariff Board) to show that even within its meagre scope the fact comes clearly out that any attempt to cover by a fixed tariff the difference in labor costs is absurd."

President Taft said in his speech at

Winona, "I have never known a subject that will evoke so much contradictory evidence as the question of tariff rates and the question of cost of production at home and abroad."

As a reliable standard for adjusting tariff rates, the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad has been demonstrated to be unsound and impracticable. It cannot be obtained with sufficient accuracy; it is varying and changeable; it is not margin enough, even could it be obtained with precision, to prevent this country from becoming the dumping ground of foreign manufacturers, and it grossly discriminates against our manufacturers by publishing to the world details of our manufacturing processes which are much more complete than any information which can be obtained in regard to foreign countries.

The cost of production theory is inconsistent with the American policy of protection and it should be abandoned now for good and all.

To consistent protectionists who believe that the American market belongs to the American producers, the amount of competition not the cost of production is the true measure of tariff duties. The constitutional justification of protection is found in the clause which empowers Congress "To regulate commerce with other nations," and "provide for the general welfare of the United States." If the welfare of the country is promoted by diversified industries and a prosperous industrious people, then commerce with foreign nations should be so regulated as to establish and maintain those manufacturing and agricultural industries which are indispensable to our existence as an independent nation.

To base our tariff duties on the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad, even if it were possible to establish a definite standard of foreign costs where they vary so in different countries, and even in the same country, would give us an equalizing not a protective tariff. Such a policy were it possible to enforce it would place American goods on an equality with foreign goods, and foreign goods on an equality with American goods. Protection gives to American made goods an advantage in the American market. In one case American goods are subjected to foreign

competition, in the other they are protected from it. One policy leads to a competitive tariff; the other to a protective tariff. That the cost of production theory as a basis for tariff rates results in a competitive not a protective tariff was claimed in a speech in the House of Representatives on April 9, 1909, by Champ Clark, who in speaking in favor of an amendment to the Payne-Aldrich Bill said: "Amend by reducing and adjusting rates in all schedules so that the duties shall not exceed the difference in the cost of labor in America and abroad and shall be upon a basis to produce increased revenue for the Government, and competitive prices for the American consumer." It was a protective and not a competitive tariff under which the industries of the United States have expanded until we are the foremost agricultural and manufacturing nation of the world.

It is not necessary to subject American

industries to an inrush of foreign goods to secure that degree of competition which will prevent extortionate prices and the "plundering of the consumer." The business of the United States is conducted under the keenest competition, and the products of our mills and factories are sold on a low margin of profit. This condition of mammoth production and low factory prices was the aim and object of the advocates of protection from the days of Alexander Hamilton to the present time, and is a complete justification of the protective policy. The policy which has produced such beneficial results should be maintained, and the party which has won its most notable victories as an advocate of protection should not fail now when the enemies of the "American system" are fighting as they have not fought for years to overthrow it.

PROTECTIVE POLICY IN THE FIRST TARIFF LAW.

Jefferson Said Reduction of Duties "Would Give Advantage to Foreign Over Domestic Manufactures."

—Protect the Home Market.

By William B. H. Dowse, President of the Home Market Club in the Boston Herald.

The textile industry of the United States is almost wholly the outgrowth of the protective tariff policy. Protection is not a modern device for the enrichment of great manufacturing corporations. It had its origin in economic needs, and is justified by a nation-wide industrial development. For centuries it had been the custom of the older nations to raise revenue and protect the home market by levying duties on imports from foreign countries.

The policy was approved by the enactments of early colonial Legislatures. In 1640 the General Court of Massachusetts, for the encouragement of manufactures, offered a bounty of 3 pence on every shilling's worth of cotton, linen and woolen cloth; in 1645 it passed an order to encourage the establishment of sheep as a foundation for woolen manufacturing, and 11 years later, to develop facility in spinning, it was ordered that all hands not neces-

sarily employed on other occasions, both women and boys and girls, should spin for 30 weeks every year three pounds per week of linen, cotton and wool. In 1667 Massachusetts adopted resolutions advising the people to purchase only home-made goods. The Assembly of Virginia enacted in 1662 a law offering 10 pounds of tobacco for every good wool or fur hat made in the colony, and Delaware in 1733 offered a price of 40 shillings for the best hat manufactured in the lower counties. In 1751 the General Assembly of Rhode Island granted a bounty of one-third its appraised value for cloth manufactured from wool or flax. As a result of these efforts, the household manufacture of cotton, linen and woolen goods developed to such an extent that practically the entire needs of the population for cloth for ordinary wear were supplied by home manufacture.

Revenue Act.

The Massachusetts revenue act of 1785, which imposed higher duties than those previously levied, declared in the preamble for protection to home industries in these words: "Whereas it is highly necessary for the welfare and happiness of all states, and more especially such as are republican, to encourage agriculture, the improvement of raw materials and manufactures." The Rhode Island act of 1785 is entitled "an act for laying additional duties on certain enumerated articles for encouraging the manufacture of them within this state and the United States of America." The preamble of the New Hampshire act of 1786 directed that "the laying of duties on articles the product or

manufacture of foreign countries will not only produce a considerable revenue to the states, but will tend to encourage the manufacture of many articles within the same." In 1788 Connecticut, "that all due encouragement should be given to manufactures within this state," exempted woolen factories and iron works from taxation and relieved the workmen in such industries from the payment of poll taxes. New York adopted a protective system, and Pennsylvania, which began with low duties, increased both the rates and the list of dutiable articles. That protection was the object of its tariff laws is evident from the title of the act: "An act to encourage and protect the manufacturers of this state by laying duties on certain manufactures which interfere with them."

Great Britain frowned upon these efforts of the colonists to develop the ability to manufacture the articles which they required. Parliament passed laws to prevent the export to the colonies of textile machinery or even the plans or designs of such machinery. In 1719 a law was enacted making it unlawful to set up in any colony furnaces for the production of cast iron or the manufacture of iron, and the reason assigned was "the establishment of manufactures in the colonies tends to make them more independent of Great Britain."

The attempt of England to suppress the industries of the colonies was one of the grievances which precipitated the revolution. One of the indictments in the Declaration of Independence against King George was for "cutting off our trade with the world." It was not merely political independence for which our fore-

fathers fought. They gave their lives also for commercial independence.

First Tariff Law.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the members of the first American Congress after the adoption of the constitution, embodied the protective policy in the first tariff law which they enacted, a law which was signed by George Washington on the fourth of July, 1789. The preamble of the first protective tariff law of the United States declared that "Whereas it is necessary for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandise imported: Be it enacted," etc. Washington was thoroughly in accord with the protective policy. In his first message to Congress he said: "The safety and interests of the people require that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essentials." In his second message, he added: "Congress has repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible."

Protection sentiment was so strong among the founders of our government that when it was proposed to reduce tariff duties in 1811, President Jefferson, father of the Democratic party, advised against it as it would "give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures." And even John C. Calhoun, who later became the leading free

trade advocate of democracy, said in 1816: "The encouragement and protection of manufactures produces a system strictly American, as much as agriculture. The country will from this derive much advantage. . . . It will greatly increase our mutual dependence and intercourse." It is hard to find among the writing of modern protectionists anything stronger than Andrew Jackson's claim: "It was time that we should become a little more Americanized, and instead of feeding the laborers of England, feed our own, by Congress taking care to protect and foster the several branches of manufactures which have been instituted and extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens."

The platform of the Republican party when it won its first national victory and made Abraham Lincoln President, declared: "That while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend the policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingman liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence."

The policy of protection has had able defenders and loyal advocates since the days of Lincoln. Presidential victories have been won on this issue, and with rare exceptions the Congress of the United States has stood firmly for a protective tariff. McKinley and Roosevelt were

elected in 1900 on a platform which renewed "our faith in the policy of protection to American labor." Their platform contained the claim often urged by our latter-day protectionists that "by protecting the home market, competition has been stimulated and production cheapened."

It is particularly true of the textile industry of the United States that the policy of protection has stimulated a keen domestic competition, and that the manufacture of textiles is free from trust control. Engaged in the manufacture of cotton goods are 1,324 establishments; in wool and worsted, 985; in silk, 852. The combined textile industry had a capital in 1909 of \$1,709,265,000. It gave employment to 861,621 wage-earners and distributed in annual wages over \$243,000,000.

From these busy looms come domestic fabrics to clothe the American people, and a considerable surplus is produced for sale in foreign markets. Thus has the hope of the founders of our government, that we should be able ourselves, in time, to provide the clothing for our people, been fully realized, and the economic system which they adopted to bring about this result has been justified. The methods of production have been improved and the cost reduced, so that today, under the stimulus of protection, the cloth for a \$23 suit of clothes is sold at the mills at a profit of 23 cents; the mill cost of many plain cotton fabrics is as low as or lower than the mill cost in England, and in silk manufacture the United States now leads the world.

The same story can be told of the other great industries of the United

States. All told, we have 268,491 manufacturing establishments, in which \$18,438,270,000 of capital are invested, where 7,678,578 wage earners find employment and \$3,427,038,000 are paid in yearly wages. The stimulus which industries of such magnitude impart to agriculture, local trade and professional activities is the cause of the rapid development and industrial progress of the United States. The system of protection to domestic industries so wisely adopted by the founders of our government, approved by four generations of American statesmen, ratified again and again by the votes of American citizens, and justified by over a century of unprecedented prosperity, is now in the hands of the American electorate. The ancients believed that the fate of men was in the hands of the gods. The fate of our country is in the votes of the people. It is inconceivable that they will turn back the hands of the clock of prosperity, open our ports to the inrush of foreign goods and overthrow an economic system under which the United States has become the foremost manufacturing country of the world.

In a speech at Fremont, Neb., November 2, 1911, ten days after Canada had rejected the reciprocity pact, Champ Clark proclaimed his platform in the following challenge: "I am willing to make this proposition,—you let me run for President on a platform calling for annexation of Canada, in so far as this country can accomplish that end, and let President Taft run against me, opposing annexation, and I will carry every state in the Union."

TARIFF LEGISLATION.

Reciprocity with Canada Rejected By Republicans—Democrats
Against the Tariff Board—Chemical Bill in the Senate
—Democrats Waste Time and Money.

By Our Washington Correspondent.

Washington, June 20, 1912.

National conventions and appropriations bills have had their effect in delaying tariff legislation in Congress during the last month, but the Democrats claim to have accomplished "something," though the Republicans assert that the "something" was merely a waste of valuable time and money. The metal bill was sent to a conference of committees composed of Senators Penrose, Lodge and Simmons, and of Representatives Underwood, Palmer and Payne. There is little probability of any agreement between the two Houses on this bill, and even if it ever reaches the President it is sure to be vetoed, so that the only possible object of such legislation is to more clearly show what the Democrats will do if they ever get control of the government in all branches.

Tariff Board Doomed.

Another thing accomplished was the defeat in the House of an attempt to secure an appropriation for the Tariff Board. This attempt was made in connection with the passage in that body of the sundry civil appropriation bill. The Democrats reversed themselves on this question, and refused to appropriate anything for the board. As they have ostentatiously ignored the unanimous re-

ports of the board on the wool and cotton schedules of the existing law, and have passed their old wool bill which was vetoed by the President last year, and have reported the same old cotton bill, that was also vetoed, the refusal of any appropriation was expected.

No Republican Wool Bill in the Senate.

The Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee have not reached an agreement on any substitute for the House wool bill. They refuse to accept the bill prepared by Mr. Hill of Connecticut and supported by a majority of the Republicans in the House. Mr. Hill is a woolen manufacturer, which leads to the charge that he is unwittingly influenced against the wool producers, and that the rates in his proposed bill are too low. Mr. Hill is a close student of tariff questions, and is unusually well informed, but he does not create criticism from his party associates of leaning too far in the direction of free trade for raw materials produced in the United States. He prepared his wool bill to meet his views of the report of the Tariff Board, but Senators Smoot, Gallinger and others disagree with Mr. Hill in that respect, and some of them hold that it is useless to waste any time in reporting a bill on the

subject, for the reason that it would not be accepted by the House. That is true enough, and while individual senators may offer a substitute wool bill, it is improbable that the committee will report one. There has been a great decline in the value of sheep since the Democrats began their effort to put wool on the free list, and that with other Democratic tariff legislation will prevent well informed farmers from supporting the Democratic ticket in the coming election, providing factional disputes in the Republican ranks do not have a still more depressing effect. Many of the Democratic senators will not support House Democratic measures such as free sugar and free wool.

The Cotton Bill in the House.

The power of the Democratic House caucus will probably prevent any Democrat from voting against Mr. Underwood's cotton bill, or the one prepared for him by a member of the Free Trade so-called "Reform Club" of New York, but some Democrats say that they will not vote for it. The Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee tried to get the Democrats to agree to prepare a bill in accordance with the report of the Tariff Board, but the Democrats would not do so, although two Democrats on the Tariff Board voted for that report and assert that it represents the facts, as far as the Board could get them. The Democrats in the House assert that the Board cannot get the facts, and particularly so in regard to costs abroad.

Mr. Emery, chairman of the Tariff Board, says there is great varia-

tion in the cost of production at different times and in different places in the same country, and it would be absurd to attempt to apply this principle of the difference in cost with absolutely rigid logic. In strict logic, he says, it would require a different tariff on goods imported from different countries, according to variations in costs of production. But extreme protectionists do not ask that. The Board, he says, did not take the single cost of producing any article in a given country, but the general difference.

Emery Says that a Tariff is Necessary.

Mr. Emery, who is credited with being a Free Trader, says that the foreign manufacturer can compete in the home market at an advantage with the home producer, and can so undersell him as to reduce or restrict the domestic manufacture of the article in question. Hence the object of the protective policy is to protect the home manufacturer against the cheaper cost of production abroad, which makes the ascertainment of the relative cost an essential element. In most cases, Mr. Emery says, it is impossible to get foreign information as complete and detailed as that at home. The real question is not to find out so much the actual cost in a competing country, but at what prices and under what conditions can goods be laid down in the American market to compete with the home product in the absence of any customs duty. That, Mr. Emery says, can be determined with sufficient accuracy. The members of the Tariff Board could agree on the facts as to cost of production, but they could not agree as to tariff rates, and

it was fortunately not their business as to what rates should be imposed. That is a matter for Congress.

Mr. Cummins' Mistake.

When the metal bill was under consideration in the Senate Mr. Cummins of Iowa offered a substitute based on the alleged cost of production at home and abroad. For home cost he relied largely on the report of the Commissioner of Corporations who had men for months examining the books of various iron and steel corporations. For the foreign cost Mr. Cummins used the report of Mr. Pepper, a special agent of the department of Commerce and Labor, who Mr. Cummins said was sent abroad to gather the facts. That illustrates the sham way in which tariff bills are drawn up. As Mr. Smoot explained, Mr. Pepper was not sent abroad for that purpose, but had been for two years or more before he made his report on the iron and steel costs a special agent to investigate trade conditions abroad. His report on iron and steel costs was one of his series of reports. He was a newspaper man, without any particular knowledge of the iron and steel business, and while an honest and capable man, had no facilities for getting at the cost of production in Europe beyond published reports, and what manufacturers and others told him. He examined no books, and had no help, and made no pretence that he got at the exact facts as to cost of production. Mr. Smoot said that he could have reported the same things without leaving his office. After that Mr. Cummins ceased to say anything about Pepper's report, and yet he would have made a customs

law based on such flimsy ground if he could have had his way.

A Republican Cotton Bill.

Mr. Hill of Connecticut prepared a cotton bill in accordance with his view of the Tariff Board's report, which he wanted his Republican colleagues on the Ways and Means Committee to report as a substitute for the Underwood bill. But they would not do so. Because of the criticism of their course in supporting Mr. Hill's wool bill they would go no farther in that direction, and appointed Mr. Payne and Mr. Hill a sub-committee to draft a bill. As Mr. Payne is a delegate to the Chicago Convention they are not likely to conclude their work for some time. It has been agreed between the party leaders on both sides that no partisan legislation, such as tariff bills, shall be taken up until the Conventions are over, and a three days' recess will be taken in both Houses while the Conventions are in session.

The Chemical Bill in the Senate.

While Mr. Heyburn was absent from the Senate an agreement was reached to take a vote on the chemical bill in that body on July 2. When Mr. Heyburn returned he was provoked and gave notice that he would not be a party to any such agreement in future on any tariff bill. Mr. Heyburn is a strong protectionist and is entirely out of patience with the Democratic tariff bills. The metal bill struck a fatal blow at the lead and zinc industries of Idaho, and the wool bill would kill the wool industry. The Canadian reciprocity measure, if carried into effect, would be disastrous to Idaho in many ways, and Mr. Heyburn is justified in his indefatigable opposition to such

legislation. But he is in poor health and may not be able to remain in Washington much longer during the hot weather. And no one can tell now when Congress will adjourn. It begins to look as though some of the appropriation bills will not get through before the end of the fiscal year because of the "riders" which have been attached to the bills by the Democrats.

The Reciprocity Defeat.

Much satisfaction is expressed among Republicans here because of the practically unanimous opposition to the monstrous Canadian reciprocity bill. An amendment for its repeal was attached to the metal bill in the Senate, only one Republican, Poindexter of Washington, voting against it. He is a Southern man educated in Virginia and not a true representative of Washington state on this question, though he represents it. Even some Democrats

voted for the repeal amendment. It was defeated in the House by practically a party vote. Mr. McCall and Mr. Gillett of Massachusetts, Mr. Hill of Connecticut, Mr. Sulloway of New Hampshire, Mr. Mann and Mr. Madden of Illinois, Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania, and two other Republicans voted against the repeal amendment, but the other Republicans supported it with five Democrats. This shows a great change of sentiment on this question. It is not so much a change as it is the lessened effect of Administration influence. The majority of the Republicans in both Houses opposed it before and others supported it to please the President. He admits now that it has cost him the support of many Republicans in the canvass for his nomination, still he mistakenly clings to the measure. As long as it is on the statute books there is danger of Canada taking advantage of it.

THE WAR OF 1812 AFTER A CENTURY.

By Roland Ringwalt.

By the time a hundred years have passed, the blood should cool, and one should be able to calmly view the second war with Great Britain. It was a war of surprises and contradictions. We began with high hopes of invading Canada, and our reverses were mortifying. We started in with the belief that our ships could not fight those of England, and a long line of naval triumphs fed our pride. The special favorites of the Administration nearly all failed in the day of stress,

and the one great land victory was gained by Andrew Jackson, whom Jefferson hated and Madison sought to ruin. The rout at Bladensburg was as disgraceful a page as our history knows, the success at New Orleans was the most brilliant we ever knew. It was a Democratic war, it ended in the death of the Federalist party, but it Federalized the Democracy.

A Democratic Congress doubling the existing tariff, a tariff framed by Calhoun for the express purpose of

developing manufactures, a Democratic Administration favoring general conscription, a South ablaze with extreme nationalism, a New England tenacious of State Rights, New York blockaded by the enemy, John Quincy Adams accusing old neighbors of treason, they calling him names quite as hard as the pro-slavery men applied to him thirty years later—this period was a strenuous one. The mildest Federalist was called a slave of Great Britain, the ultra Democrat apologized for every act of Napoleon's despotism, the ship owners along the coast protested against the war, the West demanded it in order to end the impressment of the American sailor, and we finally signed a treaty in which the British did not promise to give up impressment. (Per contra, they never tried it again—they had learned too much about American gunnery.) This would have been a sensational era even if it had only come down to us in Webster's most finished sentences and Marshall's most dignified rulings. But through all the smoke and confusion sounds the shrill voice of the mad genius, John Randolph; the speaking trumpet of Decatur roared that New Haven betrayed him to the English; and a hand to hand fight between Jackson and Benton made the era even less harmonious. It was certainly an interesting period, but the blockaded ports, the wrecked banks, the Capitol in flames, and the depression that prevailed at the close of the war are sad reading.

Frankly let it be owned that, while there is ample cause for pride in special cases of heroism, the war itself can only be looked on as a terrible blunder. It delights a boy to

hear that in 1812 we had seventeen vessels fit for service, while Great Britain had seven hundred, yet was it wise to tempt such odds? The calculation of the American hot heads, so far as they calculated at all, was that her war with France would tax Great Britain's strength, and when the Allies triumphed over Bonaparte England was free to turn upon us fleet after fleet to waste and burn. Yet, as so often, European affairs turned out better for us than it seemed possible to hope. England was tired of long and costly strife, she wanted peace, and we got off better than anyone expected. It is not a period over which we can boast, but it is one we cannot afford to neglect.

Looking calmly over the years leading up to the war this much is clear—we were strong where we had taken precautions and weak where we had been careless. From the very dawn of colonial activity we had done all in our power to build up our shipping interest. Everything the Acts of Parliament permitted was done, and sometimes Acts of Parliament were not implicitly obeyed. High tonnage duties had built up for us a shipping interest remarkable for those days of small population and scanty capital. The brief contest with France could hardly be called a war, but it gave us a few triumphs and it distinctly raised our reputation on the sea. Our contest with Tripoli was highly creditable to the navy, and it lasted long enough for our officers to observe the ships of the Old World powers. A man who had been with Preble came back with some knowledge of Sicilian gunboats and Swedish frigates; he had

seen British seventy-fours and French corvettes; he had gazed on the giant line-of-battle ships of Spain and had found out the portentous weakness of Spanish discipline. The American navy of 1812 was far superior to the navy of 1798.

Man for man an American sailor of 1812 was more effective than a British sailor of that day. There were, it is true, British officers who had risen from before the mast, but the distinctions of society were more sharply drawn than here. In this country the small size of the navy meant that a boy who desired a sea life had slight chance of winning his way to a midshipman's berth, and hence the boy usually went to the forecabin of a merchantman. His father might be a thriving merchant or a successful lawyer, still the boy swept out the cabin and waited on the table with no more sense of degradation than an English duke's son felt in fagging for a larger boy at Eton. The foreigner who visited New England was surprised at the intelligence and morality of the captains and mates who had come from before the mast.

Naturally John Bull's offspring were as brave as any of Brother Jonathan's sons, yet the latter had a dash of man-o-war's blood, even though they had passed all their lives stowing cargoes in the hold. The British merchantmen sailed in convoy—that is to say, under the protection of armed cruisers, while the Americans as a rule had to look out for themselves. It was no unusual thing to hear that an American brig had beaten off a Chinese pirate or held her own with some West India picaroons. Bainbridge, while still in the merchant service,

was boarded by a British man-of-war, and one of his crew, despite his protests, was impressed. The British lieutenant jeered at his threats of retaliation, none the less he did retaliate; he went on board a British merchant vessel, seized one of the crew and took him back to the United States. As the Englishman was better paid than while under his own flag he never complained, but the daring of the act was talked of far and wide.

The aristocratic families of Great Britain drew a sharp and deep line between the navy and the merchant service. Here (four decades before Annapolis) mates and captains from the merchant service (Barry, Hull, Stewart, Barney and others) had entered the navy. Naval officers on furlough took charge of merchant vessels, and sometimes made long cruises. The man-of-war was officered by men trained on the decks of merchantmen; the merchantman was probably commanded by one who had fought the French or the Tripolitans. No man in the navy despised the commercial element, no trader on the sea looked on the navy as given over to gold lace. Alas, there was not much money for uniforms. Tradition still represents Decatur in a shocking old straw hat, and if a midshipman was asked to dine on shore he borrowed the best clothing of the mess to make a good appearance.

American commerce from 1783 to 1812 had been well nigh as exciting as war. There were a number of sailors who had been afloat in the Revolution, and whose tales of Paul Jones and John Barry, of Barney and Conyngham whetted the appetite for speculation and prize money.

European wars threw an enormous carrying trade to neutral vessels, and for a time the prosperity of our shipping was the talk of the world. Even when the British and French began their blockading and confiscating tactics, the American ship owner who did not lose everything made a fortune. The Embargo declared that all our vessels must remain in port, and terrible losses followed this sweeping decree, but the law was not invariably enforced. Juries sometimes ignored damaging evidence. Vessels slipped out, and some lucky voyages were made. Perhaps the mate of a fast schooner owned a twentieth part of her, the builder had a share, the rope maker had a little money in the cargo; the deacon who led in the prayer meeting, and the dramshop keeper who sold New England rum, may have been investors. It was as natural for a New Englander to buy a share in a ship or to take a venture in her freight as it was thirty years ago for a Nevada school teacher to put her savings into a silver mine. The intelligence of the whole community on all that pertained to the sea was amazing.

Much as has been said about the disastrous effect of the Embargo on our commerce, less pains have been taken to show how it raised the tone of the navy. In 1800 or even in 1806 our naval crews were largely foreign born, because the merchant service, with its higher wages and its many chances for mateships and captaincies, got the cream of our tars. But when the Embargo cut off all legal trade, the American sailor had not the mining or manufacturing chances that lie open today. If he did not care to go on a farm he

might starve to death, enlist on a British ship or enter the navy. The officers of the navy were amazed at the high standard of volunteers. Men who a few years before had dreamed of going as first mates to China now stood on our forecastles. As the low tariff of 1846 drove skilled iron workers from Pennsylvania foundries to Western farms, the Embargo, framed by Jefferson who hated the navy, drove into the navy a class of seamen any commander from Blake and De Ruyter to Nelson and St. Vincent would have been proud to see in his rigging.

Here let us own a truth concerning which Americans have understated perhaps as much as Englishmen have overstated. The deserters from the British navy were often our best gunners and most dexterous maintopmen. English press gangs, in search of good seamen, generally concluded that Thomas Johnson must be an Englishman, that Andrew McDonald was assuredly a Scotchman, that Michael O'Brien was infallibly an Irishman. Indians were not expert seamen, the Scandinavian was not largely in evidence, we had few Germans, nearly everyone likely to be useful in reefing and steering was of British descent, and the British officers took the best of the crews they overhauled, until there were more Americans in the English navy than in our own. All our patriotic writers say this and with truth, but they do not all confess with frankness what is equally true, that many excellent British seamen did desert to join our service. Pay was higher, discipline less cruel, and there is no question that if a British man-of-war was driven

by rough weather into an American port all sorts of inducements were offered to her men to desert. If the press gangs found all the seamen they particularly desired to be native Britons, the deserter from the British navy could generally get a certificate of naturalization in a very short time. The mighty navy of England played the bully, but the small navy of America played many a sharp trick. As always, the stronger power used force, the weaker practiced fraud. If a phonograph could produce the drunken hiccoughs of the British tar, the oath of some new companion that he had known the man ten years, the speedy process of naturalizing him, the prompt suggestion that he get on board an American ship before the boat's crew start out for deserters, we should not boast of the rigid veracity of the good old times.

Between Englishmen who had deserted and impressed Americans who had made their escape, the American navy was handsomely sprinkled with men who knew the best features of the British service. The tar who swore loud and long about the press gang that captured him was, quite possibly, warm in his praise of his old captain or first lieutenant. If a junior officer wanted to know something about British tactics he inquired of a man who had been under the British flag. On our decks might be seen guns named "Lord Nelson," "The Victory," "The Imperieuse," "The Union Jack." There was not a chapter in the career of Hawke or Rodney but someone on an American fore-castle could give an intelligent account of it.

Sharp-witted and ready to adapt

himself to new conditions, the American who had been impressed and who had rejoined his own flag had a wealth of stories about the rigging and workmanship of foreign men-of-war. Two of our best officers, Macdonough and Porter, had been impressed, and this counted for much in a service so young and small. For five years before 1812, ever since the attack on the Chesapeake, the American navy was constantly drilling the men at the guns and developing that terrible skill which was afterwards to do bloody work. Meanwhile the British navy, overconfident after Trafalgar, rarely meeting a dangerous opponent, was sinking into a state of nautical house-cleaning. The Dutch navy had been battered into submission, the French navy had seen its best days, the Spanish navy was inferior, Nelson had beaten the Danes, and English captains vied with each other in the beautiful polish of their guns and the yacht-like appearance of their rigging. It was not rare to hear gunnery practice condemned because it was so black and dirty. While English ships were adopting more and more of the style of marine cottages, Americans were saying to their crews, "Remember the Chesapeake; the Johnny Bulls can sail and steer and fight, but they don't know how to shoot." English theory declared that no frigate could with efficiency use a twenty-four pounder,—that eighteen pounders were heavy enough for any frigate. American practice was teaching the men how to use these twenty-four pounders. When Decatur met Carden he fired his guns of heavier metal and far more deadly aim 66 times to Carden's 36—11 to 6—; so

much for constant gunnery practice versus endless scrubbing and polishing.

It is a paradox to say that each nation justly declared that the other was superior in force. Seven hundred vessels to seventeen is a startling contrast, but in order to keep up their giant fleets the British often sent out a vessel undermanned or sent away many of her best men in prizes. Our government allowed a compensation for every vessel sunk or burned, hence American officers were more economical of their crews. The aggregate British navy, bad as British gunnery was, could have sunk a navy twenty times as large as ours with one broadside, but the average British ship or frigate found her American foe a vessel of stouter sides, heavier guns, a stronger crew,

and incomparably better marksmanship.

Every page in the history of the war tells us what Protection means. We had protected our shipping, and we had vessels that could soon be turned into privateers. We had trained our gunners, and they shot to good purpose. We had neglected to defend our coast, and it lay helpless before the enemy. We were not strong enough to guard our seamen, and they were seized in sight of our wharves. We had drilled our crews, and they proved it. We had not developed our manufactures, and our industrial weakness showed every time our defective powder offset our deadly aim, every cold night on which our soldiers muttered, "Our government is too poor to give us decent blankets."

THE COTTON SCHEDULE.

Views of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association.

The tariff committee of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, of which R. M. Miller, Jr., of Charlotte, N. C., is chairman, has issued an analysis of the Tariff Board's report on cotton manufactures in which the following important points are made:

Generalities are all that can reasonably be expected from the work of the Tariff Board in so far as reliable foreign data and useful comparisons are concerned.

Those generalities, it appears, are embraced under the following headings:

Foreign trade quotations on different kinds of yarns and cloths; extent of manufacture and importations of such yarns and cloths; foreign wage scales

and regulations relating thereto; the equipment of foreign mills; their costs, capitalization, interest rates, etc.; relative but very general data as to costs of spinning, weaving and finishing; methods of marketing, selling and distribution; prices paid by consumers; and a variety of other and less important general information.

From all of which we are forced to the conclusion that tariff rates cannot be based upon theoretically comparative conditions, but must be based upon something more practical, more definite and more easily ascertained. Reduced to its lowest terms and strictly in accordance with the policies expressed at our Washington Convention, a more rational plan may be crystallized into the following statement:

We favor a reasonable revision of the cotton schedule, based upon the figures at which importations are actually being made and can be made as shown by comparative and manufacturers' selling prices at home and abroad, as shall be consistent with the raising of revenue and the conservation of our home market.

In connection with the above, we wish to comment upon and supplement the comparisons made in the Tariff Board's Report as follows:

(1) A majority of mills in the United States, and practically all in the South, have had to establish villages, complete with all the requirements of the American standard of civilization that their financial resources would permit; which item, although a tremendous handicap, has not been taken into account by the Tariff Board in its endeavor to get at strictly comparative manufacturing costs. Yet, it should hardly require proof to show that the proper basis of comparison should be the total producing cost under American conditions rather than a theoretical manufacturing cost.

Mill villages cost probably \$2.00 per spindle, as much as the entire paid in capital of millions of spindles in English mills!

(2) The Tariff Board also states that it has not taken into consideration the interest item; this we also regard as of the greatest importance. The average American mill has not only cost a great deal more than a like English mill, but the methods of financing are so different in the two countries that even this advantage is very greatly magnified. There are millions of spindles in England today capitalized at an approximate cost of \$5.00 per spindle, and only one or two dollars a spindle has ever been paid in, the remainder having been borrowed at low rates of interest of from 3 to 5 per cent.! It is true that nearly as low rates of interest can at times be obtained by the strongest American mills, but they must be entirely free from debt on their plants, and their quick assets must exceed their borrowed money. An American mill owing from 40 to 80 per cent. of its entire capitalization representing its approximate cost

not only could not borrow money at a reasonable rate of interest, but could not live at all. Any mill in the South that owes anything at all upon its plant is unable to borrow money at less than 6 per cent. and is then required to maintain a 20 per cent. balance on deposit so that its money nets it at least 7 1/2 per cent., and in many cases more; even then personal endorsements are generally required.

(3) The comparison of costs of English mule spun yarns and American ring spun yarns has been made by the Tariff Board without sufficiently emphasizing the fact that, as a general rule, yarns spun on mules from the same grade of cotton receive the buyer's preference over ring spun yarns; and, conversely, if both mule and ring spun yarns are to be of like quality and selling value the mule yarns can be spun from a lower and cheaper grade of cotton. In other words, on that basis of comparison there is a distinct advantage to the English mule spinner either in a decided preference from the buyer over his American competitor's ring spun yarn, or in a corresponding saving in the cost of his cotton.

(4) The selling expense to an English mill is very much less, its sales are quicker realized upon and converted into cash, and its opportunities for marketing its product are immeasurably better than in America; in England the entire industry is thoroughly standardized and concentrated within a small radius of relatively a few miles; whereas, in America it is scattered over many hundreds, and even thousands, of miles, with all the differences in conditions that would be naturally expected in widely separated and, in many cases, isolated localities.

The greatest spot cotton market in the world is at Liverpool, within twenty miles of Manchester, the centre of England's cotton manufacturing industry. At the Manchester Royal Exchange practically all of the yarns and cloths are bought and sold that are produced in the whole district. No counterpart exists in America, or ever can exist, in the very nature of the case.

Again, in England mills of 80,000 to 120,000 spindles are the rule, with all the

economies that can be effected in the standardization of a great industry in such large units; and, where wages themselves, because of the industry being confined to one small area, are so standardized that all mills are on practically an equal footing. In America there are many mills of 5,000 to 10,000 spindles, and the average in the whole South will probably not exceed 12,000 to 15,000 spindles; they are scattered all over the territory and there is no agreement among the mills, nor could there reasonably be any, for a uniform wage scale; each is compelled to pay what the opportunities for other employment dictate in its own locality. Freight rates are widely different, taxes, interest and many other items differ in the same proportion.

The Tariff Board's comparisons are naturally enough, in one sense, based upon like conditions in like mills in England and America, yet, we doubt exceedingly that any political party would care to go before the country upon a platform inexorably demanding that the large majority of smaller mills working under disadvantageous circumstances should be compelled to produce under the same conditions as their larger and more favorably situated competitors, or be ruthlessly stamped out of existence. The fact that the larger and more favored mills would and do profit more than the smaller and less favorably situated ones is but obeying the general law of nature in which the stronger, intellectually and otherwise, have an advantage over the weaker; yet, we have hardly reached the point where our weaker element shall be given no opportunity to grow and become strong.

In this respect we are frankly arguing in favor of living conditions for the large majority of the comparative small Southern mills. Less than twenty years ago there were only a few, in fact practically no cotton mills in the South; money was scarce and hard to obtain; the country was poor. We have built it up and developed our industries largely upon borrowed money, and we have not outgrown that state yet by any means. Some of our older competitors in the North actually prospered by war conditions, the very conditions that put

the South so far backward in industrial development. Our foreign competitors have had no set back for a hundred years and have likewise profited by those same conditions that have been such a great handicap to us in the South. When our smaller mills have grown to the size and strength of their competitors and have paid off their debts, is time enough to reduce competition in this country, at least from abroad, to the dead level of a survival of the fittest—a competition of only the largest and most efficient units.

(5) The advantage of the English merchant marine, splendid banking facilities in foreign commercial centres and many other items could be elaborated upon, but no doubt the foregoing are sufficient for the purpose in hand.

Furthermore, the comparative manufacturer's selling prices should obviously not be chosen from times of depression, but should represent the average conditions of a term of years.

The comparisons of the Tariff Board have, unfortunately, been made during a year of extreme depression in the cotton industry of the United States.

As to the prices consumers pay in the two countries, that is something over which cotton manufacturers have no control; that the cost of distribution is greater in this country than abroad is not a matter chargeable to the manufacturing industry.

The practice of "dumping" is one of the features of modern industrialism that must be reckoned with. If, in any country, particularly one in which large and well organized industrial plants are the rule, conditions become abnormal or unsatisfactory in the market (whether a foreign or a home market, or both), curtailing production and shutting down plants is only resorted to at the last moment; relief is sought by "dumping" the surplus product into some other market, often at or below cost. Any well organized manufacturing company will submit to an actual loss for an indefinite period rather than lose its organization; it is cheaper to pocket a loss and hold it together than it is to build up a new one. Naturally, the best dumping ground for English and continental textile manufactures is that

which is the best quick cash buyer—obviously the United States if its tariff rates are on a competitive basis.

From a protectionist standpoint regular tariff rates should be adequate to protect against dumping.

MERRIMAC MILLS IN DICKENS' TIME.

From the "American Notes."

I was met at the station at Lowell by a gentleman intimately connected with the management of the factories there; and gladly putting myself under his guidance, drove off at once to that quarter of the town in which the works, the object of my visit, were situated.

There are several factories in Lowell, each of which belongs to what we should term a company of proprietors, but what they call in America a corporation. I went over several of these, such as a woolen factory, a carpet factory and a cotton factory; examined them in every part, and saw them in their ordinary working aspect, with no preparation of any kind, or departure from their ordinary everyday proceedings. I add that I am well acquainted with our manufacturing towns in England, and have visited many mills in Manchester and elsewhere in the same manner.

I happened to arrive at the first factory just as the dinner hour was over and the girls were returning to their work; indeed, the stairs of the mill were thronged with them as I ascended. They were all well dressed, but not, to my thinking, above their condition; for I like to see the humbler classes of society careful of their dress and appearance, and even, if they please, dec-

orated with such little trinkets as come within the compass of their means.

These girls had serviceable bonnets, good, warm cloaks and shawls, and were not above clogs and pattens. Moreover, there were places in the mill in which they could deposit these things without injury; and there were conveniences for washing. They were healthy in appearance, many of them remarkably so, and had the manners and deportment of young women; not of degraded brutes of burden.

The rooms in which they worked were as well ordered as themselves. In the windows of some there were green plants, which were trained to shade the glass; in all, there was as much fresh air, cleanliness and comfort as the nature of the occupation would possibly admit of. Out of so large a number of females, many of whom were only then just verging upon womanhood, it may be reasonably supposed that some were delicate and fragile in appearance; no doubt there were. But I solemnly declare, that from all the crowd I saw in the different factories that day, I cannot recall or separate one young face that gave me a painful impression; not one young girl whom, assuming it to be matter of necessity that she should gain her daily bread by the labor of her hands, I would have removed from those works if I had had the power.

They reside in various boarding houses near at hand. The owners of the mills are particularly careful to allow no persons to enter upon the possession of these houses whose characters have not undergone the most searching and thor-

ough inquiry. Any complaint that is made against them by the boarders, or by anyone else, is fully investigated, and if good ground of complaint be shown to exist against them, they are removed, and their occupation is handed over to some more deserving person. There are a few children employed in these factories, but not many. The laws of the state forbid their working more than nine months in the year, and require that they be educated during the other three.

At some distance from the factories, and on the highest and pleasantest ground in the neighborhood, stands their hospital, or boarding house for the sick; it is the best house in those parts, and was built by an eminent merchant for his own residence. Like that institution at Boston, which I have before described, it is not parcelled out into wards, but is divided into convenient chambers, each of which has all the comforts of a very comfortable home. The principal medical attendant resides under the same roof; and were the patients members of his own family, they could not be better cared for, or attended with greater gentleness and consideration. The weekly charge in this establishment for each female patient is \$3, or 12 shillings English; but no girl employed by any of the corporations is ever excluded for want of the means of payment. That they do not very often want the means may be gathered from the fact that in July, 1841, no fewer than 978 of these girls were depositors in the Lowell Savings Bank; the amount of whose joint savings was estimated at \$100,000, or £20,000 English.

I am now going to state three facts, which will startle a large class of readers on this side of the Atlantic very much.

Firstly, there is a joint-stock piano in a great many of the boarding houses. Secondly, nearly all these young ladies subscribe to circulating libraries. Thirdly, they have got up among themselves a periodical called the Lowell Offering, "a repository of original articles, written exclusively by females actively employed in the mills," which is duly printed, published and sold; and whereof I brought away from Lowell 400 good, solid pages, which I have read from beginning to end.

The large class of readers, startled by these facts, will exclaim, with one voice, "How very preposterous!" On my deferentially inquiring why, they will answer: "These things are above their station." In reply to that objection I would beg to ask what their station is?

It is their station to work, and they do work. They labor in these mills, upon an average, 12 hours a day, which is unquestionably work, and pretty tight work, too. Perhaps it is above their station to indulge in such amusements on any terms. Are we quite sure that we in England have not formed our idea of the "station" of working people from accustoming ourselves to the contemplation of that class as they are, and not as they might be? I think that, if we examine our own feelings, we shall find that the pianos, and the circulating libraries and even the Lowell Offering startle us by their novelty, and not by their bearing upon any abstract question of right or wrong.

Of the merits of the Lowell Offering as a literary production I will observe, putting entirely out of sight the fact of the articles having been written by these girls after the arduous labors of the day, that it will compare advantageously with a great many English annuals. It is pleasant to find that many of its tales are of the mills, and of those who work in them; they inculcate habits of self-denial and contentment and teach good doctrine of enlarged benevolence. A strong feeling for the beauties of nature, as displayed in the solitudes the writers have left at home, breathes through its pages like wholesome village air; and, though a circulating library is a favorable school for the study of such topics, it has very scant allusion to fine clothes, fine marriages, fine houses, or fine life. Some persons might object to the papers being signed occasionally with rather fine names, but this is an American fashion.

I returned at night by the same railroad, and in the same kind of car. One of the passengers being exceedingly anxious to expound at great length to my companion (not to me, of course) the true principles on which books of travel in America should be written by Englishmen, I feigned to fall asleep. But glancing all the way out at window from the corners of my eyes, I found abundance of entertainment for the rest of the ride in watching the effects of the wood fire, which had been invisible in the morning, but were now brought in full relief by the darkness; for we were traveling in a whirlwind of bright sparks, which

showered about us like a storm of fiery snow.

COMMENT ON COST OF LIVING QUESTION.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

There is one permanent and ever-increasing item in the cost of living to which most people pay no attention and which it is difficult to get anybody to appreciate, and that is the draft made upon the resources of the people for public expenses. There is a general complaint of public extravagance, for the figures look large, and there is much preaching of economy, but the fact does not come home to many people that they are paying for all the expenses of city or town, State and Nation, out of their earnings, and that what they have left for their own use is just so much less. They do not realize that it not only reduces their income, but that what the country spends for supplies of one kind and another and for services of those who are taken from productive industry and supported by the Government, subtracts so much from the general stock of those things by which we live, and so far as it is done needlessly or without commensurate benefit it increases prices for others beyond what is necessary in order to have the Government properly administered.

From the Montpelier Journal.

There has been a widespread feeling for a long time that exorbitant profits were being made by the railroads controlling the coal mines and that consumers were paying prices out of all proportion to a fair system of profits. This does not mean that the retail coal dealer is getting more than a fair margin of profit. The trouble is farther back, and it is time that the whole subject was thoroughly probed. If the suspicions of extortion and monopoly are groundless the public ought to know the truth.

From the Biddeford Journal.

Denial of the statement that 60 per cent. of last year's corn crop in this

country was used by the brewers and distillers is coming from all quarters. In this connection, T. M. Gilmore, president of the Model License League, presents statistics which show that the production of distilled spirits in the United States for the fiscal year ending June 11, 1911, was 172,221,169 gallons, which required only 30,000,000 bushels of corn and 8,000,000 bushels of rye and barley malt.

The corn crop of the year was 3,700,000,000 bushels, so that it would appear that the brewers and distillers used about seven million bushels, less than 1 per cent. of the crop, instead of 60 per cent., as reported.

From the Bangor Commercial.

In one section of Brooklyn women have placed an embargo on the meat markets as a protest against the high price of meats. They went far beyond their rights and the support of the public when they broke windows and resorted to mob methods.

In Pittsburgh for nearly two weeks the housewives' league has been conducting a boycott on meats and the results have been so severely felt that the marketmen have appealed to the courts to issue an injunction forbidding the women from establishing picket lines and taking other actions to curtail trade.

From the Worcester Telegram.

Butchers at Philadelphia have paid 9 1/4 cents a pound for 20 steers stalled for beef, in the past few days, and they are wondering how the bureau of statistics got the impression that cattle were flooding the markets. That is the highest price paid in Philadelphia since the civil war, and it would not have been paid if the slaughterers could have bought the steers any cheaper. The cattle weighed an average of 1,507 pounds each, and the price per steer was therefore \$140, more than was paid for a pair of them a few years ago, more than was paid for the average horse a few years ago. Government suits will not lower the price of beef so long as the live creatures sell for that kind of prices, and there is no prospect of lower

prices until the farmers produce more steers for the people to eat.

From the Omaha Record-Herald.

In the decade 1900-1910 the population of the country increased 21 per cent.; the production of cereals increased only 1.7 per cent. The value of cereals rose 80 per cent.

Again, it has been stated that the supply of cattle and sheep has been very considerably reduced, in one year the loss being about 4,000,000.

The hours of labor have been reduced about 25 per cent. in several industries and about 20 per cent. in many more.

Do not these typical facts indicate that we are suffering from relative scarcity, from failure of supply to catch up with demand? In other words, is not the chief remedy to be sought in more and better farming, in increasing production, in placing aliens on land, in encouraging the development of natural resources in every legitimate way?

CONTEMPT OF LAW.

From the Boston Advertiser.

The riots at Newark, N. J., following so closely upon those at Clinton, with the memory of the Lawrence strike still fresh in the public mind, emphasizes the lesson that this country has, within the past ten years, been importing a class of labor which defies and despises law and order, and which will appeal, on any pretext, to violence and brutality to enforce its demands. The fact is plain enough, and it remains only to decide how long it will be before the nation shall resolve to apply the remedy, in stricter laws for the regulation of immigration. There is a class of immigrants which can never be Americanized. If that class of immigration is still allowed to pour into this country, the spasmodic scenes of disorder, already so disquieting to thinking Americans, will be common enough in all our large cities.

If the business men of the South would vote as they think there would be no Solid South.—Binghamton Republican.

THE RETROGRESSION OF BRITISH LABOR.

By Our London Correspondent.

London, June 15, 1912.

It is very evident that we in Britain, so far as labor is concerned, are sitting perilously near to an active volcano, and it only needs a little more activity to set the whole place in a blaze. If I were asked to put the whole crux of the matter in a sentence, I should say that it is caused by pinching the stomach! That is rather a homely way of setting forth the difficulty, but it is really true. The cost of foodstuffs has gone up 19 per cent. since 1896 and wages have only risen 11 per cent.; so there has actually been a decrease in the workingman's weekly earnings, measured by its purchasing power. To put the matter in another way, it appears that, to meet increased expenses of something like 3s 6d in every pound sterling, earnings have only risen at most by 2s 3d, and there is no reason to believe that this has been made up for by any greater regularity of employment, at any rate as compared with fifteen or twenty years ago. And when we remember the scale of wages in force in Britain today, the wonder is that people can manage to live at all on their earnings. A Government Return including eight millions of workers (adult workmen) gives the following information:

4 per cent. get under 15s a week

8 per cent. get from 15s to 20s a week

20 per cent. get from 20s to 25s a week

26 per cent. get from 25s to 30s a week

26 per cent. get from 30s to 35s a week

13 per cent. get from 35s to 40s a week

7 per cent. get from 40s to 45s a week
6 per cent. get over 45s a week

So we see that over four million adult workmen get under 30s a week (\$7.50) and when there is a rise equal to 19 per cent. in the cost of food against a rise of 11 per cent. in wages, you will see that what I say about pinching the stomach lies at the root of the difficulty. The cost of food represents somewhere about seven-twelfths of working class expenditure. The wholesale price of coal was 33 per cent. higher in 1910 than in 1896, and we know that the export prices of almost all cotton and woollen fabrics has also gone up, grey cotton cloth, for example, about as much as coal. It is, therefore, a pretty safe conjecture, that the expenditure on fuel and clothing has quite kept pace with that on food. So we see that, taking all things into account, the working classes today are much worse off than they were fifteen or twenty years ago, and this too in spite of strikes, in spite of long and anxious negotiations of wages boards, in spite of all the external indications of growing wealth in the country, and in spite of all we are told about the increase in our foreign trade, etc.

Another question, too, is coming to the front, namely, as to the profits of capital. With the spread of elementary education this question as to the amount of profit actually secured by capital is bound to be raised. It would greatly help mat-

ters forward if the public could be informed by an impartial and competent tribunal either what the profits are year by year in the several trades, or exactly why the problem is insoluble. Take for instance the coal trade. Some months ago a computation was published of profits and wages in this trade by one of the Labor members of Parliament and an expert accountant. As a first approximation, this was at least useful as something to work upon. It was published in the midst of the great coal strike when there was neither time nor inclination for cool investigation. It was apparent to an outsider that each side, doubtless in complete good faith, was making out a case, and yet it certainly looked as if facts were accessible on which an impartial expert could have reached conclusions which both sides would have accepted as statements of facts however they might have differed as to the corollaries. The more in all industrial disputes both sides can agree on facts, the less room there will be for misrepresentation and bitterness. This is a suggestion which might be equally applicable to the United States as to Britain, because it is quite clear that this 20th century will be the period of economic struggle between capital and labor more than any century which has gone before. It is not to be wondered at that workingmen all over the country are in a state of great discontent which, unless remedied, must have very serious results. The present fiscal policy only holds its position because the people fear that if the Tories were returned to power they would endeavor to tax imported food stuffs. That is a policy that British people, rightly or

wrongly, will not sanction, and it is that dread that has kept back the progress of tariff reform in Britain.

F. C. CHAPPELL.

AMBASSADOR BRYCE AND RECIPROCITY.

Under the far from complimentary caption, "A Defaulting Ambassador," the "London Saturday Review" of May 11 refers to the disqualification under which Mr. Bryce labored in taking up his duties in Washington. Instead of being a professional diplomatist, he was not only a party politician, but, at the time of his appointment, a member of the Liberal cabinet. The last election in which he took part had free trade for its prime issue. The article continues: "As ambassador he may have tried to be all for the state and nothing for party, but it is impossible for an elderly man to break the intellectual habits of a lifetime, and reciprocity assailed him on his weakest side. No aspect of the tariff movement is more heartily abhorred by the Radicals than the scheme of Imperial Preference. As Mr. Asquith jubilantly announced in the House of Commons, reciprocity would have been the death knell of that policy. Mr. Bryce saw this as clearly as the Prime Minister. He saw too he had only to remain silent in order to secure a great triumph for the party to which he belonged. We cannot doubt that the temptation was too great for him and he yielded."

Although officially denied, reports emanating from influential industrial circles in Germany state that negotiations are pending for a reciprocal tariff with Canada.

TARIFF BOARD'S COTTON
REPORT.**An English View of American Cotton
Textiles and Tariff.**

The London Economist prints the following from its Washington correspondent:

"Another tariff report has been sent to Congress by President Taft, as a result of the work of the Tariff Board, which he appointed, with the rather unwilling assent of the legislative body, some two years ago. This report relates to cotton textiles, and, like its predecessors, is based upon the cost of production theory. Working upon this theory, as in the wool report submitted some three months ago, the Tariff Board now presents the results of an investigation of cotton textiles, which is said to have extended to Great Britain, Germany, France, Canada and Japan. Few foreign costs have, however, been actually ascertained, and the report is frank enough to state that the costs it presents are chiefly those that have been obtained from British mills, England being considered the principal competing country, while even of these costs, few, except those relating to yarns, have been furnished in print. The costs in eight British yarn mills, which averaged from 80,000 to 120,000 spindles each, however, are given. They were all situated in Lancashire, and were in practically the same milling district, with standardized costs and standardized conditions of production. In the United States, the mills taken as a basis of comparison, numbered 28, and were scattered up and down the Atlantic Coast, the largest including 500,000 spindles. There was no

general condition of standardization, or of conditions of production. It is clear that no very fair comparison could be based upon such data. Taking them as they stand, however, the board finds that the difference between the United States and Great Britain in the production of cotton yarns was probably about 3.8-11.9 per cent. of the total cost, the manufacturing cost in England being 73 per cent., on the average, of that in the United States.

"A phase of the report which is likely to arouse some criticism grows out of the assumption that the differences in cost, which have been ascertained in the way indicated, with respect to yarns, are practically representative of differences in cost which prevail throughout other branches of the cotton manufacture. For example, it is, apparently, assumed that the same differences in production apply with respect to cost of cloth as with respect to the cost of yarn. The Commission, however, says:

"It is necessary to recognize an important difference in the methods employed in the United States and England in this branch of the industry. There seems to be no wide difference between the two countries in the amount of machinery tended or in the output per operative in the spinning of yarn. In the case of weaving, the situation is quite different. English looms run somewhat faster than the looms in this country, but the number of looms tended per weaver is usually much less than here. This is in marked contrast to the woolen industry, where the number of looms tended is about the same in the two countries. In the case of plain looms (not automatic)

the English weaver seldom tends more than four looms, while in this country a weaver rarely tends less than six, and more frequently eight, or even 12, if equipped with "warp-stop motions." Furthermore, English manufacturers make little use of automatic looms, of which there were less than 6,000 in May, 1911, in the whole of England, while in the United States there are well over 200,000. It is estimated that there are now about 10,000 of these looms in use in England and about 15,000 on the Continent. Where automatic looms can be used, a single weaver commonly tends 20 looms, and sometimes as many as 28. The result is that, whereas the output per spinner per hour in England is probably as great or greater than in this country, the output per weaver per hour is, upon a large class of plain goods, less, and in the case automatic looms are used in this country and plain looms in England, it is very much less.'

"It is shown, moreover, that the reason why prices are higher in the United States for certain classes of cottons, which can be made as cheaply here as in Great Britain, if not on a lower basis, is that the practices of the trade with respect to middlemen's charges, commissions, brokerage, fees, etc., are much more burdensome here than in Great Britain.

"The point of view of the manufacturers was very well exhibited during the cotton manufacturers' convention held in Washington on April 2, 3 and 4, at which time the report was thoroughly discussed by the most important men in the trade. Had it not been for urgent speeches delivered by President Taft

and Secretary of Commerce and Labor Nagel, it is probable that the convention would have repudiated the board and its report. As things stood, certain perfunctory resolutions in favor of the board were carried through, while the manufacturers piously expressed among themselves the sincere hope that no action would be taken by Congress at this session. There are, however, many importers and others interested in low duties who will spare no pains in forcing upon the attention of the legislative body the necessity of some action designed to carry out the recommendations of the board's report. They argue with much force that the cotton report is far less equivocal in its demands for reduction of duties than was the wool report, and that President Taft has placed himself on record in behalf of action in the most vigorous and unmistakable manner; so that, should the Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives fail to put through a bill, the charge could fairly be made that they were unduly desirous of protecting the Southern cotton interests, which have been so strenuous in their opposition to legislation, and which last summer threw many obstacles in the way of reform. Oscar W. Underwood, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, had already stated to the House of Representatives before the cotton report was received that unless the Senate would show some disposition to act upon the tariff measures already sent to it from the Lower Chamber, he would not recommend further legislation reducing duties. It is still questionable how far the Senate will act on the Tariff bills that have already been sent to

it, but whether it does thus act or not, the report of the board is such as apparently to dictate that he shall revise his decision not to do anything further with reference to cotton at this session of Congress.

"The action of the Ways and Means Committee in again reporting and passing the Wool Tariff Revision bill of last summer (on April 1), without a single change, thereby establishing a list of duties none of which is higher than 45 per cent. ad valorem on manufactures of wool, undoubtedly forecasts similar action with reference to the Underwood Cotton bill of last summer. That bill fixed a rate of about 28 per cent. ad valorem on the average, and should action be determined upon, it will probably consist in again sending this very measure to the House. The Democratic majority has not shown the slightest disposition to be guided or governed by the Tariff Board's reports where the latter disagree with their own views as to the proper duties. In a report submitted by the Ways and Means Committee to accompany the Underwood Wool bill on April 1, there is developed a drastic criticism of the board's report on wool and woolsens. The criticism shows that the board has entirely failed to get the cost of production of raw wool in Australia and South America, and that its study of costs in the United States is entirely untrustworthy, owing to the failure to separate costs of wool from cost of mutton, and owing to the entirely erroneous data concerning the sheep-raising industry which were obtained in the course of the study on the Western ranges. As for woolen goods, the committee points out

that the board's returns are grotesque, and not entitled to the slightest confidence. The cost of production theory, too, is absolutely rejected. While it may well be that the cotton report will not be found so technically defective as its predecessor, there is no reason to expect that greater credence will be given to it, inasmuch as it is very largely based upon the same erroneous theories."

THE MODERN CORPORATION AND ITS OBLIGATIONS.

Time for the Public to Understand the Real Situation.

A distinguished educator, in an address to the graduating class of one of the leading American universities, has recently likened the relations existing between the modern corporation and its employes, to the "absentee landlordism" which prevailed in foreign countries in the last century. Such a comparison is extremely interesting, but any one who is familiar with the aims and purposes, and in many cases sincere effort, of those who are responsible for the management of such corporations in the textile field as would come under this comparison, will be inclined to insist that there is much to be considered in connection with the problem facing the big corporation not set forth in the very interesting address by the gentleman referred to.

The whole trend of business is toward consolidated efficiency of the dollars, grouped in great sums to control business in larger volume, in exactly the same way that the efficiency of labor is increased by consolidating masses of laborers into great manufacturing plants. The corporation has no single duty to perform in so far as its executive head is concerned. It is utter nonsense to insist that the relations of this executive head are no more intimate with the employe than were the relations of hundreds of landlords who visited their property not once in a year, if the sug-

gestion is left in exactly that place. The executive head of any great business has a three fold duty that makes his position no sinecure. On the one hand an army of stockholders demand protection for their money, safe and secure, and a fair earning from its use. On the other hand, the great mass of operatives insist that their wage shall be a living wage and the conditions of their employment clean and healthful. The third party, no less important than either of these, is the community in which the business may be located, demanding through proper tax levies, through insistence upon certain regulations, through the enforcement of labor laws and sanitary rules, through a thousand and one obligations placed upon the modern business, that a duty toward the community shall be fulfilled by the corporation.

The great corporation in every line of activity is here to stay; it is much smaller in the textile field than in many of the other great industries, yet there are not lacking the big organizations among textile manufacturers which come under the classification headed "big corporations." The problem is not entirely their dissolution, and not entirely their control, nor is it a problem to be solved by regulation from without, nearly so much as it is by regulation from within, and the government, both national and state, has not yet learned that much of the interference indulged in during the past few years serves only to more largely involve the problem. There is considerable evidence that the great mass of people are beginning to look more and more to the management from within for an adjustment of any troubles that may now exist.

So far as the textile corporations are concerned, there are many gratifying evidences that the men who are responsible for their management at the present time are alert to the situation and have already gone a long way towards disproving any charge similar to that of "absentee landlordism." It is not necessary to argue how impossible it is for a corporation with twenty-five

thousand stockholders, or even one-tenth that number, to have the personal relationship with the men and women whom it may employ, such as was enjoyed by the individual owner a half century ago. Nothing is to be gained by decrying the change from the individual owner to the collective owner. Recognizing the condition as being one that actually exists, the point to consider is what is being done to offset the disadvantages and to actually create a condition that represents real advantages.

One does not have to go out of Massachusetts to get an answer to this query, nor is the answer confined to the management of any single corporation. Taking the biggest of the great textile manufacturing corporations, there is much of encouragement to the civic observer if he will be fair in his study of the problem and the difficulties associated with it, in the actual work accomplished and efforts made by the American Woolen Company here in Massachusetts during the past five years, marking a progress greater than in any other single industry confined within the state.

The argument that in working out the problem of efficient and economical manufacture, a cheap grade of help has been employed, goes but a short way to a full understanding of the problem. Cheap help has been employed in the textile business since it was first established in New England, and from the very demands of competition with the world, will undoubtedly be continued as a factor for all time, in comparison with wages that may be paid in certain other industries. But the question resolves itself into the proper assimilation of this cheap help and the proper training of it so that it shall become more skilled help in one or another of the various branches of the industry in which it may be started, and ultimately (as has always been the case), in the activities of the entire world in every line.

Not only the American Woolen Company, but many other corporations have recognized that their great problem is as much outside of the mill as inside, in

the assimilation of the masses who are to make up the laborers within the mill walls, into American methods and manners, and into the right appreciation of what American citizenship means. This effort must occupy their attention equally with the training and guiding that will be given to these same people so that they shall make good yarn and weave good cloth.

The vital thing after all in this entire discussion, which has grown out of strikes, labor troubles, increased wages and various other disturbed situations associated with all big business, is in getting the great public at large to understand all sides of the question. In nothing has the truth of the old adage, that "a lie travels faster than the truth," applied with more force than in the present agitation directed against all forms of legitimate business representing successful business. The public demands sensation whether it is associated with Presidential elections or with the manufacture of a piece of cloth. The public demands charges and counter charges against every man in authority and power, whatever his occupation may be; and with the public in that state of mind, too much cannot be done to show through fair and open publicity every phase of the workings of the modern corporation to which the public has a right. And this qualification as to the "right of the public to know," must be insisted upon if there is to be preserved to property, the rights given to it under the American constitution, which so many people seem to believe at the present time no longer exist.

The big corporation is no more a proper subject for legislative interference, for newspaper and periodical condemnation, for unjust discrimination, just because it is big, than is the smallest business man. The time has come when the mass of the people, whose money, either directly or indirectly, whose property, directly or indirectly, is involved in the success of all business, ought to recognize that with the corporation here for all time, with "concentrated energy" the watchword governing all modern movements, there is no ground for a lessening confidence in

human nature, just because human nature has been bulked together.

JOHN N. COLE

THE STANDARD OF LIVING.

Marcus M. Marks, retiring president of the National Association of Clothiers, had some wise things to say in his address at the banquet given in his honor by his associates. In relation to the high cost of living he said:

Popular education has raised the standard of popular desires; a living now means more to the masses than a mere existence. Employers of labor should take note of this development. The new ideals must be realized in order to preserve the happiness of the people.

Something terrible is bound to happen if the endless chain of higher and higher cost of living does not stop turning.

Blame the gold supply, the farmer or any other cause of the higher cost of living stated by our economists. I venture to say that behind them all you will find the vital cause internal rather than external. Let us look within ourselves. The underlying motive is our own extravagance and rush; the wastefulness of our age; the "get there at any price" spirit.

The "Titanic" disaster set many thinking. That awful accident was due primarily to rush and luxury. The same causes are working toward a more widespread disaster.

Business life has become more and more complicated and intense on account of the inventions of science. The former mental effort of a day has now been condensed into the work of an hour. The nervous strain has been multiplied; men hardly have time to think. Expenses in business and in the home have grown rapidly and have driven men to still greater effort. Isn't it time to call a halt? If we realize the seriousness of the situation, should we not do our share to promote early preventive measures of economy, simplicity, sanity?

DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS.

From the Pittsburgh Gazette-Times, Rep.

The proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for election of United States senators by direct vote of the people has received a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress. It now goes to the Legislatures of the States, and if three-fourths of the States in this manner ratify it the amendment becomes a part of the fundamental law. Prediction as to the outcome is worse than futile. At present public sentiment appears to favor the change, but in the South there is opposition because Federal authority over the elections is carefully preserved, and Democrats down that way fear negro domination. If the South votes "no" solidly, there will be difficulty in securing the assent of thirty-six States. Anyway, it has been found easier to pass constitutional amendment resolutions in Congress than to obtain their ratification in Legislatures.

The smaller States, whether in territory or population, may as well make up their minds that if this amendment is adopted it will mark the beginning of a movement for a change in the basis of representation in the Senate. Terms of senators were fixed at six years to secure stability in organization. Senators divided into classes of two years to assure experience in legislation and procedure. Two senators were apportioned to each State in order that a balance might be maintained between all the States and that each might have the same voice and weight finally in all legislation. In the larger and original sense sena-

tors represent their States and not a constituency, as is the case with members of the House. Thus, Rhode Island, with an area of 1,250 square miles, has the same voice in the Senate as Texas, with 265,780 square miles; and Nevada, with 81,875 population, the same voice as New York, with 9,113,279. But in the House of Representatives, where the people are directly represented, Nevada, in the Sixty-Second Congress, will have only one member, while Rhode Island will have three, Texas 18 and New York 43.

Whether it is wise to provide for direct election of senators, it is entirely probable that, if this shall become the law, agitation will ensue to give a State representation in the Senate proportionate to its population, placing the minimum at two senators, or possibly one, with an additional senator for so many hundreds of thousands of inhabitants in excess of the basic number. That would militate against the small State and against sections—and yet it would be just as logical and necessary as the pending proposition. There are many public men, who have not given proper thought to the extraordinary foresight displayed in the existing framework of our Government, who favor this sort of modification in the composition of the Senate even now.

Reduce or remove the duty on sugar, combined capital will then control the sugar market of the world and the price will advance.—Wolfeboro (N. H.) News.

The Democratic idea of Tariff legislation is that it pays to throw a man out of work in order to buy what he produces a few cents cheaper.—Bristol (Pa.) Courier.

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid

To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

JULY, 1912.

The United States Supreme Court has decided that conspiracy to violate Federal laws can be punished in any state where the overt act is committed.

The Agricultural Department reported some time ago that 419 new beet sugar factories were projected in 26 states, but it now appears that all but 64 have been temporarily abandoned because of the Democratic "free sugar" plan.

There were 1,359 strikes reported from October 1, 1910, to September 30, 1911, involving directly 170,526 workers, at a cost for relief of \$4,882,852. It is estimated that the total cost of these strikes to all the interests involved will not fall short of \$25,000,000.

It is stated that of the 500,000 women in California entitled to vote, less than 20,000 voted at the presidential primary, and it is not expected that more than 150,000 will vote for President next fall. Evidently a large majority of the women of that State do not want to vote.

Representatives Joseph E. Ransdell and Robert P. Broussard have been elected United States Senators in Louisiana, to succeed the present incumbents, Senators Thornton and M. J. Foster. The new senators are, of course, Democrats, but are opposed to the Democratic "free sugar" tariff scheme.

About 300 men and 100 children are employed in the two glass factories of Uruguay and they work 8 hours a day. Peons receive 25 pesos (Uruguayan peso is equivalent to \$1.034 U. S. gold) per month, the smallest wage paid to the other adults being 50 pesos and to children 9 to 12 pesos for a similar period.

In a recent decision, the United States Supreme Court holds that the authority of the Commerce Court, created two years ago, is limited to questions of law; that the Interstate Commerce Commission has exclusive jurisdiction over Federal rate acts, and that the Commerce Court cannot nullify its decisions upon questions of fact.

Consul George Gifford reports that the women and girls employed in the manufacture of underwear and waists in the Basel district of Switzerland work 10 to 10 1/2 hours a day and earn, according to their experience and capacity, 50 cents to \$1, the latter sum being paid only to a few persons of exceptional skill capable of directing the business.

The following London despatch is of interest at this time, when the increased cost of living is a prominent topic for discussion: "Figures issued by the Metropolitan Asylums Board

show increases in the cost of food as compared with last year as follows: Bacon, 16 per cent.; cheese, 10 per cent.; bread, 8 per cent.; butter, 13 per cent.; cocoa, 30 per cent.; flour, 10 per cent.; rice, 15 per cent., and sugar, 20 per cent."

In failing to make any provision in the appropriation bill for maintaining the work of the tariff board, and appropriating \$250,000 for the Boston Custom House, the followers of Champ Clark evidently ignored the Speaker's views in regard to the value of custom houses. "If I had my way," he said, "I would tear them all down from turret to foundation stone, for from the beginning they have been nothing but dens of robbers."

The Webster (South Dakota) World remarks: "The Democrats always proceed on the theory that the American producer is a robber and the foreign producer a philanthropist. The indisputable facts are that whether it be a reduction of Tariff duties on hides, on lumber, on shoes, on glass, on coffee or any other thing, the foreigner invariably stiffens his price, and between him and the importers the consumer gets no benefit whatever."

The "reformers" in Oregon have a new scheme of government. Instead of electing a number of State officers they now propose the creation of a Governor's Cabinet, which would consist of such officials as the State Treasurer, Secretary of State, Attorney-General, Superintendent of Public Instruction and Labor Commissioner, who would be appointive rather than elective. The Senate

branch of the Legislature is to be dispensed with and the Governor is to be given a seat in the single chamber, and that functionary would also be invested with the power to control District Attorneys, Sheriffs and all administrative boards and commissions, which would be appointed and answerable to him, which means that they are going to swing over from the ultra-democratic idea of selecting every official from President to poundkeeper by direct vote to that of extreme centralization of authority in the hands of a single trusted individual.

The advocates of tariff reduction have received an accession from unexpected quarters. The merchants and manufacturers of France are not responding with enthusiasm to the invitation to send exhibits to the Panama—Pacific Exhibition. The reason which they give is that the American tariff shuts out French goods, and they claim that it ought to be reduced. If the question of tariff revision could be referred to our European competitors the vote in favor of lower duties would be unanimous. Fortunately Americans have been wise enough, usually, to frame our tariff laws to benefit American business, not foreign business. The policy of protection has been good for the United States in the past. It is good for us today and it will continue to be the wisest system for the country. The combination of free traders and foreign producers should not be allowed to overthrow protection and destroy our industries.

The San Francisco Chronicle well remarks: "Freedom of speech" is

made to cover a multitude of sins and shortcomings. There would be less tolerance of the abuse of the right if it were not for the cowardly idea that the attempt to repress license only tends to accentuate the evil. There is no foundation for the assumption that efforts to head off attempts to destroy existing institutions would only result in a spread of the desire for disorder and license. The quotation about the "blood of martyrs" does not apply to men who openly proclaim that they mean to plunder and destroy any more than it would to an enemy at the gates.

The American Economist says: What is "the difference between the cost of production in this and in other countries?" No one knows. No one ever will know. You might almost as well ask "How big is a piece of chalk?" Even if the exact truth could be ascertained—and it cannot be ascertained—it would be found that there is a wide disparity in production cost in the various competing countries of the world. It is one thing in Great Britain, another thing in Germany, and a very different thing in China and Japan. It is one thing in one American factory and another thing in another American factory.

Minnesota is now the thirty-third State to ratify the income tax amendment to the Federal Constitution. The Democratic State Convention in Louisiana recently instructed the Legislature of that state to ratify, but the Legislature will probably be slow to respond, since the imposition of an income tax would open the way for the removal

of the duty on sugar. Of the states which have not ratified, Florida, Utah, Wyoming, West Virginia and Pennsylvania will probably give their assent next winter, so that the new amendment is likely to date from early in 1913. In that case it will have taken a little less than four years to secure the assent of three-fourths of the states to the first change in the Constitution since 1870.

In a discussion of the cost of clothing the Cedar Rapids Republican says: "It will be argued that the American price, even if the amount of the Tariff is not added to it, is still higher than the foreign price. That is admitted, but that is accounted for by the fact that everyone who handles the American wool, until it is in the form of finished goods, receives more in wages than corresponding workmen in Europe. The American manufacturers could sell these goods for \$41.84, instead of \$69.75, if they could pay the men all along the line the wages that are prevalent in Europe. Do we want the European wage standards in this country, in order that we may get the goods at the European prices? That is the only really practical question for Americans to answer in the ballot boxes this year. All the rest is verbiage."

As mentioned in another place, the Senate, by a vote of 37 to 27, adopted an amendment to the House metal bill providing for the repeal of the Canadian reciprocity law, and the House voted, 144 to 101, to reject the amendment. Several Republi-

can senators and representatives who supported the reciprocity measure yast year voted for the repeal. In the House, May 31, Representative Steeneson, of Minnesota, presented a petition of 31,079 farmers of the Northwest, urging repeal of the reciprocity law. In Canada the Anti-Reciprocity League has been

revived. This is intended as a reply to the speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in which he expressed his continued belief in the reciprocity policy. The League is to continue in existence "independent of any political bias," and its aims will be "the maintenance of Canada's fiscal independence and the British connection."

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The fifteenth quadrennial convention of the Republican party which was held in the Coliseum, Chicago, beginning Tuesday, June 18, marked the culmination of one of the bitterest factional fights which the party has ever known.

Preliminary to the convention the country witnessed a campaign for the nomination unprecedented in our history. The presidential primary was given its first general trial and proved itself an effective means of disorganization and tumult. And for the first time an ex-President and a President, owing fealty to the same party, contested bitterly on the stump for endorsement by the people. Colonel Roosevelt again demonstrated his remarkable campaigning ability and his power as a vote getter and came nearer defeating President Taft than any other man could have done. But the strong men of the party who have made Republican history for the past decade still retained sufficient influence and power to prevent the abandonment of historic Republican principles.

The first test of strength in the convention came on the adoption of

the temporary organization as proposed, in accordance with all the precedents of the party since 1868, by the Republican National Committee. It was a tense and exciting period after Senator Root of New York and Governor McGovern of Wisconsin had been put in nomination for temporary chairman and the roll of delegates was called for individual voting on this important official. An attempt to throw out the temporary roll of delegates made up by the National Committee after a long-drawn hearing on an unusual number of contests, the decision on which had been largely unanimous, had failed after both sides of the question had been vigorously argued by Governors Hadley and Fort for the Roosevelt forces and by Congressman Payne of New York and ex-Congressman Watson of Indiana for the Taft men.

Then the voting on the temporary chairman was allowed to proceed, Alabama leading off with 22 votes for Root and 2 for McGovern, a vote which showed that Colonel Roosevelt had failed to stampede the Southern delegates. California vot-

ing 24 to 2 gave McGovern his first notable support, then Root gained most of the votes until Idaho and Illinois were reached, and he kept well to the front until the vote of Pennsylvania, 64 for McGovern and 12 for Root, placed the former in the lead by 13 votes. Twenty-three votes to 1 from Tennessee again put Root in the lead, which position he retained until the end, when this critical test of strength gave to the Root supporters 558 votes to 502 for McGovern and forecasted the re-nomination of President Taft.

Senator Root, after his election as temporary chairman, delivered his keynote speech, which embodied a general review of the party's principles and progress. He pointed out the need of parties to run the Government; he cited the leading features of the administration and said it was entitled to a vote of confidence; and he asserted that all of Mr. Taft's pledges had been fully kept. Reiteration of the party's tariff policy, enforcement of the anti-trust laws, and dangers of the recall of judges were the other points made.

On the tariff question he said: "The Republican party stands now, as McKinley stood, for a protective tariff, while the Democratic party stands for a tariff for revenue only. We stand not for the abuses of the tariff, but for the beneficent uses." He favored a tariff commission, and said: "We have outgrown our old method of tariff making." He demanded that the independence of the courts be maintained, saying: "The Republican party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, state and federal government, and will ever insist that their

powers to enforce their processes and to protect life and liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. We must be true to that pledge, for in no other way can our country keep itself within the straight and narrow path described by the principles of right conduct embodied in our constitution."

The Roosevelt forces met their second defeat on Wednesday, June 19th, after a contest of several hours' duration. Governor Hadley of Missouri led the fight to oust 92 contested Taft delegates and to seat 92 Roosevelt men in their places. James E. Watson of Indiana moved to refer Hadley's motion to the Credentials Committee. Governor Dineen, of Illinois, moved to amend so as to prevent contested delegates from voting on the membership of the Committee or its report. This was tabled by 564 to 510. Then the Watson motion was adopted without a division. A feature of the session was a remarkable demonstration of nearly an hour's duration in honor of Governor Hadley, of Missouri, which was interpreted by some of the onlookers as the possible forerunner of a boom for Hadley for President.

After a continuous session of 38 hours ending Friday morning, the credentials committee disposed of all the contests, except Mississippi, Washington and Texas (which were deferred) and in every case as decided by the National Committee.

On Friday the Convention was in session eight hours, and the day was devoted entirely to contests. There were four roll-calls. On the motion to table Gov. Hadley's motion that contested delegates should not be permitted to vote on the report of

the committee until after their cases had been decided, the vote was 569 to 499. On the motion to table the report of the minority (Roosevelt members) of the credentials committee in the California contest, the vote was 542 to 529; on the motion to table the (Roosevelt) minority report in the Arizona contest the vote was 563 to 496; and on the motion to table the minority report in the Alabama contest the vote was 605 to 494. All the other contests were decided as reported by the majority of the committee by a voice vote.

On the fifth and last day of the Convention—Saturday—the session opened with the seating, on a voice vote, of the Taft delegates from Mississippi, Washington and Texas; and the credentials report as a whole was then adopted.

The temporary organization was made the permanent one without a contest. Henry J. Allen, of Kansas, read a statement from Roosevelt, in which it was declared that a clear majority of the delegates were chosen by the people to nominate him, but that by "steam-roller" methods a sufficient number of fraudulent delegates had been put on the roll to substitute a dishonest for an honest majority; that the Convention as so constituted has no claim to represent the voters of the Republican party; and he advised that the men elected as Roosevelt delegates decline to vote on any matter before the Convention.

The Platform.

Former Vice-President Fairbanks, as chairman of the committee on platform, then read their report. The platform was adopted on a roll-call by the following vote: Yeas,

666; nays, 53. Present and not voting, 343; absent, 16.

The platform is very long, and we have no space in this issue for its publication in full, but give the main points and the planks covering Tariff and Cost of Living:

The party will uphold the integrity of the courts and their rights to enforce their own decrees.

Abolition of delays in court procedure is favored. Recall of judges is declared to be unwise.

Enforcement of the present anti-trust law is favored, and supplementary legislation to make the law more specific. Also, a federal trade commission to aid in enforcement and administration of anti-trust laws.

Belief in the protective tariff is reaffirmed, and a tariff board is favored. The Democrats are condemned for refusal to appropriate funds for the board; and also the Democratic tariff bills. Investigation of the high cost of living is promised, with remedial legislation.

Favors such reform of the currency system as will prevent panics, without interfering with independence of the banks.

Advocates publicity of campaign contributions, and a parcels post to be regulated under zone system.

Condemns the Democratic House for refusal to authorize the construction of more battle ships.

Commends the action of the President and Congress to obtain a treaty with Russia safeguarding American citizens.

Commends the administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

The Tariff Plank.

We reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff. The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the coun-

try, developing our resources, diversifying our industries and protecting our workmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage-earners the American standard of living.

The protective tariff is so woven into the fabric of our industrial and agricultural life that to substitute for it a tariff for revenue only would destroy many industries and throw million of our people out of employment. The products of the farm and of the mine should receive the same measure of protection as other products of American labor.

We hold that the import duties should be enough while yielding a sufficient revenue to protect adequately American industries and wages. Some of the existing import duties are too high and should be reduced. Readjustment should be made from time to time to conform to changing conditions and to reduce excessive rates, but without injury to any American industry. To accomplish this correct information is indispensable. This information can best be obtained by an expert commission, as the large volume of useful facts contained in the recent reports of the Tariff Board has demonstrated.

The pronounced feature of modern industrial life is its enormous diversification. To apply tariff rates justly to these changing conditions requires closer study and more scientific methods than ever before. The Republican party has shown by its creation of a Tariff Board its recognition of this situation and its determination to be equal to it.

We condemn the Democratic party for its failure to provide funds for the continuance of this board or to make some other provision for securing the information requisite for intelligent tariff legislation. We protest against the Democratic method of legislating on these vitally important subjects without careful investigation.

We condemn the Democratic tariff bills passed by the House of Representatives of the 62d Congress as sectional, as injurious to the public credit, and as destructive of business enterprise.

Cost of Living.

The steadily increasing cost of living has become a matter not only of Na-

tional but of world-wide concern. The fact that it is not due to the protective tariff system is evidenced by the existence of similar conditions in countries which have a tariff policy different from our own, as well as by the fact that the cost of living has increased while rates of duty have remained stationary or been reduced.

The Republican party will support a prompt scientific inquiry into the causes which are operative, both in the United States and elsewhere, to increase the cost of living. When the exact facts are known, it will take the necessary steps to remove any abuses that may be found to exist in order that the cost of the food, clothing and shelter of the people may in no way be unduly or artificially increased.

Taft and Sherman Renominated.

President Taft was renominated at 9.25 p. m. The nominating speech was made by Warren G. Harding of Ohio, and was highly eulogistic. The seconding speeches were made by John Wanamaker and Nicholas Murray Butler.

Roosevelt's and Cummins' names were not presented; but La Follette was put in nomination by Delegate Olbrich of Wisconsin, and seconded by Delegate Pollock of North Dakota. The names of Taft and La Follette were the only ones formally presented; the votes for the others were cast in pursuance of instructions. Two delegates from Pennsylvania voted for Justice Hughes. It will be seen that Taft received 21 more votes than a majority of all the delegates (1,078) the number required to nominate being 540. The figures of the ballot were:

Taft	561
Roosevelt	107
Cummins	17
La Follette	41
Hughes	2

The number of delegates present

and not voting was 344, and 6 were absent.

For Vice-President, James S. Sherman was renominated by a larger vote than was given to President Taft. He is the first vice-President to be honored with a renomination in 75 years. He was placed in nomination by J. Van Vechten Olcott of New York, and seconded by Harry Daugherty of Ohio. No other candidates were formally presented. The ballot resulted:

Sherman (New York)	597
Borah (Idaho)	21
Merriam (Illinois)	20
Hadley (Missouri)	14
Beveridge (Indiana)	1
Gillette (Mass.)	1

Number of delegates present who did not vote 352. Absent 71.

The usual notification committees were announced, and at 10.30 p. m. the Convention adjourned sine die.

President Taft on the Result.

The President gave out the following statement of his views on the result:

The Chicago convention just ended is much more than this and is in itself the end of a pre-convention campaign presenting a crisis more threatening and issues more important than those of the election campaign which is to follow between the two great National parties.

The question here at stake was whether the Republican party was to change its attitude as the chief conservator in the Nation of Constitutional representative government and was to weaken the Constitutional guaranties of life, liberty and property and all other rights declared sacred in the bill of rights, by abandoning the principle of the absolute independence of the judiciary, essential to the maintenance of those rights.

The campaign carried on to seize the

Republican party and make it the instrument of reckless ambition and the unsettling of the fundamental principles of our Government was so sudden and unexpected that time was not given clearly to show to the people and the party the dangers which confronted them.

It was sought to break the wise and valuable tradition against giving more than two terms to any one man in the Presidency and the danger from its breach could not be measured.

The importance of the great victory which has been achieved cannot be overestimated. All over this country patriotic people tonight are breathing more freely that a most serious menace to our republican institution has been averted.

It is not necessary tonight to speak of the result in November or the issues which will arise between the Republican and Democratic parties in the Presidential campaign to follow. It will be time enough to do that after the action of the Baltimore convention.

It is enough now to say that whatever may happen in November, a great victory for the Republican party and the United States has already been won. The party remains as a great powerful organization for carrying out its patriotic principles as an agency of real progress in the development of the Nation along the Constitutional lines upon which it was constructed and has ever been maintained; and its future opportunity for usefulness is as great as its achievements in the past.

Roosevelt Convention.

In the closing hours of the Republican National Convention, the followers of Col. Roosevelt representing twenty-two states in whole or part, assembled in Orchestra Hall, and pledged their support to him. The speech nominating the Colonel for President was made by Wm. A. Prendergast of New York, who was to have presented his name in the regular Convention, and was sec-

ended by Dean Draper of the University of Pennsylvania. Col. Roosevelt was notified of the action of the Convention, and in accepting the independent nomination for President made a fiery speech. He appealed to the people of all sections, regardless of party affiliations, to stand with the founders of the new party, one of whose cardinal principles, he said, was to be "Thou shalt not steal."

The informal nomination of Roosevelt was said to be for the purpose of effecting a temporary organization of a new party which will probably be called "The Progressive Party," and which will hold a national convention in August.

MATTERS IN CONGRESS.

With two great political conventions in session, and a large number of members in attendance from both Houses, Congress has been marking time, and little work has been accomplished except on one or two of the appropriation bills.

On May 31, the Senate adopted an amendment, by 37 to 27, to the House steel bill, providing for the repeal of the Canadian reciprocity bill, and then fixing a duty of \$2 a ton on all print paper imported into the United States, in lieu of the rate of \$3.75 provided in the present law. On June 10, the House rejected this amendment by a vote of 144 to 101, after considerable debate, nearly all the Republicans present, including several "insurgent Republicans," and six Democrats voting for the amendment.

In the Senate, May 28, Senator

Cummins' substitute for the steel bill was rejected by a vote of 12 to 60. The twelve Senators who voted for the substitute were Borah, Bourne, Bristow, Clapp, Cummins, Gronna, Jones, Nelson, Page, Poin-dexter, Works and Townsend. Of these, Senators Page and Townsend are usually listed with the regular forces.

The Senate, May 31, by a vote of 45 to 11, passed the House bill extending the eight-hour law to contracts involving labor on government work, except the Panama canal. The negative votes were cast by Senators Bradley, Dillingham, Dupont, Gallinger, Heyburn, Oliver, Page, Root, Sanders and Wetmore, Republicans, and Percy, Democrat. The President has signed the bill.

On June 3, the sundry civil appropriation bill was reported, and makes a reduction of about \$33,000,000 in amount appropriated for all objects. Provision for the President's tariff board was eliminated by a vote of 72 to 47; but an appropriation of \$25,000 for the President's traveling expenses was allowed, though it was charged by Democrats that he had used the former appropriation largely for his campaign purposes. The bill empowers the President to reorganize the customs service.

The Republican majority of the Senate finance committee having reported unfavorably on the wool bill, the Democratic minority submitted a minority report, urging that the bill was a "moderate and conservative measure," and aimed only to repeal duties that are "excessive and unjust."

The Senate committee on Inter-

oceanic Canals have reported favorably the House Panama Canal bill, with a proposed amendment prohibiting vessels engaged in coastwise trade owned wholly or in part by railroads from using the canal, but permits railroad owned vessels engaged in transoceanic trade, even if touching at ports of the United States, to pass through it, providing that 50 per cent. of the cargo is destined to a transoceanic port. The bill stipulates that vessels touching at ports of Mexico, Central America and South America are not to be within the class privileged to use the canal.

In the Senate, June 11, the appropriation made for the Commerce Court, recommended by the appropriations committee (which had previously been rejected by the House) was struck out by a vote of 36 to 21.

Agreement was reached in the Senate, June 14, to vote on July 2 on the House chemical tariff bill. It is believed that the "progressives" and several Democrats will unite with the regular Republicans to defeat the measure.

The "money trust" investigation in the House has terminated for the present, and may not be resumed, because of the probable defeat of the Pujó bill to give the committee authority to compel banks to answer its inquiries.

Really, now, when you get right down to the bottom of things, isn't it the man who can raise the most money who has the best chance in a direct primary?—*Newton Times*.

The obvious need of the present situation in the Republican party is a candidate for the presidency who can marshal all its elements with a solid front.—*Council Bluffs Nonpareil*.

ENGLISH METHODS OF DISCUSSION.

The British Tariff Reform League has aroused the ire of its free trade antagonists by a sustained exposure of the exaggerated statements regarding the cost of living in the United States. The League's latest contribution to this line of argument has been to arm its lecturers with typical prices from the current grocery catalogue of Sears-Roebuck Company, Chicago, showing that ordinary household commodities can be purchased for the same price in Chicago as in London.

Probably as a means of shutting off irrelevant and time-wasting "heckling" on the part of free trade auditors, the lecturers announce that they will produce the catalogues on the challenger putting up half-a-sovereign (\$2.50) against an equal deposit by the lecturer, the loser's deposit to be applied to some local charity. This is surely a sporting proposition on very familiar English lines, and it is therefore all the more to be regretted that the free trade "Star" should meet it by directing against the League an accusation of "snatching half-sovereigns." The "Star," degenerate in its day, does not stop to think that, chances being even, the "snatching" might fall to the share of the dissentient challenger, or, chances being uneven, the outlook is bad for a cause which turns tail in such an un-English fashion.

Nor does the "Star" come out any better, in its further prosecution of the case. Its advice to free traders, that "they should refuse to deny or to admit or to discuss the Chicago

price list" on the ground that "such price list proves nothing," would be bad enough by itself, but it is placed in a worse light when details are entered upon. Its demand for the class of sugar sold by the Chicago firm, on the ground that "there is sugar and sugar," is neatly countered by the League's reference to the distinct statement contained in the catalogue, "This firm does not deal in beet sugar."

The above instance is referred to at some length, although only a type of much that has preceded it. It cannot be too generally understood that the high cost of American living, as compared with English, is due far less to the disparity between the purchase price of the particular commodity than to the higher standard of living prevailing among American working class families. This distinction, properly urged, will doubtless be a powerful weapon in the hand of those who are striving, with every prospect of success, for the establishment of a sound fiscal system in the United Kingdom and in the Empire as a whole.

THE COST OF HIGH LIVING.

BY HON. CHARLES N. PROUTY.

At a recent meeting of the Chamber of Commerce it was claimed by intelligent speakers of the Co-operative Milk Producers' Association that milk must be advanced 25 per cent. this fall. It is a very easy thing to say that milk should be advanced 25 per cent., or that the price of anything else should be increased, but who is going to pay, and how, through this method, are we going to arrive at a better condition or a more reasonable cost of

living? Never on this basis, and the poor will grow even poorer even if the rich do not grow richer, for the schemes are about exhausted, and the time has come when honest work and honest methods of business economy should be practised by all classes of people, which are the only ways possible to secure the relief so much needed at the present time.

There is a great deal of talk about the high cost of living, but nothing is said about the high cost of fun. This brings to mind the oft-repeated sentiment of James J. Hill, that the present condition is not so much the high cost of living as the cost of high living. Every honest and intelligent person knows that this is correct and that there can be no relief by raising prices or shortening hours of labor, which only increase the burden. A fair adjustment must be made of all that goes to make up the conditions of life and the mutual relations of mankind. Extremes are not desirable, neither do they promote the best good of all. Our people today are pursuing a very extreme course of life, and this does not apply to any one class. The rich take the leading position in the cost of high living, and every other class tries to approach the example set by them. In the old world people are educated to recognize the rights of royalty, and are themselves but subjects; but in this country, however, we are citizens, and there is no true distinction except in behavior, and naturally the man who regulates his life by high standards is deserving of the greatest respect.

The waste of time and the profitless use of money in purchasing many things not needed and much

that is not only useless but absolutely harmful to health and happiness add to the great burden of the situation. In the first place, people are trying hard to live in the city or town by mechanical and merchandising employments. Hours of labor are being shortened and wages advanced, and to meet this situation more people must be employed, all of which result in an increase in the cost of production and distribution. This course lessens the inclination to go to the farm and prevents the present farmer from getting labor, and thus increases the cost of his products. So the products of the mechanic and of the farmer are both made to cost more, showing definitely that the expense of living will not be reduced by this course of procedure.

The waste of time and money on unworthy occupations is also impoverishing the people; such as the expenditure last year of \$1,500,000,000 on liquors; \$800,000,000 on tobacco; \$450,000,000 on theatres; \$25,000,000 on chewing gum and many other unnecessary indulgences, while eight million people attend moving picture shows daily; all of which amount to over \$3,000,000,000. Add to this what cannot be counted in dollars and cents, the damaged lives and the court costs, and \$40 for each man, woman and child in our country is wasted and worse than wasted. This in a family of five persons amounts to \$200, allowing that one-half of the money comes back in some form of labor, although this is a high estimate.

What a waste! How can people be in healthy circumstances with such a waste going on all the time? We cannot restore better conditions

by statutes, but we can restore them by better morals, and a greater self-denial by the people, abstaining from those indulgences which are so unnecessary and harmful, and the practice of thrift and economy. All these enterprises, apparently so unnecessary, appear to be most prosperous. Who is to blame? Only when the people themselves cease to thus spend their substance in profitless living will the unworthy enterprises pass and the worthy industries prosper, thus giving much greater return to all, employer and employe as well. The great controversy between capital and labor will then cease; peace and happiness will prevail and the blessing of God come upon all, and in no other way can we look for better conditions of life in our country.

CONCLUSIONS OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

In Regard to a Century of Protection.

This country under a low tariff, inviting large importations and sharp competition, has never prospered.

The country has never recovered from the depression caused by low tariffs until a protective tariff was enacted to take its place.

The tariff of 1824 relieved the depression caused by a hasty lowering of the tariff in 1816.

The tariff of 1842 revived the country after the destructive tariff of 1833 and the tariff of 1861 introduced the prosperity which followed the panic of 1857 which was caused by the Walker tariff of 1846.

The Democratic party insists on breaking down protection even when its effects on the industries of the

country are apparent. Calhoun broke down the tariffs of 1824 and 1828 for which three Democratic Presidents had voted.

Polk and Walker broke down the tariff of 1842 and gave to the country the free trade tariff of 1846.

Cleveland broke down the protective policy and gave us the Wilson bill of 1894.

LIBERTY AND LICENSE.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

There is little doubt that if, as announced from Los Angeles, the Federal authorities intend to prosecute the leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World on a charge of sedition, the charge will hold. Sedition, as contrasted with treason, does not necessarily imply an overt act, but consists in writing, publishing or uttering words that tend to excite persons and disturb the tranquillity of the state. And certainly the writings and the speeches of the Industrial Workers do just this. The members of this organization, indeed, regard the state as their greatest enemy and they believe in tearing down the whole social and industrial structure. They are more nearly related to the anarchists than they are to the socialists, and their campaign is one of industrial conquest which contemplates the destruction and ruin of industries as at present operated. Clearly such a doctrine tends to bring into contempt the Constitution and Government and comes within the scope of the Federal statute defining and providing for the punishment of seditious conspiracy.

The Industrial Workers are fond of crying out for "free speech" and

declare, as they did at San Diego, that such a thing does not exist in the United States. This is perfectly true, if free speech is to be made to include the mischievous utterances of this body of syndicalists. There is no freer country in the world than the United States, and the right of free speech—proper free speech, that is—is guaranteed to everyone by the Constitution. But, for various and necessary reasons, the complete freedom of the individual has to be limited even in the freest of countries. It is not only freedom of speech that is properly restricted, but freedom of various other kinds of activities. For instance, an individual's freedom to carry a pocket-knife on his person does not mean that he can with impunity unclasp it and stick it into his fellow man. Nor does his right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" give him the privilege of taking possession of another person's property just because he would like to have it.

It is not at all strange, therefore, that, under the circumstances, it has been found advisable, even in the United States, to place certain restrictions upon the freedom of speech. There are still many styles of speaking that one may indulge in only at a certain risk of forfeiting one's freedom of personal action. The kind of speaking indulged in by the Industrial Workers is one of these. Men who advocate, as the syndicalists do, direct action, such as the blowing up of property by dynamite and the general strike, which would paralyze all industry, are clearly not entitled to the right of flaunting their destructive theories in public.

The Industrial Workers profess to scorn striking for a mere question of wages or shorter hours. They seek, on the contrary, to render factories, mines or railroads unprofitable and worthless as property, and their method of doing this is by bad work, constant friction with the employing class and the general provoking of unrest and discontent throughout the country. Even when a strike results in no immediate gain for the workers it is not considered a lost effort, for, where repeated, strikes help to disorganize and weaken the existing system. If the latter could be made to crumble under their long prolonged assaults or passive wrecking, the syidicalists propose to step in and take over the business enterprise which they would deliberately have wrecked. The Industrial Workers may go on chafing at the limitations imposed upon them. They may howl about the right of free speech and declare that they are being persecuted. But the great mass of liberty-loving Americans will be glad of the fact that there are a few choice and selected limits to the right of free speech in the United States.

A canvass was made recently, covering 91 railroad companies with a total capitalization of \$5,500,000,000, and 142 industrial corporations with a capitalization of \$5,250,000,000, to determine how large an interest the general public has in these vast properties. The whole number of stockholders of the former was 389,571 and their average holding 139 1/2 shares, while the industrial companies had 590,828 stockholders with an average of 89 3/8 shares each. The increase in the capital of

the railroads for the year was \$97,654,274, or only 2 per cent., while the increase in the number of shareholders was 29,275, or 8 per cent. The capital of the industrial companies showed an increase of \$61,810,904, or slightly over 1 per cent., and the number of stockholders was larger by 35,321, or 6 per cent. Taking the whole number of corporations, 234, with an aggregate capitalization of \$10,711,575,719, there was an increase this year of 64,596, or 7 per cent., in the number of stockholders, to \$159,465,178, or 1 1/2 per cent., in the capitalization, and the average holding was 109 1/4 shares, or 6 less than last year. These figures make it evident that whatever affects the success or failure of corporations concerns many people, and not alone the few individuals who have the management of the properties.

PRESIDENTS WHO HAVE NAMED THEIR SUC- CESSORS.

E. N. Vallandigham in the Boston Herald.

Professor Schouler has pointed out that the American people have suffered only three Presidents to name their successors, Jefferson, Jackson and Roosevelt. The last instance is fresh in the minds of all, and its sequel is drastically playing itself out even now before the eyes of interested millions. All three instances have traits of striking family likeness, and marked differences of detail. The thing that stands out in each is that an intensely popular President, bowing to the precedent against the third term set by Washington, was able solely because of his popularity to pick out a man to continue his policies. The striking

difference between the first two instances and the third is found in this, that Jefferson and Jackson maintained unbroken the friendly relations with their successors and cheerfully acquiesced in their second nomination, while Mr. Roosevelt has broken with the man of his choice and is seeking to oust him from the official leadership of his party.

When Jefferson definitely decided to put away the temptation of a third term, there were three men hoping for the succession, George Clinton, vice-president; James Madison, secretary of state, and James Monroe, then still smarting from the humiliation of Jefferson's refusal to submit to the Senate the treaty that Monroe had negotiated with Great Britain. In the end Monroe decided to wait in the well-understood position of heir-apparent, and Madison was elected by 122 electoral votes to six for George Clinton who was chosen vice-president, and 47 for Charles C. Pinckney, the Federalist candidate. Jefferson already knew that his successor would not attempt to hold by the embargo, and indeed, it had been repealed, and the non-intercourse act took its place. Jefferson and Madison were in frequent consultation throughout the whole four years, but something in the situation and in the temperament of Madison made it impossible to avoid a war that never should have occurred. The Federalists believed that Madison owed his second nomination to his yielding to the war party.

Jackson entered upon the Presidency after having expressed the opinion that the office should be restricted to a single term for any incumbent, but without a definite

pledge that he would not seek a second term. The situation was such that as early as 1831 he felt it necessary to accept a second nomination. His kitchen cabinet took care that the offer should come to him with a deceptive air of spontaneity, and it came from Pennsylvania, where he was thought a sound protectionist. Jackson's decision balked Calhoun of his ambition to be promoted to the White House from the vice-presidency which he was then filling for the second time. He felt that Van Buren, who was slated for the vice-presidency in 1832, had caused the breach between him and Jackson, though in this he was wrong, for Jackson had turned against Calhoun upon learning that the latter had sought in 1818 to have him punished for his high-handed conduct in the Seminole war. Jackson could not forgive what he thought disloyalty, and Calhoun seemed to have something less than his accustomed high courage in the presence of the ardent Tennessean. Calhoun took a rather petty revenge upon Van Buren in preventing his confirmation as minister to England after he had gone to his post as a recess appointee. Jackson, who seems to have loved the clever and elegant New Yorker, was determined that he should succeed to the Presidency in 1837.

Jackson's wish was effective, and the Democratic national convention ratified the candidacy of Van Buren in 1836 after he had been nominated by several state legislatures. In the long wrestle with that giant, the United States Bank, Jackson had been victorious, but he bequeathed to Van Buren the embarrassments attendant upon that victory. Jack-

son's second election had been won by 219 out of 288 electoral votes. Van Buren had only 170 out of 294. In spite of the panic of 1837, Van Buren made a good fight throughout his administration and wrung from a somewhat unwilling Congress the sub-treasury law, the natural and necessary sequel of Jackson's successful war upon the bank. Jackson from the Hermitage watched with sympathy and approval the conduct of the man he had put in office, though he was less pleased with the recall of the specie circular than with some other acts of Van Buren. Calhoun's unsympathetic attitude could not prevent the renomination of Van Buren in 1840, but discontent in the South helped to overwhelm the Democrats at the following election, and Van Buren had but 60 out of 294 electoral votes. Calhoun's complete revenge came four years later when a letter of Jackson's in favor of annexing Texas was used against Van Buren, and the two-thirds rule made possible the defeat of the expectant candidate by Polk, the dark horse. Jackson never ceased to regret this letter that had then been thus used against his friend. He did not live to see Van Buren's ample revenge as the Free Soil candidate in 1848.

Senator Newlands, of Nevada, who is always devising new schemes of legislation, recently offered as an amendment to the House steel bill what he called a "compromise tariff plan." By it he proposes a 10 per cent. reduction on Jan. 1, from certain duties, and a further reduction of 5 per cent. on Jan. 1 of each year for four years thereafter until the

total reduction of 30 per cent. shall have been made. A non-partisan tariff commission of five members, appointed by the President, would determine to what products the reductions should apply. Senator Newlands said that his purpose was not to indorse the protection principle, but to recognize that protective duties had stimulated industries which must suffer by any radical change. Senator Newlands pointed out that both parties had promised a revision of the tariff, and his purpose, he said, was to provide a graduated reduction with a brake, so applied as to prevent excessive importations and consequent labor disturbances.

PROTECTION A NECESSITY.

BY WALTER J. BALLARD.

Sir Guilford Molesworth, the eminent English statistician and industrial writer, says it is difficult to conceive a more inconsistent piece of folly than that of the English trade unionist who protects the labor of his fellow-unionists and at the same time admits the products of foreign labor duty free to compete with them.

"There can be no doubt that unfair and unlimited foreign competition has ruined many of our industries, while others are struggling hard for existence," asserts Sir Guilford. "While we have so many of our own countrymen unemployed we are practically paying to foreign workmen some eighty millions (pounds, doubtless) of money yearly, which represents the value of labor in those articles which we allow to be imported duty free. Our capital

is being driven abroad, want of confidence, unemployment, distress and poverty abound."

Yet that is just the condition, the wretched condition, which the Democrats and their allies, the irregular Republicans (so-called), the "tariff-revision-downward" fanatics, will bring about in the United States if they are not stopped next November by the election of a majority of full-protective, wages-protective Congressmen. Nothing has saved us from being in that condition now except the vetoes by President Taft of the reckless tariff reduction bills passed by the House at the last completed session of Congress.

Carey, the American economist, has pointed out that "the periods of protection, 1813, 1838, 1842 and 1861, gave us wages high, money cheap, public and private revenues large, immigration great and increasing, while the periods of 'free trade,' 1817, 1834, 1846 and 1857 bequeathed labor everywhere seeking employment, wages low, money high, public and private revenues small and decreasing, immigration declining, public and private bankruptcy nearly universal."

"Who," asks Sir Guilford, "but the biggest fool on earth would support such an idiotic policy?" Fortunately the United States put an end July 24, 1897, by the pen of William McKinley, to the Wilson-Gorman Democratic (practical) free-trade tariff with the following (among many other) beneficial results:

1911	Inc. since 1897
	National Wealth:
\$107,000,000,000	\$30,000,000,000
	Wealth per Capita:
\$1,318	\$201

Money in Circulation:	
\$3,214,000,000	\$1,570,000,000
Circulation per Capita:	
\$34.20	\$11.28
Bank Clearings:	
\$159,000,000,000	\$105,000,000,000
Bank Deposits:	
\$15,900,000,000	\$10,800,000,000
Imports:	
\$1,527,000,000	\$763,000,000
Exports:	
\$2,049,000,000	\$999,000,000
Farms and Farm Property:	
\$40,991,000,000	\$20,552,000,000
Farm Products:	
\$8,417,000,000	\$3,700,000,000
Factory Products:	
\$20,672,000,000	\$7,668,000,000
Wages Paid:	
\$3,427,000,000	\$1,125,000,000
Wage Earners:	
6,615,000	1,307,000

This great showing, and it is only partial, is proof positive that a full protective tariff is a vital necessity to the preservation and extension of American prosperity.

TARIFF REPORT OF CLOTHIERS' ASSOCIATION.

Secretary Corwine, of the National Association of Clothiers, read at the recent convention in Atlantic City the following report on the tariff:

Your Tariff Committee report that, though it has not announced its activities, it has kept in touch with the situation at Washington.

When Schedule K was reframed last year in special session of Congress, the committee refrained from making any public declaration of its views, because it decided to wait for the report of the Tariff Board, which, under the direction of President Taft, was conducting an investigation from the raw wool to the finished products of woolen and worsted cloths, and also into the garments into which such cloths were manufactured, in an effort to ascertain the difference in the cost of production and

manufacture between the United States and competitive nations.

The National Association of Clothiers had placed itself on record as favoring a Tariff Commission and had been represented at the conventions of trade and commercial organizations at which such a commission had been advocated. The Association was gratified when the Tariff Board was authorized by Congress considering it to be a step in the direction which would lead ultimately to a permanent non-partisan tariff commission. Your committee having assured itself of the integrity and fairness of the members of the Tariff Board, through familiarizing itself with the plan of procedure adopted by the latter, felt that notwithstanding the situation in Congress it would be best to wait for the report of that Board. President Taft had assured the public that the report would be ready by the time Congress assembled in regular session in December, 1911.

The report was made public last December and laid a foundation on which to rebuild at lower and less discriminatory rates a scientifically arranged wool schedule which would abolish special favors and place the manufacturers of woolen and worsted cloths more nearly on a parity.

The House of Representatives at the present regular session of Congress introduced and passed what was practically the same bill which it had passed in special session. That bill changed specific to ad valorem duties on a considerably lower basis than the existing bill. It was sent to the Senate, whence it is announced no hearings will be held.

Your committee desires that discrimination and special favors through undue protection shall end, and that only such measures of protection be accorded an industry as will reasonably protect it.

The foregoing is set forth only to show to the Convention that the committee has been watchful, and to assure the delegates that it will move whenever activity on its part will be helpful to the cause for which it stands.

It would be idle to speculate on what is going to happen in connection with Schedule K. The situation is so surrounded by complications, principally

political, that he would be a bold man who would venture a prediction upon which anyone could rely.

GERMANY'S INDUSTRIAL POLICY.

From the Iron Trade Review.

The Germans have been making wonderful strides in securing the commerce of the world against the competition of other nations. No one charges them with being possessed, as a nation, of any considerable degree of business lunacy; and yet, while every man holding public office in this country, from the President to the most humble public official, is out "gunning" for those manufacturers who maintain friendly business relations with their competitors (based on a spirit of co-operation and fair dealing, interchanging of experiences and ideas, with a disposition to live and let live), the emperor of Germany, acting for what he considers the good of the German nation, is working overtime trying to compel German iron and steel manufacturers to do the very thing for which we are trying to prosecute American manufacturers. Who is right?

The American hysteria has gone so far that two prominent candidates for the presidency are basing their chief claim for popular support upon the extent to which they have prosecuted and threatened with destruction certain business interests of America and the heat with which they promise to do so in the future.

In Germany, that competes with us so cleverly outside of our own country, they encourage where we threaten; they confer patents of nobility upon prominent manufacturers who are successful in this direction, while we desire to throw them into prison; their Government favors, while here it seems the Government hates, those enterprises which develop and build up national prosperity, foreign trade, financial strength and the general well-being of the people. Who is right?

Already the Germans are selling steel products in an ever-increasing volume upon our Pacific coast, and if some of the high-minded, vote-chasing office

holders in America had their way this volume would be increased, as it probably will be when the Panama canal is opened. Who is right?

WAGES UNDER FREE TRADE.

The attention devoted, in the British tariff reform agitation, to the industrial wages paid in Great Britain and in the United States respectively is evidenced by a series of articles on "Sheffield in America," appearing in the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph." Written by Mr. J. Ellis Barker, the well known English economist, the introductory article reproduces the following comparative table of average wages paid in the manufacture of silver plate hollow ware, on a basis of ten working hours per day:

	England	America
Casters	\$.84	\$2.00
Stampers	2.00	2.50
Spinners	1.66	3.00
Buffers	1.50	3.00
Solderers	1.50	3.00
Piercers	2.00	3.50
Chasers	1.70	3.25
Engravers	1.70	3.00
Platers	1.70	3.50
Burnishers .....	.41	2.50
Boys .....	.15	.89
Girls .....	.12	1.00

KILLING HOME INDUSTRIES.

From Fibre and Fabric.

We are a queer people, of that there is no mistake. We allow paid law-makers to go right ahead and sell out the greatest American industry to foreign competitors, and there is hardly a peep of protest from those most seriously affected. Yet there is not one chance in a thousand that should a low tariff prevail the consumer would benefit fifty cents on a suit of clothes or an overcoat, either in the purchase price or the quality of the goods. Under such conditions the mill workers, and their dependents, probably 1,000,000 all told in New England, would have their spending power substantially curtailed and their general scheme of living entirely changed. For

what? Simply to fatten the pocketbook of the foreign manufacturer and the importer.

If the national lawmakers are in earnest they will let well enough alone as regards tariff and regulate a few real bad trusts and combinations that are dangerous to the common people. There are no trusts, good or bad, in the textile industry or in any of its allied branches, so there is absolutely nothing in our industry to regulate, and if left alone for six months, managers and operatives could and would get together, and the bad element would soon be eliminated and there would be peace and prosperity in our mill towns, where now there is much discontent and suffering.

The time is not far distant when the voters will have their say, and there should be co-operation amongst voters in every mill city and town to eliminate the politician who is a traitor to his constituents and elect men, from fence viewers to a president, who will agree to give ample protection against foreign labor, both abroad and at home.

STATISTICS OF MANUFACTURES FOR NEW ENGLAND STATES.

Statistics just issued by the United States census bureau show that Massachusetts ranks first in New England and fourth among the states of the union in the value of products of manufactures, while in the number of wage-earners it is third in the country.

The number of wage-earners in Massachusetts is 584,559, or more than a twelfth of the total for the United States, exceeded only by New York and Pennsylvania. The value of products is \$1,490,529,000 and the value added by manufactures is \$659,764,000. In both respects Massachusetts stands fourth to New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

Second in rank of the New England states is Connecticut, which takes twelfth place in value of product with \$490,272,000, being exceeded by Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Missouri and California. In number of wage-earners, however, the state has eighth place, with 210,792, and the value of \$233,013,000 added by manufactures gives it tenth place.

Value of product of \$280,344,000 places Rhode Island sixteenth in this respect. With its 113,538 wage-earners it has fourteenth place and the same rank from \$122,152,000 value added by manufactures.

These three are the only New England states that take any high rank for volume of manufactures. Maine and New Hampshire, with product values of \$176,029,000 and \$164,581,000 respectively, stand twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth in the list. Maine has 79,955 wage-earners (ranking 19) and \$78,928,000 value added by manufactures (ranking 24), and New Hampshire takes twentieth place with 78,628 wage-earners and twenty-seventh with \$66,424,000 value added by manufactures.

Least disposed to manufacturers of the New England states is Vermont, where \$68,310,000 value of products leaves it thirty-eighth in line. It holds thirty-fourth place with 33,788 wage-earners and thirty-seventh with \$33,487,000 value added by manufactures.

Of the New England states the greatest percentage of increase in value of products for the decade 1899-1909 was the 69.3 per cent. of Rhode Island. After that came Massachusetts, 64.2 per cent.; Maine, 55.8; Connecticut, 55.6; New Hamp-

shire, 53, and Vermont, 32.6. None of these, however, came up to the average increase of 81.2 per cent. made by the entire United States.

Nor did any New England state equal the national gain of 40.4 per cent. in number of wage-earners. In this respect Massachusetts made the largest gain, 33.4 per cent., then came Connecticut, 32; Rhode Island, 28.7; Vermont, 19.9; New Hampshire, 16.3, and Maine, 14.4.

THE COST OF PRODUCTION THEORY.

A Growing Feeling that it is of Little Value.

Washington Cor. N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

Those who have been dealing with the Tariff Board question and the use of the idea of cost of production as a basis for tariff duties on the floor of Congress in a serious way have been receiving an unexpected amount of support from the business world. They had supposed that very little aid or comfort would be given them, for they thought that the Tariff Commission League had managed to consolidate a good deal of the organized business sentiment of the country behind its proposition. The facts show that whatever the Tariff Commission League may have done along this line there is a great multitude of business men who have turned away from the cost of production notion. The recent speeches directed against it on the floor of Congress have called forth multitudes of letters from men familiar with business problems, with accounting and with practical details of every sort. These expressions have shown that there is a growing feeling

that the cost of production idea cuts both ways from the protective standpoint, while comparatively little is to be expected from it in the careful and analytical revision of the tariff. The cotton report of the Tariff Board has done much to further this feeling on the part of the business public. Not a few cotton manufacturers have found the report full of blunders, and now that time has been given for careful analysis of the wool report that is found to be equally as defective as the later document, if not more so. The defects of the wool report have required more careful analysis to put them clearly before the public than those of the cotton report because of its greater complexity. Neither report is held to possess much value except that of massing together some material that was previously not easily available, and this is being very generally recognized in the ways already stated.

The manufacturing industries of the United States employ as wage-earners 6,615,046 people; the value of the products of these industries is \$20,672,052,000, and the value added by their manufacture is \$8,530,261,000. The number of wage earners increased 40.4 per cent. since 1899 and the value of products 81.2 per cent. These figures represent the totals of manufacturing establishments conducted under the factory system, as distinguished from the neighborhood, hand and building industries. The slaughtering and meat-packing industry ranks first in gross value of products with \$1,370,568,000; the second is foundry and machine shops products with \$1,228,475,000; third, lumber and timber products with \$1,156,129,000;

fourth, iron and steel works and rolling mills with \$985,728,000, and, fifth, grist-mill products with \$883,584,000.

THE REVOLT OF THE UNFIT.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

There is a fitness in enthusiasm. Without it we would be a race of pessimists heading with the velocity of destiny toward a national decay. Philosophers may smile at the popular error, but they will be wiser if they concentrate their censure upon the more obvious fallacies in this faith. Take, for example, what Professor Butler calls the revolt of the unfit, the attempt to wipe out by that magic fiat of collective human will called legislation the inequalities which nature makes and without which the process of evolution could not go on. It takes the form of attempts to lessen and to limit competition, a fact which proclaims its advocates as the unfit. The fit exhibit a most disconcerting satisfaction with things as they are. They make no conscious struggle for existence. They do not have to. Being fit, they survive. "Thus does the doctrine of evolution, like a playful kitten, merrily pursue its tail with rapturous delight."

On the other hand, the unfit reason thus: "If we are not adapted to our environment, so much the worse for the environment. Let us change it, and by legislation." If it were only the unfit who held this view, there might be no fears for the safety of society; but the danger is that many of the fit—and the fit comprises the great majority—are led away by a misguided humanitarianism and millennium moonshine into aiding in the preservation of the unfit. Such a preservation is to a certain extent possible, but it can only be done at great cost, and that not merely of money. There are psychologists who explain the increase of suicide and insanity as due not to the so-called fevered haste of modern industry, but to the efforts toward a preservation of the unfit.

The ancients who treated the insane with barbarous cruelty felt justified by the instinct of self-preservation. It is

humane and beautiful to train the mentally deficient, but that training increases their possibilities as parents and we must reap the result—a nation itself less fitted to survive. The same holds true with that misguided sentiment that would eliminate competition. Thus does Nature smile at all attempts to smooth out the inequalities necessary to that selection which is the basis of progress. Some are and must be greater, better, fitter than the rest and we must not be led away by sentiment into costly concessions. There is often ultimate kindness in the immediate cruelty of competition.

THE STRIKE EVIL.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

The manner in which labor union power may be used and sometimes is used, when it grows great enough, is well illustrated in the strike of the London "Transport Workers." They include the lightermen on the Thames and the handlers of freight on the docks, and with them are affiliated in the Transport Workers' Federation the carmen and truckmen of the streets. If they act together they are able to lay an embargo upon the food supply of the British metropolis and places supplied from it. There are many loopholes in the barrier they are able to raise, but it is possible by extending the strike over the avenues of distribution throughout the country to affect seriously the supply of food and other necessities of comfortable living of the whole kingdom, injure its industries and trade, and cripple for a time its vast commerce with the world. This is the result of trades unionism carried to the extreme of labor monopoly in important lines, and an arbitrary, irresponsible exercise of the power which it arrogates

to itself. The strike at the London docks appears to have been precipitated by a trivial dispute over the employment of one non-union man, but the stoppage of work of which that was the cause was only the touching of a match to inflammable material; and, as the case was taken up by the Federation, it was made the occasion for demanding higher wages, shorter hours, time allowances and "full recognition of the union," which means no non-union labor. These demands are made the basis of a strike which may be indefinitely extended and prolonged against the means of living, as a formidable weapon of coercion.

The power appears to be in the hands of an organized body of men, employed in transport and distribution service, to produce almost the condition of a siege and subject the people to famine in order to force compliance with their demands. This force is directed by officers, committeemen and leaders, some of whom are "in politics" and have representatives in Parliament and in public employment. It is only a question of holding together and of endurance to affect the supply and price of food to a serious extent and disturb all the industrial operations by which a living is made by the people. The sacrifice will fall heaviest upon those least able to bear it, and if economic conditions are improved for those directly concerned by such concessions as may be wrung from employers, it will be at the expense of the community at large. The cost of living will be higher than before, industrial conditions harder, and for increased wages no more can be obtained of the means of living.

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The Protectionist

AUGUST, 1912

The Tariff Issue

Wilson a Strenuous Free Trader

The Protective Tariff System Endangered

Republican and Democratic Platforms

Lessons from Ireland

Alphabetical Index on Next Page

PUBLISHED BY THE

HOME MARKET CLUB

77 Summer St., Boston, Mass.

Vol. XXIV. No. 4.

10 Cents Each, \$1.00 a Year

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THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress.

Signed articles are not to be understood as expressing the views of the editor or publishers.

VOL. XXIV.

AUGUST, 1912.

No. 280

THE TARIFF ISSUE.

The Continuance of the Protective System a Vital Issue of the Campaign.

The issue of the presidential campaign is clearly drawn by the tariff planks of the Republican and Democratic parties. The Republican platform reaffirms the belief of the party in a protective tariff and declares that "the Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries and protecting our workmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage-earners the American standard of living." It maintains that to substitute a revenue tariff for a protective tariff "would destroy many industries and throw millions of our people out of employment." Import duties, it declares, should be more than revenue duties, they should "protect adequately American industries and wages." To accomplish such readjustment of the schedules as changing conditions make necessary, "correct information is indispensable. This information can best be obtained by an expert commission." A protective policy with tar-

iff rates based upon all attainable information is a tariff system which should appeal to the intelligence of the American voter far more than the confused and contradictory declaration of the opposition party.

The Democratic party, utterly ignoring the fact that many of the men who framed the Constitution served as members of the first Congress whose initial legislative act was a tariff bill "for the encouragement and protection of manufactures," and that George Washington, who presided at the Constitutional Convention, signed this act as President of the United States, declared in the platform adopted at Baltimore that it is "a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government under the constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue," and appealed to the American people "to support us in our demand for a tariff for revenue only."

Apparently fearful of the reception which such a declaration would meet,

the platform hastens to assure the country that "we recognized that our system of tariff taxation is intimately concerned with the business of the country and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry."

There is no other way to shield many of our industries from injury and destruction than by guarding them from ruinous foreign competition by a protective tariff and if the Democratic party is sincere in its advocacy of legislation "that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry" it is grotesquely insincere in its declaration for a tariff for revenue only and in the assertion that protection is unconstitutional.

The Hearst papers, which have the widest circulation of any Democratic organs, have taken direct issue with the tariff plank of their party and boldly assert that the Democrats will not abolish protection. "The Democratic national platform," declares the Boston American, "was adopted without discussion at the end of seven days and nights of unparalleled stress and strain. The free trade plank purports to stand for the sentiment of the platform committee; but that committee submitted absolutely to the dictation of Mr. Bryan. The free trade plank is Bryan's plank. It represents, therefore, no settled policy or conviction at all. The majority of thoughtful Americans are not ready wholly to abandon the protective policy in favor of a tariff for revenue only." The Hearst paper characterizes William J. Bryan as "a violent extremist on most public questions, and upon the tariff question in particular, a dangerous and unprincipled dema-

gogue. He possesses neither knowledge of the tariff, nor business experience, nor political principles of any kind on the great American question."

And yet William J. Bryan was the dominating influence in the Baltimore convention and succeeded in nominating his candidate, Woodrow Wilson. Governor Wilson accepted the nomination, stands upon the Bryan platform and has himself denounced protection as violently as Bryan has. How, then, can the Hearst papers support Bryan's candidate for election to the presidency?

Through the breach opened in the Democratic party by the moderate protectionists and the advocates of tariff for revenue only, the party which consistently, vigorously and unitedly stands for the American protective tariff system should march to a great national victory, because they deserve the enthusiastic support of the American people.

The National Prohibition convention, which was held at Atlantic City, July 10-12, nominated Eugene W. Chafin, of Arizona, for President and Aaron S. Watkins, of Ohio, for Vice President. This party had the same candidates four years ago, and polled 252,511 votes. There are all kinds of "progressive" ideas in the party platform; but, of course, the principal plank is that relating to the alcoholic drink traffic, and it is demanded that this should be treated by the government as a crime and not as a business. On the tariff, the platform says the question should be decided on the basis of accurate knowledge secured by a permanent omni-partisan commission with ample powers.

SHALL WE VOTE TO DESTROY THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF SYSTEM?

By F. G. R. Gordon.

The Democratic party has nominated a free trader for President. It has declared for a "tariff for revenue only," and has made the tariff the leading plank in its platform. This means that the campaign for 1912 will be largely fought upon the economic issue of protection vs. tariff for revenue only, or practical free trade, in so far as that policy effects the welfare of the American people. The Democratic platform declares: "The high Republican tariff is the principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth; it is a system of taxation which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer; under its operations the American farmer and laboring man are the chief sufferers; it raises the cost of the necessaries of life to them but does not protect their product or wages," etc. The platform further declares that wages in the cotton, wool, iron and steel industries are the lowest paid in any of our industries. In spite of the historical fact that the last Democratic tariff, the Wilson bill, reduced wages in all of the cotton, wool and iron and steel, industries, and caused many hundreds of factories to close, increasing the army of the unemployed by more than a million, bringing poverty and misery to thousands upon thousands of our wage earners; increasing the importation of foreign made goods by millions of dollars and for the first time in our history bringing with it the soup house, the Democracy once again

declare for an economic policy that will produce like results. History will repeat itself if the low tariff party wins this fall. But the declaration that it is the protective tariff that makes the "rich richer and the poor poorer" will not stand the cold, hard facts of history.

How About the Farmer?

Every sane and intelligent student knows that never before in the history of this nation was the average farmer so well off as right now. Note the increase of farm wealth during thirty years of protection:

Year.	Farm Wealth.
1880	\$12,180,000,000
1890	16,082,000,000
1900	20,439,000,000
1910	40,991,449,000

Farm wealth has more than doubled in the last ten years. While our population increased from 1850 to 1910 by 296.6 per cent., the value of farm property increased during this same period by 933.2 per cent. In 1890 the 8,565,926 people engaged in agriculture in this nation produced a total of farm wealth for that year of \$2,460,107,454, or a little less than \$290 per capita. In 1907 the 11,991,000 people engaged in agriculture produced a total of \$7,488,000,000 in farm wealth, or an average of \$629 per capita. In 1910 the average farm wealth production was nearly \$700 per capita, or \$3,500 for the average farm family. There is no record in all history of such widespread

wealth for any farming class, and what is of more importance is the solid fact that more than 80 per cent. of this vast wealth has been acquired since our modern protective tariff system came into existence.

The Workingman Has Prospered Under a Protective Tariff.

The late Edward Atkinson showed that during twenty-five years of our protective tariff system, from 1860 to 1885 the purchasing power of the working class increased from 23 to 57 per cent. (see *Century Magazine*, Vol. 34). The average annual wages in 1880 in the manufacturing industry were \$421; in 1909 they averaged \$518, not counting the salaried workers; if the latter are reckoned the average is \$589 per worker. Under a low tariff in 1850 the average annual wages in the manufacturing industry were only \$247 per worker.

How has the working man been able to save? In 1850 under a low tariff the total amount of savings in all the savings banks in this country amounted to only \$43,431,130, or an average of less than two dollars for each inhabitant. In 1910 the total deposits amounted to the enormous sum of \$4,070,486,247, equal to over \$44 for every man, woman and child in the United States, or twenty-two times as much on the average under a protective tariff as compared with a Democratic low tariff.

President Samuel Gompers, the labor leader of this country, has told us after a most complete investigation of wages and conditions all over Europe that the American working man is just about twice as well off as the average worker in any country of Europe.

Mr. Harrison Benn, who owns

mills in Rhode Island and Bradford, England, has proved that wages here are double those paid for the very same kind of work in free trade England, and that the cost of living is about the same in both countries.

The number of home owners now number nearly eight million families in spite of the fact that during the past dozen years nine million immigrants have come to our shores, with an average of less than fifty dollars, 47 per cent. of our people own some real estate.

Nor is it true that the crop of millionaires have been produced by the protective tariff. Those who have investigated tell us that a very small percentage of our wealthy men became so by the profits in manufacturing; most of the millionaires of this country have come from transportation, land speculation, banking and mining. There has been no concentration of the ownership of the cotton and woolen mills, or iron and steel mills under the protective tariff. As an illustration let me point to the fact that only a dozen years ago the total owners of all the iron and steel mills of this country numbered less than 55,000; today the number of owners in the iron and steel mills number very near 300,000, or in other words the owners of the great iron and steel industry have increased during the last dozen years 500 per cent. against an increase in population of 25 per cent. During the past 16 years of the operation of the protective tariff system with hardly a break in any part of the line, our middle class population as a whole have increased five times as rapidly as the population. The number of owners of stocks in the railway and manufacturing industries of

this nation have increased eight times as fast as the population during the past twenty years.

Recent investigations show that the owners of wealth in this country are rapidly increasing. To illustrate:

The B. & O. R. R. had in 1901 just 3,256 stockholders; in 1911 that railroad had a total of 10,869 owners, a gain of 7,613 in ten years. The American Sugar Refining Co. had 10,783 owners in 1901, and 20,050 in 1911. The 262,490 corporations in this country having an annual income (net) of \$5,000 or more, are owned by 2,500,000 stockholders, an increase in ten years of more

than 400 per cent. The Democrats may try to win and perhaps they will win by calamity howling methods; they will not win if the people know the facts.

If we want to continue along these lines we shall vote to maintain our protective tariff system; if on the other hand we want to increase our poverty and misery, if we wish to add a million to our unemployed, if we prefer foreign made goods produced at pauper wage standards, if we again want the soup house in every industrial centre, we will vote to change our protective tariff system to that of the Democratic low tariff policy.

WILSON A STRENUOUS FREE TRADER.

Republicans who are Confident of Taft's Election—Reciprocity a Drawback—Premier Borden Stirring up Trouble—Republican Senators Vote Together on the Tariff.

Washington, July 20.

The results of the two national conventions, and the work of Congress have not materially changed the tariff situation in the last month. Notwithstanding the differences at Chicago, and the announced purpose of Mr. Roosevelt to run in opposition to President Taft as a candidate, some very good judges of forthcoming political events, such as Representative Hill of Connecticut, Senator Crane, Senator Burton, and Senator Smoot are very confident of Mr. Taft's election, and this feeling is largely based on the tariff situation.

Mr. Wilson, the Democratic can-

didate, is a pronounced Free Trader of the old time Southern kind. He was born and educated in the South, married a Southern woman, and inherited his Democratic sentiments and Free Trade views, to which he fervently adheres. He has been a teacher practically all of his life, without business experience, which naturally makes him very positive in his views. He is more extreme in his advocacy of Free Trade than was Grover Cleveland and all the world knows the dire effects of Mr. Cleveland's efforts to carry Free Trade into effect. Mr. Wilson, if elected President, would be able to go much farther than Cleveland did.

Congress Will be With the President.

As Champ Clark, the Speaker of the House, remarked at Sea Girt, when calling on Mr. Wilson to consult about the work of Congress, "the election of the President will carry with it the majority in Congress." The Democrats now have the House by a large majority, while the Senate is nearly a tie, and the Democrats have been able to carry several tariff bills through that body. They have a solid South. There is no hope of interfering, under existing election laws, with their control in that section of the country. They do not need much help from the North to elect their candidate, as they count on Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona. New York is an uncertain State, now Democratic, and with Roosevelt a candidate the Republican vote will be divided. Indiana is in the same fix. New Jersey, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Montana, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Wisconsin and Wyoming, all have Governors not elected as straight Republicans, while the Governor of Kansas, California, Michigan and one or two other Northern States have declared against President Taft. This will serve to show that Republicans and Protectionists will have to work hard if they want to save the nation from a more disastrous Free Trade onslaught than followed under Cleveland when the loss was calculated to be as calamitous as that of the civil war.

The Canada Reciprocity Law a Drawback.

There is another unpleasant feature growing out of the law provid-

ing for Canadian reciprocity. The voters in the Dakotas, Minnesota and some other states are resentful concerning that law. Should Canada pass a law to carry the reciprocity arrangement into effect it would be hurtful to the northwestern states. The hard wheat which they raise and for which there is such a spirited demand would be supplemented by that brought over from Canada, which is a little superior in quality. Their barley, oats and other products would suffer in the same way. That is why they fear the effect of that arrangement. The Democrats are, of course, responsible for it, and Mr. Wilson, their candidate, favors it. But President Taft and Secretary Knox were its projectors and the voters hold them responsible. The Republicans in Congress with few exceptions are on record in favor of repealing the reciprocity law. Such an amendment was attached to the metal bill in the Senate. Hence, the voters who support Free Trade Democrats on such grounds would make a tremendous mistake.

Wilson a Straight Free Trader.

Ex-Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota was opposed to Taft, but he declares that he cannot support Wilson, whom he recognizes as an extreme "Cleveland Democrat." That feeling will unquestionably grow in Dakota and elsewhere as Mr. Wilson's strenuous Free Trade views become better known. Former Republicans coming out for Wilson are almost exclusively men like Governor Osborn of Michigan, never in harmony with their party or the tariff, or Mr. Crane of Chicago with a grievance. Mr. Crane is a rich man, and he was appointed Minister to

China and started on his mission but was recalled before he left San Francisco. He was resentful, and naturally came out for Roosevelt and is now for Wilson, whom he visited the other day ostentatiously, telling the reporters that he "would be glad to contribute to help pay Mr. Wilson's campaign expenses." But support of that kind will not help Mr. Wilson greatly.

The canvass will be a straightforward one between Free Trade and Protection. Speaker Clark said to the reporters at Sea Girt, Mr. Wilson's summer home: "There is no Bull Moose (Roosevelt) movement in my district. A campaign reduces itself to two or three issues regardless of the length of the platform." That is a fact, and the chief issue must be Free Trade versus Protection.

Bryan Responsible for Wilson.

Mr. Bryan, the most pronounced Free Trader in the country, is responsible for Wilson's nomination. Clark and Underwood carried through a House Democratic caucus, in pronounced opposition to Mr. Bryan, a bill to impose light duties on wool. Bryan wanted free wool and he got his revenge in defeating both Clark and Underwood at Baltimore, and in nominating Wilson. As to the views of the Democratic candidate, he was asked, "Are you advocating the repeal of all tariff laws?" to which he gave an affirmative reply as follows, saying that he advocated the repeal:

"Of all protective-tariff laws; of establishing a tariff for revenue merely. It seems to me very absurd to maintain that we shall have free trade between different portions of

this country, and at the same time shut ourselves out from free communication with other producing countries of the world. If it is necessary to impose restrictive duties on goods brought from abroad it would seem to me, as a matter of logic, necessary to impose similar restrictions in goods taken from one State of this Union to another. That follows as a necessary consequence; there is no escape from it. Free Trade has been a slumbering question, but it will soon become one of the leading questions in all political discussions, because the people of the South will insist upon having the fruits of peace, and not being kept under the burdens of war. There is no danger in time of peace in being dependent on foreign manufacturers, because if they raise their prices the inevitable result will be that Americans will go into the manufacture and undersell them, and their prices must come down again. Therefore we are in no danger in time of peace, so that the argument of the protectionist must be a war argument. Is it worth while during 50 years of peace to provide by taxation for one year of war?"

Amazing Free Trade Views.

Those are the amazing Free Trade views Mr. Wilson voluntarily expressed to the United States Tariff Commission while practicing law in Atlanta in 1882. It is to his credit that he has been consistent in his views and does not repudiate any of his former expressions. It seems a little ridiculous to talk of electing a new President who holds that it is as logical to impose duties on goods passing from one State to another as to impose duties on goods coming

from abroad. Then the absurdity of saying that when foreigners make their prices too high Americans will compete until they are reduced. As though the starting of manufactories is a thing of a day, and can be stopped without loss when prices are too low to make their operation profitable. Mr. Wilson said at that time that the tariff was repressing industry. And yet no country in the history of the world has made such rapid progress in the development of industry, both manufacturing and agricultural, as has the United States under the protective tariff.

The Extraordinary Democratic Platform.

The Democratic platform, despite the many decisions of the Supreme Court and the fact that a protective tariff was imposed in 1789, and signed by George Washington, holds that such a law is unconstitutional, and Mr. Wilson warmly advocates that view. It seems the height of absurdity but with a President and party in control of the government holding that view, in accordance with the Constitution of the Confederate States, what might we not expect in the way of backward legislation. The bills the Democrats have passed in this Congress, putting vast millions of dollars' worth of finished products on the free list while imposing duties on the raw materials required to produce them, would merely be a drop in the bucket, to what we might expect under a Wilson administration.

Republican Senators More in Union.

Some of the "insurgent" Senators are apparently beginning to appreciate the fatuity of helping the Democrats in their tariff legislation. The

chemical bill was defeated in the Senate, only three insurgents voting for it. On several votes Mr. Poindexter of Washington was the only so-called Republican who voted with the Democrats. He is a Southern man, born and educated in that section, and is not really a Republican, though he was elected from the State of Washington. He has announced his determination not to support President Taft, the Republican candidate, for re-election. Rufus R. Wilson of Washington State, who organized and managed Poindexter's canvass for election to the Senate, has come out in support of Wilson for President. If Roosevelt should withdraw Poindexter would probably follow his manager into the Wilson camp. In the light of candidate Wilson's extreme Free Trade views no genuine Republican could conscientiously support him.

When the Senate got through with the Lorimer case a motion to take up as the unfinished business the House bill fixing tolls on the Panama canal was opposed by the Democrats, who sought to have the wool and sugar tariff bills given consideration. The vote for once where a tariff question was at issue was on strict party lines. Every Democrat voted against the motion, and every Republican, including insurgents, for it. That probably ends tariff discussion in the Senate at this session. As for the House, Speaker Clark and leader Underwood have ostentatiously offered to do whatever Mr. Wilson, their candidate for President, suggests. This is the first time in the history of the government when the leaders of a party in the majority of the House have practically placed that body in control of

a private citizen, a man absolutely without legislative experience. But it indicates what will happen in Congress if this strenuous Free Trader becomes President of the United States.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN.

By a Student of English Politics.

An attempt by the organ of the English Free Trade Union to distort the language of Mr. J. Ellis Barker into a pessimistic review of Germany's economic position has elicited a reply from that well known authority on fiscal affairs in which his real opinions are clearly expressed.

His utterance is of special interest to American readers because it deals in particular with "the progress of Germany since she introduced protection." That was in 1879, and Germany's industrial progress since that year has been unprecedented in economic history. "The industrial power and progress of a country," says Mr. Barker, "can best be measured by the number of horse powers in stationary engines which are nearly exclusively used for manufacturing." The official figures show the following progress in this respect:

Horse Power of Stationary Steam Engines in Prussia.		
1879		887,780
1911		6,069,164

These figures, to which there is no counterpart in British records, show during thirty-two years of pro-

tection an increase of sevenfold in German manufacturing power, but even this does not represent the real increase in industrial production. Taking into account the improved efficiency of machinery in the period referred to, Mr. Barker shows, on a conservative basis, a tenfold increase in German industrial production under protection.

"Germany's wealth has increased at a similar rate. In July, 1870, the Franco-German war broke out. The Prussian people, who in 1866 had defeated the Austrians, felt certain of victory. A week after the declaration of war the Prussian Government issued a war loan amounting to the ridiculously small sum of £15,000,000. In order to make certain that it should be a success, the Government offered interest exceeding 10 per cent. on that little amount. Yet only two-thirds of that War Loan was applied for. So great was the poverty of Prussia. Now, after thirty-two years of protection, Germany is so wealthy that she can afford to challenge Great Britain's naval supremacy and is able to spend £50,000,000 a year on State insurance. Before 1879 the national wealth of Germany was much smaller than the national wealth of France and of Great Britain. Now, after thirty-two years of protection, German economists assert that Germany is by far the wealthiest nation in Europe, her national wealth exceeding that of both France and Great Britain."

Mr. Barker goes on to contrast the increase in savings banks deposits since 1880 as affording a sound guide to the relative wealth of the

working classes in the two countries. The figures are as follows:

Savings Banks Deposits.	
Germany.	Great Britain.
130,690,000....1880....	77,721,084
256,865,000....1890....	111,285,359
441,929,000....1900....	187,005,562
900,000,000....1911....	227,902,890

"Since 1880 the German people have placed £770,000,000 and the British people have placed only £139,000,000 in the savings banks. Between 1900 and 1911, when prices have been increasing all over the world and when wages have remained absolutely stationary in Great Britain, but not in Germany, the German people have placed £459,000,000 and the British people only £40,000,000 in the savings banks. Between 1900 and 1911 the German Savings Banks deposits have grown more than eleven times as quickly as the English Savings Banks deposits." It should be noted in this connection that the German population is about forty per cent. greater than the British.

The emigration figures for the two countries tell the same tale. While emigration from Great Britain in 1911 amounted to 260,000, the German exodus for a population forty per cent. in excess was only 20,000. Allowing for this excess, there should have been an emigration from Germany of about 400,000 on the basis of the English rate of "human exports." It follows, therefore, that for every German emigrant there were in 1911 no less than 20 British emigrants. "The workers flee from the paradise of 'Free Trade' in enormous numbers, as from a stricken land, to countries where labor is protected."

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Three of the Principal Roll Calls in Detail.

Following is the vote by which President Taft was renominated:

Alabama: Taft, 22; not voting, 2.
Arizona: Taft, 6.
Arkansas: Taft, 17; not voting, 1.
California: Taft, 2; not voting, 24.
Colorado: Taft, 12.
Connecticut: Taft, 14.
Delaware: Taft, 6.
Florida: Taft, 12.
Georgia: Taft, 28.
Idaho: Taft, 1; Cummins, 7.
Illinois—Taft, 2; Roosevelt, 53; absent, 1; not voting, 2.
Indiana: Taft, 20; Roosevelt, 3; not voting, 7.
Iowa: Taft, 16; Cummins, 10.
Kansas: Taft, 2; not voting, 18.
Kentucky: Taft, 24; Roosevelt, 2.
Louisiana: Taft, 20.
Maine: Not voting, 12.
Maryland: Taft, 1; Roosevelt, 9; absent, 1; not voting, 5.
Massachusetts—Taft, 20; not voting, 16.
Michigan: Taft, 20; Roosevelt, 9; not voting, 1.
Minnesota: Not voting, 24.
Mississippi: Taft, 17; not voting, 3.
Missouri: Taft, 16; not voting, 20.
Montana: Taft, 8.
Nebraska: Roosevelt, 2; not voting, 14.
New Hampshire: Taft, 8.
Nevada: Taft, 6.
New Mexico: Taft, 7; Roosevelt, 1.
New Jersey: Roosevelt, 2; not voting, 26.
New York: Taft, 76; Roosevelt, 8; not voting, 6.
North Carolina: Taft, 1; Roosevelt, 1; not voting, 22.
North Dakota: La Follette, 10.
Ohio: Taft, 14; not voting, 34.
Oklahoma: Taft, 4; Roosevelt, 1; not voting, 15.
Oregon: Roosevelt, 8; not voting, 2.
Pennsylvania: Taft, 9; Roosevelt, 2; Hughes, 2; not voting, 62; absent, 1.

Rhode Island: Taft, 10.
 South Carolina: Taft, 16; absent, 1;
 not voting, 1.
 South Dakota: Roosevelt, 5; La Fol-
 lette, 5.
 Tennessee—Taft, 23; Roosevelt, 1.
 Texas: Taft, 31; absent, 1; not vot-
 ing, 8.
 Utah: Taft, 8.
 Vermont: Taft, 6; not voting, 2.
 Virginia: Taft, 22; absent, 1; not vot-
 ing, 1.
 Alaska: Taft, 2.
 District of Columbia: Taft, 2.
 Philippines: Taft, 2.
 Porto Rico: Taft, 2.
 Hawaii: Taft, 6.
 Washington: Taft, 14.
 West Virginia: Not voting, 16.
 Wisconsin: La Follette, 26.
 Wyoming: Taft, 6.
 The official vote is: For Taft, 561; for
 Roosevelt, 107; for La Follette, 41; for
 Cummins, 17; for Hughes, 2; not voting,
 344.

The Vote on Vice President.

Alabama: Sherman, 22; not voting, 2.
 Arizona: Sherman, 6.
 Arkansas: Sherman, 18.
 California: Sherman, 2; not voting, 24.
 Colorado: Sherman, 12.
 Connecticut: Sherman, 14.
 Delaware: Sherman, 6.
 Florida: Sherman, 12.
 Georgia: Sherman, 28.
 Idaho: Hadley, 8.
 Illinois: Sherman, 10; not voting, 17;
 absent, 30; Howard F. Gillette, 1.
 Indiana: Sherman, 21; Hadley, 2; not
 voting, 7.
 Iowa: Sherman, 16; Borah, 10.
 Kansas: Sherman, 2; not voting, 18.
 Kentucky: Sherman, 26.
 Louisiana: Sherman, 20.
 Maine: Absent, 12.
 Maryland: Sherman, 8; not voting, 3;
 absent, 5.
 Massachusetts: Sherman, 15; Hadley,
 3; not voting, 4; absent, 14.
 Michigan: Sherman, 20; Borah, 3;
 Hadley, 1; not voting, 6.
 Minnesota: Not voting, 24.
 Mississippi: Sherman, 17; not vot-
 ing, 3.

Missouri: Sherman, 20; not voting, 16.
 Montana: Sherman, 8.
 Nebraska: Beveridge, 2; not voting,
 14.
 Nevada: Sherman, 6.
 New Hampshire: Sherman, 8.
 New Jersey: Not voting, 28.
 New Mexico: Sherman, 8.
 New York: Sherman, 87; not vot-
 ing, 3.
 North Carolina: Sherman, 6; not vot-
 ing, 1; absent, 17.
 Pennsylvania: Sherman, 12; not vot-
 ing, 62; absent, 1.
 Rhode Island: Sherman, 10.
 North Dakota: Not voting, 10.
 Ohio: Sherman, 14; not voting, 34.
 South Carolina: Sherman, 15; not vot-
 ing, 3.
 South Dakota: Not voting, 10.
 Tennessee: Sherman, 23; not vot-
 ing, 1.
 Texas: Sherman, 31; not voting, 3;
 absent, 6.
 Utah: Sherman, 8.
 Oklahoma: Sherman, 4; not voting,
 16.
 Oregon: Borah, 8; not voting, 2.
 Vermont: Sherman, 6; not voting, 2.
 Virginia: Sherman, 22; not voting, 1;
 absent, 1.
 Washington: Sherman, 14.
 West Virginia: Not voting, 16.
 Wisconsin: Charles E. Merriam, 20;
 not voting, 2; absent, 4.
 Wyoming: Sherman, 6.
 Alaska: Sherman, 2.
 District of Columbia: Sherman, 2.
 North Dakota: Not voting, 10.
 Ohio: Sherman, 14; not voting, 34.
 South Carolina: Sherman, 15; not vot-
 ing, 3.
 South Dakota: Not voting, 10.
 Tennessee: Sherman, 23; not vot-
 ing, 1.
 Texas: Sherman, 31; not voting, 8;
 absent, 1.
 Utah: Sherman, 8.
 Oklahoma: Sherman, 4; not voting,
 16.
 Oregon: Borah, 8; not voting, 2.
 Vermont: Sherman, 6; not voting, 2.
 Virginia: Sherman, 22; not voting, 1;
 absent, 1.
 Washington: Sherman, 14.

West Virginia: Not voting, 16.
 Wisconsin: Charles E. Merriam, 20;
 not voting, 2; absent, 4.
 Wyoming: Sherman, 6.
 Alaska: Sherman, 2.
 District of Columbia: Sherman, 2.
 Hawaii: Sherman, 6.
 Philippines: Sherman, 2.
 Porto Rico: Sherman, 2.
 Totals: Sherman, 597; Borah, 21;
 Hadley, 14; Merriam, 20; Beveridge, 2;
 Gillette, 1; absent, 85; present, but not
 voting, 338.

Vote on Adoption of Platform.

Alabama: Yeas, 22; not voting, 2.
 Arizona: Yeas, 6.
 Arkansas: Yeas, 17; nays, 1.
 California: Yeas, 2; not voting, 24.
 Colorado: Yeas, 12.
 Connecticut: Yeas, 14.
 Delaware: Yeas, 6.
 Florida: Yeas, 12.
 Georgia: Yeas, 28.
 Idaho: Yeas, 8.
 Indiana: Yeas, 21; nays, 2; not vot-
 ing, 7.
 Iowa: Yeas, 16; nays, 10.
 Illinois: Yeas, 49; not voting, —.
 Kansas: Yeas, 2; not voting, 18.
 Kentucky: Yeas, 26.
 Louisiana: Yeas, 20.
 Maine: Not voting, 12.
 Maryland: Yeas, 9; not voting, 6; ab-
 sent, 1.
 Massachusetts: Yeas, 20; not voting,
 14; absent, 2.
 Michigan: Yeas, 22; not voting, 8.
 Minnesota: Not voting, 24.
 Mississippi: Yeas, 17; not voting, 3.
 Missouri: Yeas, 36.
 Montana: Yeas, 8.
 Nebraska: Not voting, 16.
 Nevada: Yeas, 6.
 New Hampshire: Yeas, 8.
 New Jersey: Not voting, 28.
 New Mexico: Yeas, 8.
 New York: Yeas, 85; not voting, 5.
 North Carolina: Yeas, 6; not voting,
 12; absent, 6.
 North Dakota: Nays, 10.
 Ohio: Yeas, 14; not voting, 34.
 Oklahoma: Yeas, 4; nays, 1; not vot-
 ing, 15.
 Pennsylvania: Yeas, 12; not voting,
 63; absent, 1.

Rhode Island: Yeas, 10.
 Oregon: Yeas, 4; nays, 2; not voting,
 2; absent, 2.
 South Carolina: Yeas, 15; not vot-
 ing, 3.
 South Dakota: Not voting, 10.
 Tennessee: Yeas, 25; not voting, 1.
 Texas: Yeas, 30; nays, 1; not voting,
 8; absent, 1.
 Vermont: Yeas, 6; not voting, 2.
 Virginia: Yeas, 22; not voting, 1; ab-
 sent, 1.
 Washington: Yeas, 14.
 West Virginia: Not voting, 16.
 Wisconsin: Nays, 26.
 Wyoming: Yeas, 6.
 Alaska: Yeas, 2.
 District of Columbia: Yeas, 2.
 Hawaii: Yeas, 6.
 Philippine Islands: Yeas, 2.
 Porto Rico: Yeas, 2.
 Totals: Yeas, 666; nays, 53; present
 and not voting, 343; absent, 16.

The ninety-third meeting of The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers is to be held at The Griswold, Eastern Point, New London, Conn., beginning on the evening of September 9, 1912, and continuing through the two following days. The delightful scenery of this location and the attractions of the house are such that an attendance of over 400 is expected. The program of the meeting is in an advanced state of preparation and will not be issued until shortly before the meeting. The Association desires from the members further papers on subjects connected with the cotton manufacture or tributary to it.

The Tariff was taken off wood pulp and paper coming in from Canada by Taft and the Democrats. Victory! Paper and pulp have advanced \$2 a ton already, and still soaring upwards. What will happen when the Democrats take the Tariff off of everything?—Pueblo (Colo.) Opinion.

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

Adopted in Convention at Chicago, June 22, 1912.

The Republican party assembled by its representatives in National Convention declares its unchanging faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people. We renew our allegiance to the principles of the Republican party and our devotion to the cause of Republican institutions established by the fathers.

It is appropriate that we should now recall with a sense of veneration and gratitude the name of our first great leader, who was nominated in this city, and whose lofty principles and superb devotion to his country are an inspiration to the party he honored, Abraham Lincoln. In the present state of public affairs we should be inspired by his broad statesmanship and by his tolerant spirit toward men.

Pride and Hope.

The Republican party looks back on the record with pride and satisfaction, and forward to its new responsibilities with hope and confidence. Its achievements in government constitute the most luminous pages in our history. Our greatest national advance has been made during the years of its ascendancy in public affairs. It has been genuinely and always a party for progress; it has never been either stationary or reactionary. It has gone from the fulfilment of one pledge to the fulfilment of another in response to the public need and to the popular will.

We believe in our self-controlled representative democracy which is a government of laws, not of men, and in which order is the prerequisite of progress.

Problems Will Be Met.

The principles of constitutional government, which make provision for orderly and effective expression of the popular will, for the protection of civil liberty and the rights of men, and for the interpretation of the law by an un-

trammelled and independent judiciary, have proved themselves capable of sustaining the structure of a government which, after more than a century of development, embraces one hundred millions of people, scattered over a wide and diverse territory, but bound by common purposes, common ideals and common affection to the Constitution of the United States. Under the Constitution and the principles asserted and vitalized by it, the United States has grown to be one of the great civilized and civilizing powers of the earth. It offers a home and an opportunity to the ambitious and the industrious from other lands. Resting upon the broad basis of a people's confidence and a people's support, and managed by the people themselves, the Government of the United States will meet the problems of the future as satisfactorily as it has solved those of the past.

Party of Advanced Ideas.

The Republican party is now, as always, a party of advanced and constructive statesmanship. It is prepared to go forward with the solution of those new questions which social, economic and political development have brought into the forefront of the nation's interest. It will strive not only in the nation, but in the several States, to enact the necessary legislation to safeguard the public health; to limit effectively the labor of women and children; to protect wage-earners engaged in dangerous occupations; to enact comprehensive and generous workmen's compensation laws in place of the present wasteful and unjust system of employers' liability; and in all possible ways to satisfy the just demands of the people for the study and solution of the complex and constantly changing problems of welfare.

All Rights Protected.

In dealing with these questions it is important that the rights of every indi-

vidual to the freest possible development of his own powers and resources and to the control of his own justly acquired property, so far as those are compatible with the rights of others, shall not be interfered with or destroyed. The social and political structure of the United States rests upon the civil liberty of the individual; and for the protection of that liberty the people have wisely, in the national and State constitutions, put definite limitations upon themselves and upon their governmental officers and agencies. To enforce these limitations, to secure the orderly and coherent exercise of governmental powers, and to protect the rights of even the humblest and least favored individuals are the function of independent courts of justice.

Will Uphold the Courts.

The Republican party reaffirms its intention to uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, both State and Federal, and it will ever insist that their powers to enforce their processes and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. An orderly method is provided under our system of government by which the people may, when they choose, alter or amend the constitutional provisions which underlie that government. Until these constitutional provisions are so altered or amended, in orderly fashion, it is the duty of the courts to see to it that when challenged they are enforced.

That the courts, both Federal and State, may bear the heavy burden laid upon them to the complete satisfaction of public opinion we favor legislation to prevent long delays and the tedious and costly appeals which have so often amounted to a denial of justice in civil cases and to a failure to protect the public at large in criminal cases.

Since the responsibility of the judiciary is so great, the standards of judicial action must be always and everywhere above suspicion and reproach. While we regard the recall of judges as unnecessary and unwise, we favor such action as may be necessary to simplify the process by which any judge who is

found to be derelict in his duty may be removed from office.

Favors World Peace.

Together with peaceful and orderly development at home, the Republican party earnestly favors all measures for the establishment and protection of the peace of the world and for the development of closer relations between the various nations of the earth.

It believes most earnestly in the peaceful settlement of international disputes and in the reference of all justiciable controversies between nations to an international court of justice.

Monopoly and Privilege.

The Republican party is opposed to special privilege and to monopoly. It placed upon the statute books the interstate commerce act of 1887, and the important amendments thereto, and the anti-trust act of 1890, and it has consistently and successfully enforced the provisions of these laws. It will take no backward step to permit the reestablishment in any degree of conditions which were intolerable.

Supplement Trust Act.

Experience makes it plain that the business of the country may be carried on without fear of disturbance and at the same time without resort to practices which are abhorrent to the common sense of justice. The Republican party favors the enactment of legislation supplementary to the existing anti-trust act which will define as criminal offences those specific acts that uniformly mark attempts to restrain and to monopolize trade, to the end that those who honestly intend to obey the law may have a guide for their action and that those who aim to violate the law may the more surely be punished. The same certainty should be given to the law prohibiting combinations and monopolies that characterizes other provisions of commercial law; in order that no part of the field of business opportunity may be restricted by monopoly or combination, that business success honorably achieved may not be converted into crime and that the right of every man

to acquire commodities, and particularly the necessities of life, in an open market uninfluenced by the manipulation of trust or combination may be preserved.

Federal Trade Commission.

In the enforcement and administration of Federal laws governing interstate commerce and enterprises impressed with a public use engaged therein, there is much that may be committed to a Federal trade commission, thus placing in the hands of an administrative board many of the functions now necessarily exercised by the courts. This will promote promptness in the administration of the law and avoid delays and technicalities incident to court procedure.

The Tariff.

We reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff. The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries, and protecting our workmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage-earners the American standard of living. The protective tariff is so woven into the fabric of our industrial and agricultural life that to substitute for it a tariff for revenue only would destroy many industries and throw millions of our people out of employment. The products of the farm and of the mine should receive the same measure of protection as other products of American labor.

We hold that the import duties should be high enough, while yielding a sufficient revenue, to protect adequately American industries and wages. Some of the existing import duties are too high and should be reduced. Readjustment should be made from time to time to conform to the changing conditions and to reduce excessive rates, but without injury to any American industry. To accomplish this correct information is indispensable. This information can best be obtained by an expert commission, as the large volume of useful facts contained in the recent reports of the Tariff Board has demonstrated.

Democratic Work Condemned.

The pronounced feature of modern industrial life is its enormous diversification. To apply tariff rates justly to these changing conditions requires closer study and more scientific methods than ever before. The Republican party has shown by its creation of a Tariff Board its recognition of this situation and its determination to be equal to it. We condemn the Democratic party for its failure either to provide funds for the continuance of this board or to make some other provision for securing the information requisite for intelligent tariff legislation. We protest against the Democratic method of legislating on these vitally important subjects without careful investigation.

We condemn the Democratic tariff bills passed by the House of Representatives of the Sixty-second Congress as sectional, as injurious to the public credit, and as destructive of business enterprise.

Cost of Living.

The steadily increasing cost of living has become a matter not only of national but of world-wide concern. The fact that it is not due to the protective tariff system is evidenced by the existence of similar conditions in countries which have a tariff policy different from our own, as well as by the fact that the cost of living has increased while rates of duty have remained stationary or been reduced. The Republican party will support a prompt scientific inquiry into the causes which are operative, both in the United States and elsewhere, to increase the cost of living. When the exact facts are known, it will take the necessary steps to remove any abuses that may be found to exist in order that the cost of the food, clothing and shelter of the people may in no way be unduly or artificially increased.

Banking and Currency.

The Republican party has always stood for a sound currency and for safe banking methods. It is responsible for the resumption of specie payments, and for the establishment of the gold stand-

ard. It is committed to the progressive development of our banking and currency systems. Our banking arrangements today need further revision to meet the requirements of current conditions. We need measures which will prevent the recurrence of money panics and financial disturbances and which will promote the prosperity of business and the welfare of labor by producing constant employment. We need better currency facilities for the movement of crops in the West and South. We need banking arrangements under American auspices for the encouragement and better conduct of our foreign trade. In attaining these ends, the independence of individual banks, whether organized under National or State charters, must be carefully protected and our banking and currency system must be safe-guarded from any possibility of domination by sectional, financial, or political interests.

It is of great importance to the social and economic welfare of this country that its farmers have facilities for borrowing easily and cheaply the money they need to increase the productivity of their land. It is as important that financial machinery be provided to supply the demand of farmers for credit as it is that the banking and currency systems be reformed in the interests of general business. Therefore, we recommend and urge an authoritative investigation of agricultural credit societies and corporations in other countries, and the passage of State and Federal laws for the establishment and capable supervision of organizations having for their purpose the loaning of funds to farmers.

The Civil Service.

We reaffirm our adherence to the principle of appointment to public office based on proved fitness, and tenure during good behavior and efficiency. The Republican party stands committed to the maintenance, extension and enforcement of the Civil Service law, and it favors the passage of legislation empowering the President to extend the competitive service as far as possible, the equitable requirement of disabled and superannuated members of the Civil

Service, in order that a higher order of efficiency may be maintained.

We favor the amendment of the Federal employes' liability law so as to extend its provision to all Government employes, as well as to provide a more liberal scale of compensation for injury and death.

Campaign Contributions.

We favor such additional legislation as may be necessary more effectually to prohibit corporations from contributing funds directly or indirectly, to campaigns for the nomination or election of the President, the Vice-President, senators and representatives in Congress. We heartily approve the recent act of Congress requiring the fullest publicity in regard to all campaign contributions, whether made in connection with primaries, conventions or elections.

Conservation Policy.

We rejoice in the success of the distinctive Republican policy of the conservation of our national resources, for their use by the people without waste and without monopoly. We pledge ourselves to a continuance of such a policy.

We favor such fair and reasonable rules and regulations as will not discourage or interfere with actual bona fide home seekers, prospectors and miners in the acquisition of public lands under existing laws.

Parcels Post.

In the interest of the general public, and particularly of the agricultural or rural communities, we favor legislation looking to the establishment, under proper regulations, of a parcels post, the postal rates to be graduated under a zone system in proportion to the length of carriage.

American Citizenship.

We approve the action taken by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation, and that will prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, re-

ligion, or previous political allegiance. The right of asylum is a precious possession of the people of the United States, and it is to be neither surrendered nor restricted.

The Navy.

We believe in the maintenance of an adequate navy for the national defence, and we condemn the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing to authorize the construction of additional ships.

Merchant Marine.

We believe that one of the country's most urgent needs is a revived merchant marine. There should be American ships, plenty of them, to make use of the great American interoceanic canal now nearing completion.

Flood Prevention.

The Mississippi River is the nation's drainage ditch. Its flood waters, gathered from thirty-one States and the Dominion of Canada, constitute an overpowering force which breaks the levees and pours its torrents over many million acres of the richest land in the Union, stopping mails, impeding commerce, and causing great loss of life and property. These floods are national in scope, and the disasters they produce seriously affect the general welfare. The States unaided cannot cope with this giant problem; hence we believe the Federal Government should assume a fair proportion of the burden of its control so as to prevent the disasters from recurring floods.

Same Reclamation Policy.

We favor the continuance of the policy of the Government with regard to the reclamation of arid lands, and for the encouragement of the speedy settlement and improvement of such lands we favor an amendment to the law that will reasonably extend the time within which the cost of any reclamation project may be repaid by the land owners under it.

Rivers and Harbors.

We favor a liberal and systematic policy for the improvement of our

rivers and harbors. Such improvements should be made upon such expert information and after a careful comparison of cost and prospective benefits.

Liberal Policy for Alaska.

We favor a liberal policy toward Alaska to promote the development of the great resources of that district with such safeguards as will prevent waste and monopoly.

We favor the opening of the coal lands to development through a law leasing the lands on such terms as will invite development and provide fuel for the Navy and the commerce of the Pacific Ocean, while retaining title in the United States to prevent monopoly.

Philippine Obligations.

The Philippine policy of the Republican party has been and is inspired by the belief that our duty toward the Filipino people is a national obligation which should remain entirely free from partisan politics.

New Immigration Laws.

We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of appropriate laws to give relief from the constantly growing evil of induced or undesirable immigration, which is inimical to the progress and welfare of the people of the United States.

Safety on the Sea.

We favor the speedy enactment of laws to provide that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude and that life and property at sea shall be safeguarded by the ample equipment of vessels with life-saving appliances and with full complements of skilled, able-bodied seamen to operate them.

Republican Accomplishment.

The approaching completion of the Panama Canal, the establishment of a Bureau of Mines, the institution of postal savings banks, the increased provision made in 1912 for the aged and infirm soldiers and sailors of the republic and for their widows, and the vigorous administration of the laws relating to pure food and drugs, all mark the

successful progress of Republican administration and are additional evidences of its effectiveness.

Economy and Efficiency.

We commend the earnest effort of the Republican Administration to secure greater economy and increased efficiency in the conduct of Government business; extravagant appropriations and the creation of unnecessary offices are an injustice to the taxpayer and a bad example to the citizen.

Civic Duty.

We call upon the people to quicken their interest in public affairs, to condemn and punish lynchings, and other forms of lawlessness, and to strengthen in all possible ways a respect for law and the observance of it. Indifferent citizenship is an evil which the laws afford no adequate protection and for which legislation can provide no remedy.

Arizona and New Mexico.

We congratulate the people of Arizona and New Mexico upon the admission of those States, thus merging in the Union in final and enduring form the last remaining portion of our continental territory.

Republican Administration.

We challenge successful criticism of the sixteen years of Republican Administration under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. We heartily reaffirm the indorsement of President McKinley contained in the platform of 1900 and 1904, and that of President Roosevelt contained in the platform of 1904 and 1908.

We invite the intelligent judgment of the American people upon the Administration of William H. Taft. The country has prospered and been at peace under his presidency. During the years in which he had the co-operation of a Republican Congress an unexampled amount of constructive legislation was framed and passed in the interest of people and in obedience to their wish. That legislation is a record on which any administration might appeal with

confidence to the favorable judgment of history.

Advance Will Continue.

We appeal to the American electorate upon the record of the Republican party and upon the declaration of its principles and purposes. We are confident that under the leadership of the candidates here to be nominated our appeal will not be in vain; that the Republican party will meet every just expectation of the people whose servant it is; that under its administration and its laws our nation will continue to advance; that peace and prosperity will abide with the people; and that new glory will be added to the great republic.

In a farewell address to a score of his colleagues in Washington, Senator Bailey, of Texas, charged that members of Congress by their own cowardice were responsible for a condition of unrest which prevails, and that the Democratic party has exaggerated the importance of existing evils. "You senators and representatives," continued Mr. Bailey, "can prevent this great crisis and you will do so if you have the courage to go out and tell the public the truth. Every evil which exists in the country today can be corrected without danger to the principles and policies upon which this republic was founded, and it should be done."

The Shoe and Leather Reporter says: "Although our industries are in a much stronger position than they would have been twenty years ago to resist the effects of a very low tariff, much of the damage forecasted would come in the uncertainty of what might happen and the unsettled conditions which usually accompany a revision of the tariff."

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL PLATFORM.

Adopted in Convention at Baltimore, July 12, 1912.

We the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States in national convention assembled reaffirm our devotion to the principles of Democratic government formulated by Thomas Jefferson and enforced by a long and illustrious line of Democratic presidents.

Tariff Reform.

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government under the constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of government honestly and economically administered.

The high Republican tariff is the principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth; it is a system of taxation which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer; under its operations the American farmer and laboring man are the chief sufferers; it raises the cost of the necessaries of life to them but does not protect their product or wages. The farmer sells largely in free markets and buys almost entirely in the protected markets. In the most highly protected industries such as cotton and wool, steel and iron, the wages of the laborers are the lowest paid in any of our industries. We denounce the Republican pretence on that subject and assert that American wages are established by competitive conditions and not by the tariff. We favor the immediate downward revision of the existing high and in many cases prohibitive tariff duties, insisting that material reductions be speedily made upon the necessaries of life. Articles entering into competition with trust controlled products and articles of American manufacture which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home, should be put upon the free list.

We recognize that our system of tar-

iff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry.

We denounce the action of President Taft in vetoing the bills to reduce the tariff in the cotton, woolen, metals and chemical schedules and the farmers' free list bill, all of which were designed to give immediate relief to the masses from the exactions of the trusts.

The Republican party, while promising tariff revision, has shown by its tariff legislation that such revision is not to be in the people's interest, and having been faithless to its pledges of 1908 it should not longer enjoy the confidence of the nation. We appeal to the American people to support us in our demand for a tariff for revenue only.

High Cost of Living.

The high cost of living is a serious problem in every American home. The Republican party, in its platform, attempts to escape from responsibility for present conditions by denying that they are due to a protective tariff. We take issue with them on this subject and charge that excessive prices result in a large measure from the high tariff laws enacted and maintained by the Republican party and from trusts and commercial conspiracies fostered and encouraged by such laws, and we assert that no substantial relief can be secured for the people until import duties on the necessaries of life are materially reduced and these criminal conspiracies broken up.

Anti-Trust Law.

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal as well as the civil law against trust and trust officials, and demand that the enactment of such additional legislation as

may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States.

We favor the declaration by law of the conditions upon which corporations shall be permitted to engage in interstate trade, including, among others, the prevention of holding companies, or interlocking directors, of stock watering, of discrimination in price, and the control by any one corporation of so large a proportion of any industry as to make it a menace to competitive conditions. We condemn the action of the Republican administration in compromising with the Standard Oil Company and the tobacco trust in its failure to invoke the criminal provisions of the anti-trust law against the officers of those corporations after the court had declared that from the undisputed facts then in the record they had violated the criminal provisions of the law.

We regret that the Sherman anti-trust law has received a judicial construction depriving it of much of its efficacy, and we favor the enactment of legislation which will restore to the statute the strength of which has been deprived by such interpretation.

Rights of the States.

We believe in the preservation and maintenance in their full strength and integrity of the three co-ordinate branches of the federal government—the executive, the legislative and judicial—each keeping within its own bounds, and not encroaching upon the just powers of either of the others.

Believing that the most efficient results under our system of government are to be attained by the full exercise by the states of their reserved sovereign powers, we denounce as usurpation the efforts of our opponents to deprive the states of any of the rights reserved to them, and to enlarge and magnify by indirection the powers of the federal government.

We insist upon the full exercise of all the powers of the government, both state and national, to protect the people from injustice at the hands of those who seek to make the government a private asset in business. There is no twi-

light zone between the nation and the state in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both. It is as necessary that the federal government shall exercise the powers reserved to them, but we insist that federal remedies for the regulation of interstate commerce and for the prevention of private monopoly shall be added to and not substituted for state remedies.

Income Tax and Popular Election.

We congratulate the country upon the triumph of two important reforms demanded in the last national platform, namely, the amendment of the federal constitution authorizing an income tax and that providing for the popular election of senators, and we call upon the people of all the states to rally to the support of the pending propositions and secure their ratification.

We note with gratification the unanimous sentiment in favor of publicity before the election of campaign contributions—a measure demanded in our national platform of 1908, and at that time opposed by the Republican party—and we commend the Democratic House of Representatives for extending the doctrine of publicity to recommendations, verbal and written, upon which presidential appointments are made, to the ownership and control of newspapers and to the expenditures made by and in behalf of those who aspire to presidential nominations, and we point for additional justification for this legislation to the enormous expenditures of money in behalf of the President and his predecessor in the recent contest for the Republican nomination for President.

Presidential Primaries.

The movement toward more popular government should be promoted through legislation in each state which will permit the expression of the preference of the electors for national candidates at presidential primaries.

We direct that the national committee incorporate in the call for the next nominating convention a requirement that all expressions of preference for presidential candidates shall be given and

the selection of delegates and alternates made through a primary election conducted by the party organization in each state where such expression and election are not provided for by state law. Committeemen who are hereafter to constitute the membership of the Democratic national committee and whose election is not provided for by law shall be chosen in each state at such primary elections, and the service and authority of committeemen, however chosen, shall begin immediately upon the receipt of their credentials respectively.

Campaign Contributions.

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign fund and any individual from contributing any amount above a reasonable maximum.

Term of President.

We favor a single presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the constitution making the President of the United States ineligible for re-election, and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle.

Democratic Congress.

At this time, when the Republican party after a generation of unlimited power in its control of the federal government, is rent into factions, it is opportune to point to the record of accomplishment of the Democratic House of Representatives in the 62d Congress. We indorse its action and we challenge competition of its record with that of any Congress which has been controlled by your opponents.

We call the attention of the patriotic citizens of our country to its record of efficiency, economy and constructive legislation:

It has, among other achievements, revised the rules of the House of Representatives so as to give to the representatives of the American people freedom of speech and of action in advocating, proposing and perfecting remedial legislation.

It has passed bills for the relief of the people and the development of our country; it has endeavored to revise the tariff taxes downward in the interest of the consuming masses and thus to reduce the high cost of living.

It has proposed an amendment to the federal constitution providing for the election of United States senators by the direct vote of the people.

It has secured the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as two sovereign states.

It has required the publicity of campaign expenses, both before and after election, and fixed a limit upon the election expenses of United States senators and representatives.

It has also passed a bill to prevent the abuse of a writ of injunction.

It has passed a law establishing an eight-hour day for workmen on all national public work.

It has passed a resolution which forced the President to take immediate steps to abrogate the Russian treaty.

And it has passed the great supply bills, which lessen waste and extravagance, and which reduce the annual expenses of the government by many millions of dollars.

We approve the measure reported by the Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives for the creation of a council of national defence, which will determine a definite naval program, with a view to increased efficiency and economy.

The party that proclaimed and has always enforced the Monroe Doctrine and was sponsor for the new navy will continue faithfully to observe the constitutional requirements to provide and maintain an adequate and well proportioned navy sufficient to defend American policies, protect our citizens and uphold the honor and dignity of the nation.

Republican Extravagance.

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and

reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which benefits a democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

Railroads, Express Companies, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.

We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines engaged in interstate commerce. To this end we recommend the valuation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines by the interstate commerce commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost, the cost of reproduction and any element of value that will render the valuation fair and just.

We favor such legislation as will effectually prohibit the railroads, express, telegraph and telephone companies from engaging in business which brings them into competition with the shippers or patrons; also legislation preventing the over-issue of stocks and bonds by interstate railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines, and legislation which will assure such reduction in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reduction of wages, prevent adequate service or do injustice to legitimate investments.

Banking Legislation.

We oppose the so-called Aldrich bill for the establishment of a central bank; and we believe the people of the country will be largely freed from panics and consequent unemployment and business depression by such a systematic revision of our banking laws as will render temporary relief in localities where such relief is needed, with protection from control or domination by what is known as the money trust.

Banks exist for the accommodation of the public and not for the control of business. All legislation on the subject of banking and currency should have for

its purpose the securing of these accommodations on terms of absolute security to the public and of complete protection from the misuse of the power that wealth gives to those who possess it.

We condemn the present methods of depositing government funds in a few favored banks, largely situated in or controlled by Wall street, in return for political favors, and we pledge our party to provide by law for their deposit by competitive bidding in the banking institutions of the country, national and state, without discrimination as to locality, upon approved securities and subject to call by the government.

Rural Credits.

Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance. Therefore, we recommend that an investigation of agricultural credit societies in foreign countries be made, so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be devised suitable to conditions in the United States; and we also favor legislation permitting national banks to loan a reasonable proportion of their funds on real estate security.

We recognize the value of vocational education and urge federal appropriations for such training and extension teaching in agriculture in co-operation with the several states.

Waterways.

We renew the declaration in our last platform relating to the conservation of our natural resources and the development of our waterways. The present devastation of the lower Mississippi valley accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional banks and levee protection below, and the diversion, storage and control of the flood waters above, and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and the development of water power, instead of permitting the floods to continue, as heretofore, agents of destruction.

We hold that the control of the Mississippi river is a national problem.

The preservation of the depth of its water for the purpose of navigation, the building of levees to maintain the integrity of its channel, and the prevention of the overflow of the land and its consequent devastation, resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the general government.

To maintain an adequate depth of water the entire year and thereby encourage water transportation, is a consummation worthy of legislative attention and presents an issue national in its character. It calls for prompt action on the part of Congress and the Democratic party pledges itself to the enactment of legislation leading to that end.

We favor the co-operation of the United States and the respective states in plans for comprehensive treatment of all waterways with a view of co-ordinating plans for channel improvement with plans for drainage of swamp and overflow lands, and to this end we favor the appropriation by the federal government of sufficient funds to make surveys of such lands, to develop plans for draining the same lands and to supervise the work of construction.

We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our inland waterways, with economy and efficiency, so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

Post Roads.

We favor national aid to state and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

Rights of Labor.

We repeat our declarations of the platform of 1908, as follows:

"The courts of justice are the bulwarks of our liberties, and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity. Our party has given to the bench a long line of distinguished justices who have added to the respect and confidence in which this department

must be jealously maintained. We resent the attempt of the Republican party to raise a false issue respecting the judiciary. It is an unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts.

"It is the function of the courts to interpret the laws which the people enact, and if the laws appear to work economic, social, or political injustice, it is our duty to change them. The only basis upon which the integrity of our courts can stand is that of unswerving justice and protection of life, personal liberty and property. As judicial processes may be abused, we should guard them against abuse.

"Experience has proved the necessity of a modification of the present law relating to injunction, and we reiterate the pledges of our platforms of 1896 and 1904 in favor of a measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, relating to contempt in federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

"Questions of judicial practice have arisen, especially in connection with industrial disputes. We believe that the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality, and that injunctions should not be issued in any case in which an injunction would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved."

The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgement of the right of the wage earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions, to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of the law creating a department of labor represented in the President's cabinet, in which department shall be included the subject of mines and mining.

We pledge the Democratic party, so far as the federal jurisdiction extends, to

an employes' compensation law providing adequate indemnity for injury to body or loss of life.

Conservation.

We believe in the conservation and the development, for the use of all the people, of the natural resources of the country. Our forests, our sources of water supply, our arable and our mineral lands, our navigable streams and all other material resources with which our country has been so lavishly endowed, constitute the foundation of our national wealth. Such additional legislation as may be necessary to prevent their being wasted or absorbed by special or privileged interests should be enacted and the policy of their conservation should be rigidly adhered to.

The public domain should be administered and disposed of with due regard to the general welfare. Reservations should be limited to the purposes which they purport to serve, and not extended to include land wholly unsuited therefor. The unnecessary withdrawal from sale and settlement of enormous tracts of public land, upon which tree growth never existed and cannot be promoted, tends only to retard development, create discontent and bring reproach upon the policy of conservation.

The public land laws should be administered in a spirit of the broadest liberality toward the settler exhibiting a bona fide purpose to comply therewith, to the end that the invitation of this government to the landless should be as attractive as possible; and the plain provisions of the forest reserve act permitting homestead entries to be made within the national forests should not be nullified by administrative regulations which amount to a withdrawal of great areas of the same from settlement.

Immediate action should be taken by Congress to make available the vast and valuable coal deposits of Alaska under conditions that will be a perfect guarantee against their falling into the hands of monopolizing corporations, associations or interests.

We rejoice in the inheritance of min-

eral resources unequalled in extent, variety or value, and in the development of a mining industry unequalled in its magnitude and importance. We honor the men who, in their hazardous toil underground, daily risk their lives in extracting and preparing for our use the products of the mine, so essential to the industries, the commerce and the comfort of the people of this country. And we pledge ourselves to the extension of the work of the bureau of mines in every way appropriate for national legislation with a view of safeguarding the lives of the miners, lessening the waste of essential resources and promoting the economic development of mining, which, along with agriculture, must in the future, even more than in the past, serve as the very foundation of our national prosperity and welfare and our international commerce.

Agriculture.

We believe in encouraging the development of a modern system of agriculture and a systematic effort to improve the conditions of trade in farm products so as to benefit both the consumers and producers. And as an efficient means to this end, we favor the enactment by Congress of legislation that will suppress the pernicious practice of gambling in agricultural products by organized exchanges or others.

Merchant Marine.

We believe in fostering, by constitutional regulation of commerce, the growth of a merchant marine, which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to our sister republics of the south, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the public treasury.

We urge upon Congress the speedy enactment of laws for the greater security of life and property at sea; and we favor the repeal of all laws, and the abrogation of so much of our treaties with other nations as provide for the arrest and imprisonment of seamen charged with desertion, or with violating their contract of service.

Such laws and treaties are un-Ameri-

can and violate the spirit, if not the letter of the constitution of the United States.

We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama canal.

We also favor legislation forbidding the use of the Panama canal by ships owned or controlled by railroad carriers engaged in transportation competitive with the canal.

Pure Food and Public Health.

We reaffirm our previous declarations advocating the union and strengthening of the various governmental agencies relating to pure foods, quarantine, vital statistics and human health. Thus united and administered without partiality or to discrimination against any school of medicine or system of healing, they would constitute a single health service, not subordinated to any commercial or financial interests, but devoted exclusively to the conservation of human life and efficiency. Moreover, this health service should co-operate with the health agencies of our various states and cities, without interference with their prerogatives or with the freedom of individuals to employ such medical or hygienic aid as they may see fit.

Civil Service Law.

The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability should be the standard of appointment and promotion, rather than service rendered to a political party; and we favor a reorganization of the civil service with adequate compensation commensurate with the class of work performed, for all officers and employes; we also favor the extension of all classes of civil service employes of the benefits of the provisions of the employers' liability law; we also recognize the right of direct petition to Congress by employes for the redress of grievances.

Law Reform.

We recognize the urgent need of reform in the administration of civil and criminal law in the United States, and we recommend the enactment of such

legislation and the promotion of such measures as will rid the present legal system of the delays, expense and uncertainties incident to the system as now administered.

The Philippines.

We reaffirm the position thrice announced by the Democracy in national convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines, our government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

Arizona and New Mexico.

We welcome Arizona and New Mexico to the sisterhood of states and heartily congratulate them upon their auspicious beginning of great and glorious careers.

Alaska.

We demand for the people of Alaska the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of a territorial form of government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of all our territories and the District of Columbia should be qualified by previous bona fide residence.

The Russian Treaty.

We commend the patriotism of the Democratic members of the Senate and House of Representatives which compelled the termination of the Russian treaty of 1832, and we pledge ourselves anew to preserve the sacred rights of

American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of the government which does not recognize that equality of all of our citizens, irrespective of race or creed, and which does not expressly guarantee the fundamental right of expatriation.

The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States government, both for himself and his property.

Parcels Post and Rural Delivery.

We favor the establishment of a parcels post or postal express, and also the extension of the rural delivery system as rapidly as practicable.

Panama Canal Exposition.

We hereby express our deep interest in the great Panama canal exposition to be held in San Francisco in 1915 and favor such encouragement as can be properly given.

Protection of National Uniform.

We commend to the several states the adoption of a law making it an offence for the proprietors of places of public amusement and entertainment to discriminate against the uniform of the United States, similar to the law passed by Congress applicable to the District of Columbia and the territories in 1911.

Pensions.

We renew the declaration of our last platform relating to a generous pension policy.

Rule of the People.

We call attention to the fact that the Democratic party demand for a return to the rule of the people expressed in the national platform four years ago has now become the accepted doctrine of a large majority of the electors. We again remind the country that only by a larger exercise of the reserved power of the people can they protect themselves from the misuse of delegated power and the usurpation of govern-

mental instrumentality by special interests. For this reason, the national convention insisted on the overthrow of Cannonism and the inauguration of a system by which United States senators could be elected by direct vote. The Democratic party offers itself to the country as an agency through which the complete overthrow and extirpation of corruption, fraud and machine rule in American politics can be effected.

Conclusion.

Our platform is one of the principles which we believe to be essential to our national welfare. Our pledges are made to be kept when in office as well as relied upon during the campaign and we invite the co-operation of all citizens, regardless of party, who believe in maintaining unimpaired the institutions and traditions of our country.

The Boston Herald very sensibly remarks: "We shall be much more truly 'progressive' as a nation when we get more in the habit of doing our share of governing every day in the year, instead of exhausting all our energies in the electing of some supposed Superman and then putting ourselves to sleep with the assurance 'Everything will be all right now.' If government 'by the people' is to reach its best success, then the people must govern all the time. Hysterical campaigns devoted to the choosing of a dictator will not suffice as a substitute for real popular government any more than the adoption of every new quack political nostrum will aid it."

The pauper labor of Europe aligned with the "Yellow Peril," the Chinese and Japanese workingmen, would destroy the industries of this country in a year's time if it was not for the Protective Tariff which prevents them selling their goods in America except at a reasonable price.—Philadelphia Item.

LESSONS FROM IRELAND.

By Our London Correspondent.

London, July 15, 1912.

Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Home Rule bill now before Parliament, it will at least have the effect of bringing the economic condition of Ireland before the British people and also incidentally the effect of what free trade has done for that country.

Indeed, the more one studies the economic side of the question, the clearer does it become that Ireland has no reason to be grateful for the free trade policy which was thrust upon her upwards of seventy years ago. Prior to 1846, Ireland was contented, prosperous, and steadily increasing in population. Between 1825 and 1835 Ireland's exports and imports had nearly doubled; between 1821 and 1841 her population had increased from 6,800,000 to 8,196,000. In 1849 Dublin possessed 44 tanneries; now it does not possess one. In 1840 the Weavers' Committee reported that "The manufacturing industries in Ireland are doing well. The woolen trade of Ireland is in a more sound and healthy condition than it has ever been, and its yearly advance may be confidently expected." Today the population has fallen to a little over four millions of people as compared with over eight millions in 1841. The acreage of land under wheat has decreased from 743,871 in 1847 to 36,677 in 1908. Undoubtedly Irish industries have been destroyed through the working of an economic system to which Ireland has never

given her consent. The Tariff Reform Party in England maintain that it is their duty to work for the renaissance of these industries by a tariff which will give Ireland a preference over foreign countries in the British market. It is clear that if we adopt a tariff system, there will be an immense preferential market open to Ireland, the effect of which must be to stimulate Irish agriculture, especially dairy farming. The butter we now buy from Denmark and Brittany, the cheese we import from Holland and Germany and the eggs and poultry sent us from Russia and Italy, will, it may fairly be supposed, be largely supplied by Irish farmers when tariff reform is adopted.

Ireland's great need today is to find a near-hand market for her produce, under such circumstances as will stimulate her production and ensure a fair profit to her agriculturists. Before the union, there were under protection Irish woolen manufactures, Irish carpet manufactures, Irish blanket manufactures, Irish silk manufactures, Irish calico manufactures and flannel and stocking manufactures. All these are now smothered. What would they have been with increased population and power of consumption, with the application of steam and improved mechanical and chemical agencies?

In 1851 there were 994,300 farm laborers, farm servants and cottagers in Ireland. In 1901, the latest date for which official figures are

available, this number had declined to 226,200. I don't think there is a more awful condemnation of British rule in Ireland than that single fact.

We have the same condition of affairs as regards the decrease of population, going on today in Scotland. So serious is this that the government regard it as a "mortal danger" to national welfare. Free traders contend that the exodus from Scotland is because the people cannot get on to the land. But there are two counties, Aberdeen and Banff, where the land is in the hands of small farmers, and these two counties are being reduced in population because the farmers find it difficult in free trade Britain to carry on agriculture when the products of other countries are admitted

to compete with what they produce. The irony of the situation is that all these thousands of people are leaving a land which has free trade—the panacea for all ills—and they go to protected countries where the Governments have sense enough to protest the interests of their working population. And the same process is going on all over the United Kingdom. People are gradually leaving the mother country because they can no longer get a living for themselves and families. There is such a thing as emptying the tank, and it is a very dangerous experiment for a nation like Britain to try. Unless there is a radical alteration, we shall certainly be like an orange with all the juice sucked out.

F. C. CHAPPELL.

ON THE LAKES IN 1812.

By Roland Ringwalt.

Two historic figures of the lake region stand out so vividly that their portraits adorn our school books, and their deeds appeal to popular fiction. Perry, leaving the shattered Lawrence to bring up the Niagara, Macdonough, wearing the Saratoga round and bringing a fresh broadside to bear, are the most distinct naval characters between Decatur in Tripoli harbor and Farragut near the Southern forts. But the struggle for the lakes in the war of 1812 was not primarily or secondarily a matter of brilliant fighting or adroit seamanship. It was largely a matter of hard work, of industrial disadvantages, of labor troubles, of fever

and misery. The great names are those of Isaac Chauncey and of Henry Eckford, names which the most ardent Macaulayite will not claim that every schoolboy knows.

With mathematical accuracy, old-fashioned writers on war and commerce used to say that land divides and water connects. A twentieth century man, used to railroad travel and freight shipments, cannot put himself in the place of the men who were to defend our lake coast. It is a neat bit of alliteration to say "they were to build a fleet in a forest," but a fleet, even a single warship is a very different matter from a raft or a merchant schooner. Guns, ammu-

dition, the equipment necessary to make an efficient cruiser were conspicuously not in evidence. Timber abounded, but so it has abounded in darkest Africa and in Australian wilds. English ships might bring supplies up the St. Lawrence. Our steamboat service on the Hudson was lamentably poor, sailing vessels were more to the purpose, but there was much land transportation inevitable and execrable. Chauncey declared the roads of Northern New York to be the worst he ever saw, and Elliott found roads too bad for wagons, along which ordnance had to be carried on sleds over the snow.

But Isaac Chauncey's forty years had been spent to good purpose. He had the innate fitness for the sea characteristic of the old New Englander, he had been with Preble before Tripoli, and he had, as commandant of the New York navy yard, learned the positive and negative quantities of our sea forces. In September, 1812, he wrote to his superiors that he had sent "one hundred and forty ship carpenters, seven hundred seamen and marines, more than a hundred pieces of cannon, the greater part of large caliber, with muskets, shot, carriages, etc. The carriages have nearly all been made, and the shot cast in that time. Nay, I may say that nearly every article that has been sent forward has been made." Sackett's Harbor was by no means an ideal location, yet it had one great, one overwhelming recommendation, it was the only possible navy yard, and the stern logic of "Hobson's choice" urged Chauncey to do his best. Both Lake Erie and Lake Ontario were placed under his charge, and presumably it was intended that he

should provide for Lake Champlain, but it was not so stated in his orders.

At the outset matters went fairly well on Lake Ontario. We had there, even prior to the war, the Oneida, under Woolsey's command, and she held her own in a skirmish with a British force. The British vessels at that time were manned by green hands along the Lake Shore, the Oneida had a regular man-of-war crew, and this was a great, though only a temporary advantage. It was only too evident, however, that the British would send new men and new material to the scene of action, and Chauncey, Woolsey and Elliott bought lake schooners, equipped them as well as possible, and selected the guns least likely to burst at the muzzle. No doubt, the greenest boy on the lakes had heard of the bursting gun on the President that threw Rodgers in the air and broke his leg. A shade of the blue (was it navy blue?) appears in Chauncey's letter, in which he fears that "from the badness of the roads and the lowness of the water in the Mohawk, the guns and stores will not arrive in time for us to do anything decisive against the enemy this fall." Before navigation closed, he was proud to announce the launch of the Madison, built in forty-five days, of timber that nine weeks before had been growing in the forest.

During the winter, guns could be dragged across the snow, various supplies came from Pennsylvania, Perry came to help, there were hopes of military co-operation, and a hundred matters of mingled force and diplomacy called for adjustment. The sailors, accustomed to seaports, complained of lake service; mechan-

ics objected to the strict regulations of the navy; the navy and army shared the jealousy that seems inevitable, the jealousy that gave birth to Smollett's memorable sentence: "The general blamed the admiral for not battering down walls thirty feet thick, and the admiral blamed the general for not marching up walls thirty feet high."

Of the limited supplies our young country then possessed some (be it owned with shame) were deliberately sent to the enemy. The Embargo had so embittered a large part of New England that murmurs of Secession were heard, and merchants, with very little concealment, shipped flour to Canada. Mahan prints letters, as interesting as mortifying, in which British officers grant protection to American vessels carrying "flour, bread, corn and pease, or any other species of dry provisions" from America to Spain or Portugal—in other words, more than one British regiment would have starved had it not been for American rations. Some allowance should be made for this when one reads of Jackson's rage and fury against the Hartford convention. While the flour traffic has no direct connection with the lake service it throws a painful light on the difficulties against which Chauncey contended. The shipping interests, the merchants, and a large number of our financiers looked on the government as a mere tail to Napoleon's kite. As they viewed it, the Democratic party was incompetent and insincere. It had complained of the English decrees, but it had passed an Embargo which was far worse, it had yelled against the impressment of seamen, but it had refused to

build a navy competent to protect them, it had declared war, but it had done nothing to prepare for war. Men used to Hamilton's vigor and who revered Washington as their chief looked on Jefferson and Madison as gross misfits. In Jefferson's day they had seen the Chesapeake overhauled by the Leopard, and the wretched little gunboats capsized by a capfull of wind. Under Madison things drifted from bad to worse, open contempt for the government was shown, and disloyalty was manifested in a hundred ways. There were, in plain English, scores of merchants who would not have sold Chauncey any needful articles for which a British agent would have paid a five per cent. advance. Of the rich men who were heartily in sympathy with the war, a number built privateers, and paid such high wages that many prime seamen preferred them to the navy.

Lake Ontario had its indecisive contests, but no genuine victory. Now the control of the lake belonged to Chauncey, now it passed to Sir James Yeo. In thought and energy it is hard to say which commander deserves most praise. But in the ease with which he could obtain his resources, in the superior healthfulness of the region, in the advantages of an old country over a scarcely broken forest, Yeo had long odds over Chauncey. The rivalry in building as told by Cooper, by Roosevelt and by Mahan, is full of interest, and at times the farcical blends with the tragic.

At one time the armaments of Chauncey and Yeo were so different that a fair fight was out of the question. Yeo's vessels were better and stronger, but his guns were of short

range. Chauncey's guns were of longer reach, but a number of his schooners were perilously likely to capsize in rough weather. In smooth water he could safely have kept his distance, and used the British craft as targets. In rough water, Yeo, with little hazard to himself, could have gleefully enjoyed the spectacle of the topheavy schooners going to Davy Jones' locker. No one will blame either commander for seeking a fight under advantageous conditions, but both were overzealous. Yeo vaunted his courage in seeking a fight in which he could not help winning. Chauncey angrily resented Yeo's avoidance of a fair weather fight in which his vessels would have been knocked to pieces. Both men were sailors and fighters, ready to face reasonable odds, but their tempers overmastered them, and they protested too much.

Perry's quickness in fitting out his vessels, his dexterity in crossing the bar, his courage and his triumph have been justly praised. Unfortunately his long drawn out quarrel with Elliott is only too well known likewise. But the importance of the victory to the Western States cannot be overestimated. It was impossible for the British to regain control of Lake Erie, Detroit and Michigan territory returned to American allegiance. The American troops were encouraged by Perry, they followed up their advantage, Tecumseh was killed, and the Indians looked on the British cause as lost. The large number of towns and counties named for Perry show how the growing West prized his triumph, one of those decisive victories which cannot be offset or reversed by any

subsequent action. Lake Erie was American, and that meant a great deal. Three days after the fight, Perry's squadron was in such condition that he could transport Harrison's troops. Creditable to him as this fact is, one must remember that the bulk of the enemy's fire had fallen on the Lawrence. If the hostile shot had been impartially distributed, the damage would have been more general.

Meanwhile hard work, lake fever and general annoyances had broken down Chauncey's health. Blocks and ironwork which his soul desired were slow in reaching him, his movements were delayed. The Secretary of the Navy complimented and expostulated, and finally sent a letter with vague expressions of confidence and esteem, but with the definite remark that the conditions "have induced the President, though with extreme reluctance, and undiminished confidence in your zeal and capacity, to order Commodore Decatur to proceed to Sackett's Harbor and take upon himself the naval command on Lake Ontario."

Chauncey was afloat before this letter reached him, and Decatur was not placed above his head. Still time had been lost, and General Scott believed that the battle of Lundy's Lane could have been avoided had Chauncey blockaded Yeo in Kingston. It is easy to blame Chauncey, but had the government ten years before made preparations for a squadron worthy of the name on Lake Ontario he might have done far better. The experiences of sea and battle were his, the hard mechanical work of building and maintaining an efficient navy must be done by the government in the years

of peace. Pharaoh understood that the grain must be stored before the famine comes. The inefficiency of the Administration was the cause of many delays, for which Chauncey was blamed. Remember that one of Chauncey's sentries shot a man who proved to be a mechanic, that a strike immediately followed, that labor troubles added to naval misunderstandings, and military friction, and financial stringency might have justified Chauncey in writing to a nerve specialist.

Macdonough's cares were not light, nor was he free from the anxiety that menaced so many officers, the existence of British sympathizers on our soil. General Prevost of the British army wrote that two-thirds of his force was supplied with American beef, principally from Vermont and New York. A patriotic Vermonter wrote to General Izard: "Droves of cattle are continually passing from the northern parts of this State into Canada for the British." General Izard informed the War Department that "From the St. Lawrence to the ocean an open disregard prevails for the laws prohibiting intercourse with the enemy. The road to St. Regis is covered with droves of cattle, and the river with rafts destined for the enemy. On the eastern side of Lake Champlain the high roads are insufficient for the cattle pouring into Canada. Like herds of buffaloes they press through the forests, making paths for themselves. Were it not for these supplies, the British forces in Canada would soon be suffering from famine." This letter is corroborated by a British commissary at Prescott who wrote in June, 1814: "I have contracted with a Yankee

magistrate to furnish this post with fresh beef. A major came with him to make the agreement, but, as he was foreman of the grand jury of the court in which the Government prosecutes the magistrates for high treason and smuggling, he turned his back and would not see the paper signed." One of Macdonough's officers seized two spars, presumably for the use of the British flagship *Confiance*, later four more spars were intercepted; it is claimed with only too much show of reason that the *Confiance* could not have sailed without aid that came from this side of the St. Lawrence. Macdonough declared that disloyal Americans were constantly furnishing the British with information. Yet Lake Champlain was a great day for us. Downie's force was beaten on the water. Prevost retreated on the land. There was the natural wrangle between the British army and navy and charges were preferred against Prevost, but he died before his trial. It is evident that a British victory might have been followed by a victorious march far into the interior of New York. As it is, there seems little reason to doubt that Prevost's urgency forced Downie into a premature movement, and that Downie's hopes for vigorous co-operation by land were not fulfilled.

Perry's force was materially superior to Barclay's. Macdonough's squadron in the mid lake would have been inferior to Downie, but he secured a strong position and forced the enemy to attack him on the ground most advantageous to the American cause. The results of the lake warfare were, on the whole, vastly to the advantage of the Amer-

icans. Ontario was barren of important results, but the British at all events did not gain any supremacy that warranted a formidable invasion. On Lake Erie we captured the entire British force, and the prestige of the fight led to the rout of Tecumseh's braves. Lake Champlain was so decisive in our favor that the British never planned another descent. The failure of all attempts to sweep along our lake frontier no doubt had its effect in the British readiness to make peace.

Yet it will not do to set off the old eagle-screaming style that has marked too many of our popular writings. The British lion had been in long and bloody wars, France, Spain, Holland, the Scandinavian powers, the Irish rebellion, the East Indian troubles, the mutiny at the Nore, the threatened insurrection at home, all this had taxed John Bull's pocket, opened his veins, and wearied him to the last degree. Dropping all heated patriotism, and taking a common sense view of the subject, the war of 1812 was to the British statesman an out-of-the-way skirmish, costly, troublesome and unprofitable. If the British, after the downfall of Napoleon, had been eager for a fight, if they had turned on us their full force and their utmost zeal, the results would have been a loss of American blood and treasure far worse than the experience of the Revolution. The British landed interest, the British merchant, the British manufacturer, the British masses, yearned for peace, and peace was secured. So much ought to be admitted by every American who prefers facts to fireworks.

But, on the other hand, it must

be admitted that the American navy surprised the world, and that British and French experts studied its operations with close scrutiny. During the twenty years from 1792 to 1812, there had been two hundred fights in which a British ship met an opponent of some other nation, and in only five cases had the British flag been struck. The gigantic ships of Spain, the beautiful cruisers of France, the well trained seamen of Holland had lowered their colors to the English sailor. Over and over again, the British had triumphed over twofold or threefold odds. Nelson had stormed the deck of a Spaniard far heavier than his own craft, passed from her to another prize, and left "Nelson's bridge" as a superb tradition. Lord Dundonald had captured a Spanish frigate five times his own force. Intoxicated by their continuous triumphs, the British grew to feel that nothing could resist their prowess, and then came the war of 1812 with three British frigates taken within the first six months, with an entire squadron taken by Perry, with Macdonough defeating his assailants, with British ships knocked into ruins by opponents scarcely scratched. It is true that, as a rule, the Americans were heavier in battery, but if in fifteen minutes the Peacock was riddled till she sank and the Hornet had only two round shot in her hull the lighter shot did not reach and the heavier did. Seamanship, daring, drill had raised the British navy to such a standard that it could defeat the Old World navies without gunnery, now it met foes with seamanship, daring and drill plus a gunnery that told in shattered spars and mangled men. When the odds were

on the British side, as in the gunboat fight on Lake Borgne or in the attack on the Essex, the Americans made a far better resistance than French or Spaniards would have done. A third war with Great Britain might have followed the execution of Ambrister and Arbuthnot, but for the open expressions of reluctance on the part of the navy. The seamen who had learned what American gunnery was did not care to try it again. The caution shown on Lake Ontario, the resolution not to fight without decided odds over the Americans was a contrast to the reckless spirit that had so often flung odds to the winds. Even the few triumphs won by the British were not triumphs over which Nelson or St. Vincent would have rejoiced. The odds were terribly against Porter, Decatur surrendered to a British squadron, Lawrence was just out of port with his crew far from ideally sober when he met the best disciplined frigate in the British navy. The war justifies the prediction of Nelson, after gazing on Dale's squadron in the Mediterranean: "There is in those ships a nucleus of trouble for Great Britain."

NUMBER OF SPINDLES IN LEADING COTTON MANUFACTURING COUNTRIES.

	1908	1911	1912
United Kingdom.....	51,976,650	58,889,247	55,164,794
United States.....	37,000,000	28,500,000	29,523,597
Germany.....	9,592,655	10,909,597	10,598,752
Russia.....	6,800,000	8,600,000	8,000,000
France.....	7,006,428	7,300,000	7,400,000
India.....	5,300,000	6,126,671	6,300,000

The question of the amount of Protection to be given wool depends among other things on how one feels about helping the farmer of the Eastern and Central states to retain or increase his present flocks.—Bristol (Pa.) Courier.

A NEW ENGLAND MILL TOWN.

"The Record of a City, A Social Survey of Lowell, Massachusetts," by George F. Kengott, recently published by the Macmillan Company, New York, deserves the attention of everyone interested in the social welfare of the textile operatives in the large manufacturing centres of New England. The first few chapters of the book are devoted to the early history of Lowell, and graphically portray the efforts of the pioneers of its now enormous manufacturing interests, among whom were Francis Cabot Lowell, Nathan Appleton, Paul Moody and Kirk Boot. The growth of the town from a small hamlet to a city of over one hundred and six thousand people, representing at least fifty nationalities, is interestingly described, and the book abounds in statistics concerning the rapid increase in wealth and population as well as the multiplication of its textile mills.

To the reader and student solicitous of obtaining information in regard to a "social survey of Lowell" and the existing economic conditions, the book contains much of interest and of value. Several pages are devoted to describing the working people, especially the women, in the mills during the first half of the last century. At that time the female employes were almost entirely healthy, intelligent New England girls and women. They had the respect and confidence of their employers, and, as the author says, "help was too valuable to be ill-treated." It is true they had long hours of labor, but they had good comfortable rooms in clean, healthful dormitories, good food and social advantages. Charles Dickens, who visited Lowell in 1842, describes the girls as follows in his "American Notes": "They had serviceable bonnets, good warm cloaks and shawls, and were not above clogs and patterns. Moreover, there were places in the mill in which they could deposit these things without injury, and there were conveniences for washing. They were healthy in appearance, many of them remarkably so, and had the manners and deportment of young women, not of degraded brutes

of burden." Other writers also are quoted in their praise of the corporations which were interested not only in the physical but also the moral welfare of their employes.

The author gives at some length the present condition together with the financial, physical and racial characteristics of the operatives now employed in the mills. The boarding houses and dormitories formerly owned and controlled by the mill owners have nearly all passed out of their hands and are in the possession of landlords who have increased the rents and pay little attention to the sanitary condition of their tenements, except when forced to by law. In a chapter on "The Housing of the Operatives," Mr. Kengott says, "In the early days of the city the manufacturing corporations built many tenement houses in the neighborhood of the mills and maintained 'boarding-houses' (the local name for a barrack dwelling in which scores of operatives, chiefly unmarried, obtain each a room and board) for the use of employes. These corporation tenement boarding houses were in the centre of the city, near the mills, and were kept in good repair and sanitary condition. The rents were low and the tenements were occupied usually by one family. During the last ten years, nearly all of these houses, with the exception of those owned by the Lowell Machine Shop, have been sold and the rents have doubled and trebled. The former tenants, who were largely Americans have been supplanted by the foreigners, two or three families or more crowding in where one family used to live. Looking for the largest returns possible from the money invested, the present owners do not keep these houses in the excellent condition in which they were formerly kept by the corporations."

The book also contains chapters on the following subjects: Health, The Standard of Living, Industrial Conditions, Social Institutions, and Recreations of the People, all minutely illustrated with photographs, tables and charts. In conclusion, the author well sums up the situation, absolving the mill

owners from blame for the changed conditions. He says: "It is a far cry indeed from the city of more than 100,000 made up of fifty or more nationalities, with fifty per cent. foreign born and eighty per cent. foreign parentage, to the days of 'auld lang syne' when all knew each other, thought the same thoughts, spoke the same language, and worshipped in the same way. The paternal relation of employer and employed is gone. The mill agent does not fraternize with the mill operatives of today; oftentimes he cannot if he would, for differences of race, language and habits, if not of religion, separate them. The real proprietors of the mills, the stockholders, live elsewhere, and have little thought of Lowell save to draw dividends. . . . The textile corporations have sold their tenements and boarding houses, rents have doubled and trebled; the native Americans have moved into the suburbs or gone to other cities; the foreigners from the far East have crowded into these once happy homes and transformed them into caravansaries. The mill agents no longer control or supervise these houses to any great extent; the 'corporation streets,' once well cared for, have no master and have become the dumping ground for the refuse of a teeming population. The Greeks crowd the French-Canadians, the French-Canadians the Irish; the Irish, the native Americans, each earlier race giving way before the lower standard of living of the later. The profits of the textile corporations flow largely into the pockets of the absentee landlords and the wages of the employes, after supplying the barest necessities, go in foreign remittances to the friends across the sea."

The London Daily Express says: "One thing is clearly emphasized in the course of this melodramatic struggle, namely the shortness of the presidential term. The necessity of going through this turmoil every four years is very harmful not only to the nerves but to business in America. Eight years lease of power for the president would be a sensible reform."

LONG CONVENTIONS.

The recent Democratic Convention in Baltimore was not the only long national convention in the history of political parties, as the following record will show:

The Democratic convention held at Baltimore in June, 1852, and which nominated Franklin Pierce for President, took 49 ballots. Pierce was not voted for until the 35th ballot, when he received 15 votes. With one exception, he either held his own or increased his vote on each succeeding ballot until the 49th, when he was given 282 votes, 90 more than enough for the nomination.

At Cincinnati, in June, 1856, the Democratic convention nominated James Buchanan on the 17th ballot.

There was a long struggle in the Democratic convention in Charleston in 1860, where 57 ballots were taken with no choice. The convention then adjourned to Baltimore, where less than two-thirds of the Charleston delegates—303—sembled June 18, 1860. Two ballots were taken, and Stephen A. Douglas, receiving 181 1/2 votes on the second, was declared to be nominated. The seceders from this convention, numbering 105, also met in Baltimore and unanimously nominated J. C. Breckenridge for President.

The Democratic convention, held in New York in July, 1868, nominated Horatio Seymour on the 36th ballot. He received nine votes on the fourth ballot, two on the 20th, and 21—all from Ohio—on the 22d. Before the result of that ballot had been wholly announced the delegates began to change their votes to Seymour, and these changes were kept

up until all had come over, making the nomination unanimous.

At the Republican National Convention in Chicago in June, 1880, James A. Garfield was nominated on the 36th ballot. He had received only two votes on the preceding ballots. The principal candidates were Grant, Blaine, Sherman, Edmunds, Washburne and Windom. On the 36th ballot (378 votes being necessary to a choice) Garfield received 399; Grant 306; Blaine 42; Sherman 3; Washburne 5.

THE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM ON TRIAL.

Hon. John D. Long in the Boston Herald.

Had we been in the Legislature we should have voted for the primaries because the people are entitled to try the experiment, but it would have been without great faith that the experiment will prove much of a success or much of a reform. It is cumbersome and adds an enormous cost to the public expense. It by no means closes the door to profuse use of money in carrying an election, and the hungry brood of manipulators will be just as active as before and only spread over a larger field. It gives no better expression to public sentiment, for it has attracted little if any more attendance of the people, even though novelty is always attractive, than did the old caucus. Indeed all of us recall caucuses in contested districts in which the attendance was larger than at the recent primaries, exciting as the recent contest was. In the recent primary in Maine in a very intelligent and ordinarily sized town, though there were three active Republican candidates for the governorship, only nineteen votes were

cast for them, and this is a sample of many other towns. An ordinary evening caucus would have been more populous. Then, too, the primary is just now novel, and, when an old story, it will probably be still less attractive, and the old wirepullers will come to the front again and run the machine as before.

However, it may be well enough, and it certainly should have its trial. But to carry further and apply it to the making and repeal of laws and to the recall of judicial decisions and officials, is utterly subversive of representative government and of the security of constitutional safeguards. Legislation and judicature demand the most deliberate and all-sided consideration. This should come after open and public discussion, presenting all sides of every question. How is this to be had if the statute is to be practically enacted and the decision made in the heat of the crowded polling place by votes cast in the irresponsible privacy of a booth by voters not only not responsible to anybody for their act, but a very large percentage of them not having at all familiarized themselves with the matters to be settled by their votes? It is not that the people are not intelligent and fully competent, or that they are not to be trusted when they act with knowledge and under responsibility. But common experience is absolute proof that they never give the attention to matters of legislative or judicial consideration which those selected by them for that purpose do give, poor as the results sometimes but not often are. Even on questions which now and then are submitted to popular vote, as very properly some local questions are, not one in ten, unless it be

something like the division or the set-off of a town, takes the trouble to inform himself as to the merits of the question, and oftener than not refuses or neglects to vote upon it.

Yes, the fundamental question is whether it shall continue to be a government of the people through their representatives chosen or constituted by them. And a pretty vital question it is. Taft's stand on it is certain.

SHERMAN'S RENOMINATION.

Only Man in Last Eighty-four Years to be thus Honored.

It was an exceptional honor which was bestowed upon Vice-President Sherman when he was renominated for the second place on the ticket by the Republican National Convention. Mr. Sherman has served his party with rare faithfulness for many years and while others have faltered in their allegiance to party principles he has stood firm and faithful and he will merit the high honor which has come to him.

Vice-President Sherman is the only man in the last eighty-four years who has been renominated to the Vice-Presidency. To be nominated for the second place in the government is in itself an eminent distinction. To be renominated for it is so rare an occurrence as to be regarded as much more than doubling the original honor.

This is most conspicuous when it is considered what manner of men they were who, prior to the election of 1828, had been accorded a second nomination to the Vice-Presidency. The rule of today does not apply to the state of things when John Adams was elected, for in his day it was the man who stood second in the vote

for President that was accorded the Vice-Presidency.

Yet, if the Adams name may stand, it is as one of a limited but splendid company that Mr. Sherman is classed with him, for hardly anyone is more conspicuous in the Revolutionary epoch than the second President, whose name is destined to immortality because inseparably linked as a leader in the greatest movement of modern times.

George Clinton.

The next man to have the honor of renomination was George Clinton. George Clinton had been Governor of New York for the first eighteen years of the existence of the State after independence was gained and the State organized in its present capacity and served several years again in a like capacity before his transfer to Washington, and though not among the great statesmen of the epoch, he was a valiant soldier in the Revolution and exceedingly patriotic.

If there is any reproach to be laid at his feet it is that he shared the extreme view of States rights and sought to defeat the adoption of the Federal Constitution. He was not alone in that position, and his memory is honored hardly the less because of his genuine devotion to public service. He was elected and re-elected under the present system of voting for first and second place, instead of having the man with the second highest ballot take the second place.

Then Gov. Tompkins.

Following Gov. Clinton came another of the remarkable men that New York has contributed to national politics in the person of Daniel

D. Tompkins. Gov. Tompkins had the distinction of being Governor for ten years, the second longest term in the history of the State, and also of having been a judge of the Supreme Court when hardly more than 30 years of age, and, better still, of having filled the position. He was meant by nature to be one of the first men in the Union, and at one time it seemed as if he would reach that position.

As executive, Gov. Tompkins was noted for the industry and high intelligence with which he performed his executive duties. He was one of the keenest politicians of his time as well as one of the leading and forward-looking statesmen.

Calhoun Comes Next.

Following Gov. Tompkins in the Vice-Presidential chair came one of the greatest men intellectually that our country has ever known. That was John C. Calhoun, at one time the best hated man in the Union, giving place in that eminence finally to Jefferson Davis, but of late years regarded as one of the glories of the Republic for the period of his life and the almost unheralded power of reason that was his intellectual endowment.

That he was wrong is conceded by most of the later historians and public men, yet there will always be a large element in our country that holds to the view of Calhoun's being unanswerable in argument, that is, correct in theory as to the interpretation of the Constitution, but forgetful of the fact that around the constitution had grown up the spirit of nationality and of devotion to the Union, owing to the vast expansion of the Republic and the admission of many new States to the federation.

The logic of events refuted Calhoun, but the logic of pure reasoning was unable even in the hands of Webster to overthrow him.

Other Strong Men.

Calhoun's second election occurred in 1828, and from that day until last Saturday no man had been given a second nomination for Vice-President. One may consider how remarkable an honor that is when he considers what strong men have been on the list of those who held the position for one term or a part of it.

If many of the names are now largely forgotten, there are still some that are remembered, such as Martin Van Buren, George M. Dallas, Millard Fillmore, John C. Breckenridge, Andrew Johnson, Schuyler Colfax, Henry Wilson, William A. Wheeler, Chester A. Arthur, Thomas F. Bayard, Thomas A. Hendricks, Levi P. Morton, Theodore Roosevelt and Charles W. Fairbanks.

A Tower of Strength.

Mr. Sherman proved to be a tower of strength in the last campaign, and he is likely to be equally potent in the present one. When he was in the House of Representatives he was regarded as the first parliamentarian in that body, without exception, and in the Senate his work in the chair has been performed during his incumbency as Vice-President, with the dignity and grace and flawless knowledge of procedure that have been the perpetual admiration alike of the Senate itself and of the visitors to the Senate chamber.

Apart from his public duties, Mr. Sherman has been one of the most loyal, faithful, devoted friends and advisers of the President. Never

has there been even so much as a mist of doubt or of misunderstanding between them. With his immense experience in public life, his unsurpassed knowledge of men and measures, his devotion to the public interest, he has been one of the wisest and most frequently consulted friends of Mr. Taft and by soundness of view and weight of character, has contributed far more than is usual in the course of a Vice-President to the success of the administration.

THE NEXT PRESIDENT.

Duty of the House of Representatives if No Candidate Has a Majority of Electoral Votes.

Three candidates for President present the possibility that no one of them will receive a majority of the votes in the electoral college.

In that case the next president will be chosen by the House of Representatives, the delegation from each State having one vote, a majority of all to elect, and no other candidates to be voted for than the three who lead in the electoral college.

These conditions would bring about an extraordinary situation, for the State delegations in the present House of Representatives number 23 Democratic, 22 Republican, and three divided evenly. The evenly divided delegations are those of Maine, Nebraska and Rhode Island. These three States would apparently hold the balance of power, and how they vote is, in the circumstances, an interesting subject for speculation. If the Republican States divided between Taft and Roosevelt, the 23 Democratic States, being less than a majority, could not elect a

president. The constitution says nothing about half votes, but if one-half of one vote from each of the three equally divided States were added to the Democratic roll the Democrats would have 24 1/2 votes, electing their candidate by one-half of one vote.

The vice-president would be chosen by the United States Senate, and would be a Republican, the present division of the Senate being 51 Republicans and 44 Democrats.

The provision for the election of a president in this contingency is contained in the 12th amendment to the constitution of the United States, and is as follows:

The person having the highest number of votes in the electoral college for president shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person has such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as president, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice.

And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a president, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president.

Sherman's Chance.

From the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

The election of James Schoolcraft Sherman as President of the United States is the most astonishing possibility to be considered as a result of the political muddle of 1912. On the

face of it such an outcome seems incredible, but the peculiar provisions of the 12th amendment to the federal constitution render it worth consideration.

If the third party movement gains the strength predicted by its backers a failure of the electoral college to name a President of the United States will be by no means impossible.

If the third candidate should be found to have sufficient electoral votes to keep both the old party candidates short of a majority the election would be at once turned over to the house of representatives.

The representatives would vote as states, each state being entitled to one vote, New York's 37 representatives being entitled to no more weight than the one representative from Wyoming.

The balloting would continue until one of three leading candidates—all others being excluded from consideration by the 12th amendment—receives a majority, or until March 4, when balloting would cease, and the vice-president-elect would be declared President.

THE TARIFF AND THE CONSTITUTION.

From the New York Tribune.

It will be interesting to see how Governor Wilson in his campaign will treat the tariff principles of his party platform. It would be more interesting, though painful, to see, if he became President, what would happen from an attempt to carry them out.

The platform starts out with a declaration of faith like that of the gentlemen who met in Montgomery

in 1861 to draft a Confederate constitution, forbidding duties except for revenue. Not having any such direction in the American Constitution, however, the Democrats perforce read it in. The platform says:

"We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government under the Constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue."

If it is unconstitutional to levy duties for protective purposes, in the opinion of any administration or party, that administration or party will of course rigidly refrain from giving its tariff policy any taint of protection. So if the Democrats win it is obvious that the tariff will be readjusted on a strict revenue basis, duties being levied on articles which will produce the greatest return, regardless of their production or non-production here and of the effect of their exclusion or admission on domestic industry. Any other course would be unconstitutional in their opinion, and they wouldn't violate the Constitution. But hold. A little later in the platform we read that "our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country." We see promises of legislation which will not injure legitimate industry, of reduced duties on the necessaries of life, and an offer to defer for "ultimate attainment" the system of revenue duties held to be prescribed by the Constitution.

Now, if protective duties are unconstitutional how can they be maintained, even for a time? Does Dr. Wilson think that obedience to the

Constitution can be deferred at convenience, so long as conscience is salved with the thought of "ultimate attainment" of obedience? The program mapped out by the platform, like the measures passed by the present Democratic House of Representatives, is clearly and flagrantly unconstitutional if duties for any but a revenue purpose are unconstitutional. Do the Democrats if they come into power mean really to destroy all protective duties? If so, why don't they honestly say so and let the industries of the country know what to expect? Or do they intend to give such measure of protection as political expediency seems to them to require? If so, why do they make a declaration of vital constitutional principle which they know is a humbug and which they do not mean to observe? Which fraud are they endeavoring to practice?

RECIPROCITY'S EPITAPH.

When the Republican National Platform of 1912 declared that "the products of the farm and of the mine should receive the same measure of protection as other products of American labor," it phrased a fitting epitaph for Canadian reciprocity.

President Taft has publicly announced the obsequies of reciprocity and Colonel Roosevelt has referred to it as "dead," and now that the Republican party in its national platform declares for an equal measure of protection for the products of the farm, it becomes the solemn duty of Congress to give the remains speedy and permanent interment. The reciprocity act should be repealed without delay and protective duties on pulp and paper restored.

TROUBLE-MAKERS.

From the Backe Review.

In the political world the kettledrum is sounding out the call for progressiveism, as if this were some great and virtuous religion which must be embraced to escape damnation. What, after all, do the people care for the progressive idea? It is an invention of the politicians who, finding the people discontented about something, have tried to formulate a remedy, have given it a high sounding, virtuous title, and are now making believe that the people demand it. The thing that the people are discontented about is the high cost of living. What in the progressive policies will remedy this? Certainly not the recall, the initiative and the referendum. Here is an economic situation which has bred an illness, and the politicians, like any band of traveling quacks, offer to cure it with their nostrums. The world-wide increase in living prices cannot be cured. It must be met with increases all along the line in wages, in rent, in freight rates, in income, to meet the increased cost of existence. Of course, economies, too, must enter to help, but this is a slow, long-winded process.

THE PARCELS POST SCHEME.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

The only serious objection to the parcels post as advocated by some zealots has been that it would give all the profitable business to the express companies, while leaving the unprofitable to the postoffice. This will be obviated by a parcels post with charges fixed according to the distance carried, as proposed by the Republican platform. That is the parcels post which has always been advocated by the "Chronicle," because it is the only parcels post which could pay its way in a country of such vast extent as our own.

There are multitudes of people who use, or desire to use, a parcels post, but the number is still greater of those who would use it seldom or never. Merchandise is not information, and whoever buys merchandise should pay for

its delivery. There is no justice in taxing those who do not buy merchandise to pay the transportation for those who do. And that would be the result of a parcels post with a uniform rate on merchandise regardless of distance carried. There is a bill before Congress establishing a parcels post on the zone system. If it pays a profit that profit can be properly expended in enlarging the zones, but the service should pay its own way.

Conservatism does not mean that the world shall not progress, but that in the march of civilization we should move carefully, looking well into the brush before us, so that a step once taken will not have to be retraced. "Progressiveness," as interpreted in these latter days, means blundering ahead without foresight or thought, and repenting and working backward at leisure.

MORE OF THE STRIKE EVIL.

A special to the New York Sun from London says many women and children are facing starvation as the result of the transport strike, which has entered its eighth week. The strike leaders claim that 80,000 men are still out. The union relief funds were exhausted long ago. All organized charities are unable to care for the applicants, and the death rate, especially among the children of tender years, who are unable to secure needed nourishment, has increased to an alarming rate. The reports of the board of trade show a falling off in the volume of imports of more than \$2,000,000 and in exports of upward of \$5,000,000 for the last month. The loss in wages to the strikers is estimated at \$5,000,000.

American politics have not yet become so topsy-turvy that the thinking citizen is willing to have an individual, radical or conservative, be the party platform as well as the nominating convention and the candidate at the head of the ticket. And it is the thinking citizen, turning to this or to that nominee, who decides national elections.—New York Press.

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid
To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

AUGUST, 1912.

President Taft will be officially notified of his renomination at the White House on August 1.

It is worth noting that there is no mention of Reciprocity in either the Republican or Democratic platform.

All of the British West Indies have voted to accept the reciprocity treaty with Canada, except Trinidad, which will ratify later.

It is stated that President Taft and Governor Wilson will make only a few speeches in the campaign, but that Col. Roosevelt will speak in almost every State before the November election.

William F. McCombs, of New York, who managed Gov. Wilson's pre-convention campaign, has been elected chairman, and Joseph E. Davies, of Wisconsin, secretary, of the Democratic national committee.

Unlike Ohio and some other Western States, New Hampshire has little use for radical innovations. Her constitutional convention rejected the "initiative and refer-

endum" proposition, and another to regulate salaries and dividends paid by corporations.

The President has nominated Sherman P. Allen, of Vermont, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of A. Platt Andrew, who refused to serve longer because of his troubles with Secretary McVeagh; and Luther Conant, Jr., of New York, Commissioner of Corporations, in place of Herbert Knox Smith, who resigned to join Col. Roosevelt's new party.

Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana, Democratic candidate for Vice-President, has been highly eulogized, since the nomination, as an able lawyer. However that may be, the Indiana Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional the new State constitution which was drafted by the Indiana Executive. Governor Marshall's constitution ought to take its place in political files beside Governor Tilden's will.

It is stated that President Taft will fight the leaders of the third party movement for every presidential elector who runs on a Republican ballot under the President's name. The fight will be carried into every State where third party leaders hope to have Republican electors vote for Mr. Roosevelt. Regular Republicans in touch with the President, the Republican National Committee and the Taft leaders will begin at once a campaign to make sure that electors voted for on the Republican ticket will stand by that ticket in the electoral college.

There is a sharp difference of opinion as to the part played by Bryan in the Baltimore convention. He is claiming nearly all the credit for the nomination of Wilson and the adoption of a radical platform; and says he had no expectation of receiving the nomination himself, but was determined that no "reactionary" should have it. On the other hand, Col. Harvey, in *Harp-er's Weekly*, says: "The whole batch of bosses, from Mr. Bryan down, went home discredited and disgruntled, without claim of recognition or hope of favors to come."

A Berlin despatch of July 15 says: "The German exporting world is frankly delighted at the prospect of Woodrow Wilson's election to the Presidency and the inauguration of a tariff for revenue only in the United States." We can fully credit this statement. The Germans want all needful protection for their own industries, but have no particular concern for the industries of other countries. This policy might well be imitated by the United States. If our people do not look out for their own interests, they may be sure that no other nation will relieve them of that duty.

The July crop report of the Department of Agriculture estimates a total production of wheat this year of 629,000,000 bushels. The present condition of winter wheat is lower and of spring wheat higher than a year ago. The total yield in 1911 was 621,368,000 bushels. Corn promises a production of 2,811,000,000 bushels, compared with 2,531,253,000 bushels in 1911. Estimated production of oats 1,129,000,000

bushels, compared with 922,299,000 bushels last year. The yields of barley, rye and hay promise a large increase over last year's production. The estimated crop of potatoes is 352,000,000 bushels, compared with 292,737,000 bushels in 1911.

The organization of the Republican National Committee with Hon. Charles D. Hilles, the President's secretary, as chairman, and James B. Reynolds, a former secretary of the Republican State Committee of Massachusetts and later Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and a member of the Tariff Board, as Secretary, assures an energetic and forceful conduct of the campaign by men faithful to the traditions of the party, devoted to President Taft, young enough to be progressive and of enough experience to be safe and sane. Behind such capable leaders and rational representatives of the younger element in the party, young men who have grown up in the Republican ranks can enlist in the crucial fight for representative government and our constitutional safeguards.

Senator La Follette continues to demand that Colonel Roosevelt publish his expense account, or else "a candid statement of his reasons for thus spurning one of the basic principles of public morality and political decency." La Follette says in part: "Theodore Roosevelt entered the contest for the presidential nomination as a progressive. He made a strenuous campaign for votes and a noisy scramble for Southern delegates, on the ground that he represented progressive doctrine. In this fight he had the backing of the Steel

Trust and the Harvester Trust. Financial giants like Perkins, Hanna and Munsey contributed to his cause. His campaign was characterized by a riotous expenditure of money. Yet he has made no public accounting. He has ignored the progressive principles of publicity."

A call to "the people of the United States who are in sympathy with the National Progressive Movement" to send delegates to a national convention to open in Chicago, August 5, was issued July 8. The call is signed by members of the committee chosen at the close of the Republican Convention, and also includes signatures of Roosevelt followers in forty States. Among them are three prominent Southern Democrats; editors of Philadelphia North American, New York Mail, Kansas City Star, and three other less-known newspapers; President Flavel of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., Governors Johnson of California, Veasey of South Dakota, and Carey of Wyoming; former Attorney-General Bonaparte of Maryland; and Senator Poindexter of Washington.

The San Francisco Chronicle well remarks: "It is customary for free traders when discussing the tariff to speak of the selfish interests, meaning thereby the manufacturers and other producers who are supposed to be the only beneficiaries of the protective system, the implication being that those who are roaring for cheapness are wholly unselfish in their demands. As a matter of fact the consumer is infinitely more selfish than the producer, who usually has sagacity enough to per-

ceive that it would be impossible for him to obtain more for his products than the consumer can conveniently pay, but the latter never asks whether the things he is buying are produced at a loss. All he seeks is to get what he needs as cheaply as possible. The man who makes it possible for the consumer to get them at all can go hang for all he cares."

President Worthington of the Chicago & Alton railroad asserted before the railroad arbitration commission, in New York, that many railroads would face bankruptcy if the now pending demands of various classes of employes for increased wages should all be granted. He said that while only the demands of the engineers are directly before the commission, the firemen have filed an application for an increase which would cost the railroads \$20,000,000 a year. He added that shopmen and other classes of employes also expect advances similar to whatever the engineers obtain. Evidence offered to the commission in behalf of the engineers thus far tends to show rather that they deserve to be well paid than that they are not well paid now, or that any special change in recent conditions calls for an increase of pay. They dwell much upon the hazards of their employment, but the fact is that they receive much higher pay than do the employes in most of the so-called hazardous occupations.

In a recent interview, Col. Roosevelt discussed trusts and the tariff. He said that both the Republican and Democratic platforms were

wrong on the Sherman law because they call for its rigid enforcement, whereas rigid supervision only is needful. As to the tariff, the Colonel said that Governor Wilson was apparently a free trader and his party had gone on record in favor of free trade in the necessaries of life. "Of course," he said, "the first person that such a free trade policy will harm will be the farmer. The Democratic party can do only one of two things—it may wink at its platform tariff plank and admit that it was written for campaign purposes only, or it may attempt to enforce it, which would mean vast harm to the country." The Colonel went on to condemn free trade. It was, he said, "only a temporary thing," with such certain disastrous effects upon the country that the people would come back at once to the just principles of proper protection. Under free trade, he said, it would be possible for the big interests of the country to go into China and Japan with capital and cheap labor and import manufactured goods to this country and undersell domestic goods.

The twelve cloth mills at New Bedford whose weavers and loom-fixers struck on July 15, took the situation into their own hands on the same day in posting notices that the mills would close all departments the following day for an indefinite time, which was done. As was to be expected, the "I. W. W." have been active in fomenting the strike and riotous demonstrations. Of the 13,000 persons out of work in the twelve mills, it was estimated that 8,000 were on strike and 5,000 are idle because of the lock-out.

The strike is against the "grading system"—paying for work according to quality. The New Bedford correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce says: "It is a fact that many of the operatives do not know first hand what they are striking for. Four-fifths of the weavers in the mills of the city have either never been fined or so rarely and in such small amounts that they have forgotten the last time a fine was imposed on them. In several of the mills which have been struck not a single fine has been imposed for months, but the presence of fining notices on the weaverroom walls indicated that fining might be recommenced at any time, and it was the refusal of the mill managements to take down the notices that precipitated the trouble."

The Interstate Commerce Commission plan for the complete reorganization of the express business, which has been accepted by the companies, provides that the United States be divided into blocks approximately 50 miles square. Rates are proposed between blocks treating all cities or towns within each block as common points. Each of these blocks is one degree of longitude in length and one degree of latitude in width. To every express station within each of these blocks the rate is the same from any other given block. Thus the rate is stated as between blocks rather than between cities. Supplementing this block system of making rates which constitutes each block a zone of origin or destination the rates are stated for each package weighing from one to 100 pounds. The express companies will be required to

publish a directory of express stations which will show the block number within which each station is located, and at each station there will be filed a single sheet tariff which will give the rate from that station to all other blocks in the United States. It is thought probable that Congress will defer parcels post legislation in order to give the Commerce Commission's express scheme a fair trial. The matter of the new express rates is now in controversy.

TARIFF BOARD GOES OUT OF EXISTENCE.

Congress Fails to Provide Funds for Work.

The tariff board went out of existence June 30 because Congress refused further money for its work.

The five members, headed by Chairman Henry C. Emery, assembled at the White House and informed the President of the board's most recent work, consisting of a cursory examination of the leather industry, the cost of sugar growing in Louisiana and glossaries of the leather and silk schedules. The uncompleted data was turned over to the President for the use of committees of Congress or any other tariff revision agency.

The President expressed his appreciation of the work done by the various members of the board.

The Senate passed legislation for the continuance of the board, but it is regarded as impossible to have the lower house take the same action, inasmuch as the hostility of the Democrats cannot be overcome.

The board was formed in October, 1909. It has made comprehensive

investigations of the difference in cost at home and abroad of wood pulp and paper, wool and cotton and also compiled glossaries of numerous schedules.

The board consisted of Henry C. Emery, Chairman, a native of Maine, a graduate of Bowdoin and professor of political economy at Yale; Alvin H. Sanders, a graduate of Cornell and a publisher of the *Breeders' Gazette*; James Burton Reynolds, a graduate of Dartmouth, a prominent Massachusetts Republican and Ex-Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Ex-Congressman William M. Howard of Georgia, a lawyer and a life-long Democrat; and Thomas W. Page of Virginia, for ten years professor of economics at the university of Texas and California, and also classed as a Democrat.

PROTECTION: THE ESTABLISHED AMERICAN POLICY.

The Views of Lincoln and Roosevelt.

An appeal to the American electorate by a party which aims at national ascendancy must necessarily include a definite statement in regard to the tariff question.

Since the first tariff law passed by the federal Congress and signed by George Washington on July 4th, 1789, protection to American industries and American labor has been the almost unbroken policy of our Government. For many years there was almost no difference between the leading parties on the question of protection. The policy adopted under Washington prevailed under Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Jackson and Van Buren. It was not until 1846 that the country was subjected to a tariff system which approached the ideals of the free traders. With the election of Abraham Lincoln the policy of protection was re-

stored and with the exception of the Gorman-Wilson bill, which was a compromise measure of free trade and protection, has been the policy of the Government from that day to this.

When a candidate for election to the legislature of Illinois in 1832, Abraham Lincoln said: "I am in favor of the internal improvement system and of a high protective tariff." To that patriot and statesman the amount of protection was not to be measured by the mere difference in the cost of production at home and abroad, a system of tariff duties which would result, not in a protective, but in an equalizing tariff. By such a system American and foreign goods are placed upon an equality in our markets, conceding, of course, the infinitely difficult problem of fixing duties on any such basis as would exactly measure the difference in the cost of production, a difference which cannot be accurately ascertained and which varies widely in different countries and from day to day.

Permit us to call attention to the fact that this cost of production theory was first advanced in modern political discussion by the Democratic National Convention of 1884 which nominated Grover Cleveland for the presidency. The tariff plank of that convention contained these words: "The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country." The Democratic Convention of 1888 declared that the interests of labor will be benefited by "a revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor."

The protective policy is designed to give to American products an advantage in the American market and does not place them merely on an equal footing with foreign products. Under one system of tariff duties, we have a protective tariff; under the other a competitive tariff.

It is not necessary to subject American industries to an inrush of foreign goods to secure that degree of competition which will prevent extortionate prices and the "plundering of the consumer." The business of the United States is conducted under the keenest competition, and the products of our mills and factories are sold on a low margin of profit. This condition of mammoth production and low factory prices was the aim of the advocates of protection from the days of Alexander Hamilton to the present time, and is a complete justification of the protective policy. The policy which has produced such beneficial results should be maintained, and the believers in protection should not fail now when the enemies of the "American system" are fighting as they have not fought for years to overthrow it.

The tariff plank of the Lincoln platform of 1860 declared that "sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as may encourage the industrial development of the whole country," and commended the policy "which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence." Commenting on this tariff plank in Pittsburg, February 15, 1861, President-elect Lincoln said that, looking to the varied interests of the common country, he intended, when the time for action arrived, "to advocate that protection may be extended to the coal and iron of Pennsylvania, the corn of Illinois and the reapers of Chicago."

In an elaborate argument on the tariff before he took his seat as a member of Congress, Lincoln showed that "the abandonment of the protective policy by the American Government must result in the increase of both useless labor and idleness, and so, in proportion, must produce want and ruin among our people."

Roosevelt emphatically endorsed in his letter accepting the nomination for the presidency of 1904, the opinion of Abraham Lincoln that the abandonment of protection would "produce want and

ruin among our people." "To uproot and destroy that system," he declared, "would be to insure the prostration of business, the closing of factories, the impoverishment of the farmer, the ruin of the capitalist, and the starvation of the wage-earner."

He added the weight of his high testimony to the assertion of so many American statesmen and economists that "every class of our people is benefited by the protective tariff;" that "the merchant has seen the export trade of this country grow faster than ever before in our history. The manufacturer could not keep his factory running if it were not for the protective tariff;" and that "the genuine, underlying principle of protection, as it has been embodied in all but one of the American tariff laws for the last forty years, has worked out results so beneficial, so evenly and widely spread, so advantageous alike to farmers and capitalists and workingmen, to commerce and trade of every kind, that the American people if they show their usual practical business sense, will insist that when these laws are modified they shall be modified with the utmost care and conservatism, and by the friends and not the enemies of the protective system. They cannot afford to trust the modification to those who treat protection and robbery as synonymous terms."

A policy which has meant so much to the development and prosperity of our country should not be the subject of bitter controversy and political warfare. "It has passed beyond the domain of theory," and "it is a matter of regret that the protective tariff policy which during the last forty-odd years has become part of the very fiber of the country, is not now accepted as definitely established." But it is a fundamental fact "that in a popular government such as ours no policy is irrevocably settled by law unless the people keep in control of the government men who believe in that policy as a matter of deep-rooted conviction. Laws can always be revoked; it is the spirit and purpose of those responsible for their enactment and administration which must be fixed and unchangeable."

MINNESOTA AND RECIPROCIDITY.

The late Governor Johnson of Minnesota was more than the popular leader of a Democratic State organization. He was an honored national leader of his party and was endorsed with enthusiasm as a candidate for the presidential nomination. Such a man is entitled to speak for his party and it is worthy of record that he placed himself squarely by the side of Champ Clark in favor of the annexation of Canada.

In a speech made in 1908 on the trade relations of Canada and the United States he said, "The flag would follow the trade of the United States and, before many years, would float over Canada if the tariff wall were torn down between the two countries." On September 21, 1911, Canada prevented the tearing down of the tariff wall and not within the lifetime of the present generation, at least, will the Dominion surrender the control of her fiscal system to the powerful neighbor on the South. These words of Governor Johnson identify the Democratic party with the policy of Canadian reciprocity and Canadian annexation. The votes of the Democrats in Congress showed that the party was overwhelmingly in favor of the Canadian compact. The significance of this to the Republicans of Minnesota should not be overlooked. Their opposition to President Taft, because of his advocacy of reciprocity, is playing directly into the hands of the Democrats. The loss of the electoral vote of Minnesota to the Republican party will aid the triumph of a party which has for

years advocated Canadian reciprocity and whose votes gave to the compact the majority which it secured in the House and Senate.

Minnesota should vote for the party which cast a majority against reciprocity and not aid and abet a party which voted for it. The triumph of the Democratic party would give to Canada all the advantages of which Minnesota complains without any reciprocal benefits to the United States. Minnesota should not be willing to bring such a punishment upon her citizens or aid in the consummation of such a national misfortune.

The welfare of the State, the best interests of the country and the duty of loyal Republicans require the earnest support of the Republican national ticket.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Brief Summary of Proceedings—Woodrow Wilson Nominated for President on the Forty-Sixth Ballot, and Gov. Marshall for Vice-President.

The Democratic National Convention assembled in Baltimore, June 25. The National Committee had recommended Judge Parker, of New York, for temporary chairman, and Bryan immediately laid plans to defeat him, charging that he was the candidate of the "Belmont-Ryan-Murphy" crowd. Senator Kern, of Indiana, was named by Bryan to oppose Parker, but he declined. After a bitter speech against Parker, Bryan himself was made the opposing candidate. The vote resulted in the election of Parker by 579 votes to 510 for Bryan. Judge Parker

then delivered his "Keynote" speech, amid much turbulence on the floor and in the galleries. Nearly one-half of his speech was devoted to criticism of what he called the "shameful brawl" in Chicago.

On June 26, the Bryan and Wilson forces gained a victory in abrogating the "unit rule" as to all state delegations except those where the state laws are mandatory on the delegates. The vote was: Yeas 555 1/2; nays 495 1/2; absent or not voting 43. Senator Kern was made chairman of the committee on platform—Bryan having declined to serve in that position, though it is stated that he wrote the most of the planks, including the one on the tariff.

On the third convention day, June 27, Bryan introduced a resolution, a part of which was adopted, 889 to 196, declaring the convention opposed to the nomination of any candidate for President under obligation to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, or any "privilege-seeking class." The convention was thrown into a furor by the proposition, and after much bitter debate Mr. Bryan withdrew that part of his resolution which demanded the exclusion of Ryan and Belmont as delegates. A Wilson victory was scored when the convention voted to seat the Wilson delegates from South Dakota. Congressman Ollie James, of Kentucky, was elected permanent chairman, and made a long speech, principally devoted to a denunciation of the protective tariff, and criticising the President and the Republicans in Congress for defeating the Democratic tariff bills.

Nominations for Presidential candidate were made at the afternoon

session. On call of States Senator Reed, of Missouri, nominated Champ Clark; Henry W. Rogers, of Connecticut, nominated Gov. Simeon E. Baldwin of that State; John W. Wescott, of New Jersey, nominated Gov. Woodrow Wilson; Senator Shrively, of Indiana, nominated Gov. Marshall; M. A. Daugherty, of Ohio, nominated Gov. Judson Harmon; and Mr. Anderson, of Mississippi, nominated Congressman Oscar Underwood. There were wild and protracted demonstrations when the names of Clark, Wilson and Underwood were presented. Gov. Burke, of North Dakota, to whom the delegates of his state had been pledged, released his delegates.

The first ballot was taken at 6.43 a. m., June 28, and five ballots were taken before the convention took a recess until 1 p. m. The first ballot resulted: Clark 441 1/2; Wilson 324; Underwood 117 1/2; Harmon 148; Marshall 31; Bryan 1. There were few changes in the succeeding four ballots.

Balloting was resumed in the afternoon and seven more fruitless ballots were taken before the convention took a recess at 3.05 a. m. to 1 p. m., on June 29. On the 10th ballot the New York delegates who had voted for Harmon from the first, went to Clark, increasing his vote from 452 to 556. After the 4th ballot, Gov. Baldwin was withdrawn and his vote went to Wilson. The votes for the others (except Harmon) showed few changes. The 12th ballot: Clark 549; Wilson 354; Underwood 123; Harmon 29; Marshall 30; Bryan 1.

The convention adjourned until Monday noon, July 1, after fourteen more fruitless ballots, the 26th ballot

resulting: Clark 463 1/2; Wilson 407 1/2; Underwood 112 1/2; Harmon 29; Marshall 30; Foss 43; Bryan 1.

On Monday, July 1, there were 16 more ballots, and adjournment was taken at 12.43 a. m., Tuesday, until noon. Wilson was in the lead on the 30th ballot for the first time, and passed the 500 mark on the 39th ballot. On the 35th ballot Clark fell below the vote he received on the first ballot. Wilson had made steady gains all day, but lost a little after the 40th ballot. Clark dropped to 422 on the 39th ballot, but went to 430 on the 42d ballot. This ballot stood: Clark 430; Wilson 494; Underwood 104; Harmon 27; Foss 28; Kern 1; Bryan a half vote.

On Tuesday, July 2, Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, was nominated on the 46th ballot by a vote of 990 to 96 for all others. The minority vote was for Clark 84 and Harmon 12. Two Ohio delegates were absent. Mr. Fitzgerald, of New York, moved to make Wilson's nomination unanimous, but Senator Reed, of Missouri, objected. In the three preceding ballots Wilson had gained on each, until on the 45th he had 633 to 306 for Clark. On the 46th ballot he received all of the Underwood and Foss votes, and a large part of the Clark vote. Following is the final ballot in detail:

	Wilson.	Clark.	Harmon.	Absent.
Alabama	24	—	—	—
Arizona	6	—	—	—
Arkansas	18	—	—	—
California	2	24	—	—
Colorado	12	—	—	—
Connecticut	14	—	—	—
Delaware	6	—	—	—
Florida	7	5	—	—

Georgia	28	—	—	—
Idaho	8	—	—	—
Illinois	58	—	—	—
Indiana	30	—	—	—
Iowa	26	—	—	—
Kansas	20	—	—	—
Kentucky	26	—	—	—
Louisiana	18	2	—	—
Maine	12	—	—	—
Maryland	16	—	—	—
Massachusetts	36	—	—	—
Michigan	30	—	—	—
Minnesota	24	—	—	—
Mississippi	20	—	—	—
Missouri	—	36	—	—
Montana	8	—	—	—
Nebraska	16	—	—	—
Nevada	—	6	—	—
New Hampshire	8	—	—	—
New Jersey	24	4	—	—
New Mexico	8	—	—	—
New York	90	—	—	—
North Carolina	24	—	—	—
North Dakota	10	—	—	—
Ohio	33	1	12	2
Oklahoma	20	—	—	—
Oregon	10	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	76	—	—	—
Rhode Island	10	—	—	—
South Carolina	18	—	—	—
South Dakota	10	—	—	—
Tennessee	24	—	—	—
Texas	40	—	—	—
Utah	8	—	—	—
Vermont	8	—	—	—
Virginia	24	—	—	—
Washington	14	—	—	—
West Virginia	16	—	—	—
Wisconsin	26	—	—	—
Wyoming	6	—	—	—
Alaska	6	—	—	—
Dist. of Columbia	—	6	—	—
Hawaii	6	—	—	—
Porto Rico	6	—	—	—
Totals	990	84	12	2

of North Dakota; Elmore W. Hurst, of Illinois; Martin J. Wade, of Iowa; James W. Preston, of Maryland; Senator Chamberlin, of Oregon; and Champ Clark. It was evident that Clark could have been nominated, but he absolutely refused to accept it, and so his name was withdrawn.

Balloting for Vice President resulted:

First ballot: Marshall, 389; Burke, 305 2/3; Chamberlain, 157; Hurst of Illinois, 77; Preston, 58; McCombs, 18; Osborne, 9; Sulzer, 3; Wade, 26. Absent, 46 1/3.

Second ballot: Marshall, 645 1/2; Burke, 387 1/3; Chamberlain, 12 1/2.

Before another roll call had been ordered, the North Dakota delegation withdrew the name of Gov. Burke and moved that the nomination of Marshall be made unanimous.

Before the motion could be put there was a chorus of "ayes," and the delegates began to crowd out of the hall.

No one heard the motion to adjourn or James' announcement that the convention was adjourned sine die.

When candidates for Vice President were being named, Mr. Bryan went to the platform and declined the nomination tendered by the District of Columbia delegates. He said for sixteen years he had been a "fighting man," and now desired to say a word in the nature of a valedictory. He said if he had any enemies those who were his enemies had a monopoly in hatred, for he did not feel that way toward any human being. He said he held his country above any person. "Tonight," said Bryan, "with joy I surrender the standard I have borne in three campaigns to the nominee of this con-

Before proceeding to nominations of candidates for Vice President, the long platform was read and unanimously adopted. (We give it in full in another place.)

Six candidates for Vice President were placed in nomination: Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana; Gov. Burke,

vention, and I challenge anyone to say it has ever been lowered in the face of the enemy." He praised the platform and Governor Wilson and said no candidate for office would be more active in the coming campaign than he.

MATTERS IN CONGRESS.

The indications at this time (July 20) are that Congress will adjourn about the middle of August.

The working agreement between the Democratic and insurgent Republican senators is apparently at an end, with the probable result that the remaining House tariff bills will be defeated in the Senate by a strict party vote. How long this party regularity will last no one knows.

Lorimer Unseated.

The Lorimer case was finally decided on July 13, when he was unseated by a vote of 55 to 28. This was the result of a second investigation. The first investigation resulted on March 1 in the exoneration of Mr. Lorimer by a vote of 40 to 46. The principal speeches for Lorimer were made by Senators Dillingham, Fletcher and McCumber, and he spoke in his own behalf at great length at three daily sessions. The senators voting to unseat Lorimer were: Ashurst, Bacon, Borah, Bourne, Briggs, Bristow, Brown, Bryan, Burton, Chamberlain, Clapp, Clarke of Arkansas; Crawford, Culom, Cummins, Curtis, Dixon, Fall, Gardner, Gore, Gronna, Hitchcock, Johnson, Kenyon, Kern, La Follette, Lea, Lodge, Martin, Martine, Meyers, Nelson, Newlands, O'Gorman, Overman, Page, Poindexter, Pomereine, Rayner, Reed, Root, Sanders,

Shively, Simmons, Smith, Arizona; Smith, Georgia; Smith, Michigan; Smith, South Carolina; Stone, Sutherland, Swanson, Townsend, Watson, Williams, Works.

Those voting for Lorimer were: Bailey, Bradley, Brandegee, Burnham, Catron, Clarke of Wyoming, Crane, Dillingham, Fletcher, Foster, Gallinger, Gamble, Guggenheim, Johnston, Jones, Lippitt, McCumber, Oliver, Paynter, Penrose, Perkins, Richardson, Smith of Maryland, Smoot, Stephenson, Thornton, Tillman, Wetmore.

"Rebuking" the President.

On July 16, the Senate indirectly rebuked President Taft for his course in connection with the Lorimer case. The resolutions, as originally framed by Senator Bailey, arraigned the President as having been "officious and meddlesome" in this case, but as finally adopted reads as follows:

"Resolved: That any attempt on the part of a President of the United States to exercise the powers and influence of his great office for the purpose of controlling the vote of any senator upon a question involving a right to a seat in the Senate, or upon any other matter within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Senate, would violate the spirit, if not the letter of the constitution and invade the rights of the Senate."

Not a Democrat voted against the resolution. Six Republicans voted for it, Senators, Bourne, Clapp, Fall, Gallinger, McCumber and Works.

Those Republicans who voted against the resolution were: Borah, Brandegee, Bristow, Burnham, Burton, Catron, Crawford, Cummins, DuPont, Gronna, Jones, Kenyon, Massey, McLean, Nelson, Oliver, Page, Perkins, Root, Smith of Michigan, Smoot, Sutherland and Townsend.

Senator Bailey, who introduced the resolution, denounced the course of

President Taft as described in a letter the President wrote to Col. Roosevelt Jan. 6, 1910, which the President made public in a speech April 25, 1912, during the Massachusetts primary. The original resolution was directed at presidential influence on votes upon the right of senators to retain their seats.

Senator Cummins wanted the resolution amended so as to apply also to the use of the office to influence votes for or against a bill. He said people would imply by this omission that such a practise was approved by the Senate. He spoke of reports that Presidents had warned senators if they did not vote in a certain way they would be considered out of the party. Senator Smith of Michigan demanded that the senator from Iowa be more specific.

"I make the assertion that such has occurred," said Mr. Cummins, "and in the interest of party harmony, I trust that the senator will allow the incident to be forgotten as fast as human memory will permit."

Senator Borah suggested to the Senate that he had heard that the legislative branch of the government was intruding on the executive, and thereupon read at length from Woodrow Wilson's book on "Congressional Government." "In view of what is likely to occur in the next election, I should advise my friends to go a little slow in adopting this resolution," added Senator Borah.

Senator Burton defended Mr. Taft, both as President and party leader. The Ohio senator stirred the wrath of the Democrats by asserting that Cleveland had gone to the very verge of violating the constitution while in office, but added that he meant no reflection on the former President.

Senators Townsend, Crawford and Jones defended the President, while Works, Hitchcock and McCumber spoke against his course.

Senator McCumber said the presidential office had been used for ten years to abuse the powers of Congress. He declared the press of the country had upheld the Presidents in forcing Congress to do things, and that six or seven years ago, "anyone who dared to disobey the

executive promptings was subject to immediate execution."

British Protest Against Panama Canal Bill.

On July 12, the Senate was officially notified by Secretary Knox, of the British protest against the Panama Canal bill which provides for free passage of American vessels through the canal, while foreign shipping must pay tolls. On July 12, Senators Root and Burton, in long speeches on the subject, contended that the British position was justified by the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. On the 17th, Senator Lippitt, of Rhode Island, spoke against the proposition to create a fund to return to American vessel owners the tolls collected from them, — a plan, he said, which might thereafter be declared illegal by a court of arbitration, and which "would form one of the greatest international gambles in which the world has ever indulged." Senators Lodge and O'Gorman contended that this nation was not bound by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty to give foreign ships all the privileges granted American ships. The former favored the plan to rebate the tolls to American ships, while admitting that if the case went to The Hague court the United States would probably lose. Representative Moore, of Pennsylvania, has introduced a joint resolution, setting forth that the United States, without aid from other Powers, has expended approximately \$375,000,000 in the construction of the Canal, and will be required to meet the cost of its maintenance, estimated at \$25,000,000; that Great Britain has served notice on us that the Hay-Pauncefote treaty forbids the grant-

ing of preferential tolls to American ships using the Canal; that the neutralization of the Canal would greatly reduce the cost of maintenance and would tend to promote commerce and advance the peace of the world. The resolution authorizes the Secretary of State to open negotiations with Great Britain and other interested Powers looking to the neutralization of the Panama Canal and to a division of expense of construction and maintenance among the Powers which will be benefited by it.

Senator Lodge is of the opinion that the Senate will not adopt the proposed amendment to the Panama bill providing that it shall be unlawful for railroads to own steamships, no matter whether or not such ships use the Canal.

Representative Steenerson, of Minnesota, has introduced a bill which provides that any vessel of foreign register now owned or controlled in whole or in part by any railroad company engaged in any coastwise trade between American ports via the Panama Canal shall pay double the tolls charged for passage through the canal against other vessels in the coastwise trade.

In the Senate, July 19, Senator Brandegee, of Connecticut, stated that if the Government should subsidize American vessels passing through the Panama Canal at \$1 a ton, the sum required for the first year, it is estimated, would total \$1,715,000. At the same rate, the amount this Government might be compelled to refund to foreign ships under an award from The Hague Tribunal would approximate \$8,785,000. Senator Stone estimated that in five years the amount would be \$45,000,000.

Senator Townsend, of Michigan, scouted the idea of reprisal on the part of Canada by closing her canals to American shipping if we discriminate in favor of American ships passing through the Panama Canal. Even if reprisal is attempted, in three years the United States will have completed and in operation the new third lock in the Sault Ste. Marie River. Then our largest freighters will no longer be dependent on the Canadian lock at the Soo.

"Pure Cloth" Bill.

Representative Victor Murdock, Republican insurgent, of Kansas, and author of many attacks on Schedule K, has introduced a ten-page bill which is in effect a pure food law for all fabrics and articles of clothing. Mr. Murdock's idea is that it should be unlawful for any person to manufacture any fabric or article of clothing of wool, cotton, silk, hair or fibre, which is "misbranded," such misbranding to be determined by the Bureau of Chemistry under the guidance of some textile Dr. Wiley. According to Murdock, the term "pure wool" as used in this act, shall be understood to mean "sheep's wool which has not been previously used in the manufacture of any other article, goods or fabric, and the words 'woolen goods' shall be held to mean goods or fabrics composed wholly of such wool." All woolen goods which are composed of pure wool, says Mr. Murdock, must be labelled "pure wool," others being marked "mixed goods," and so on. The bill further provides that from time to time samples of fabrics and articles being imported into the United States shall be delivered by the Secretary of Agriculture for testing, and that if they are found

to be impure, the Secretary of the Treasury shall refuse delivery to the consignee.

To Change Convention System.

Representative Norris, of Nebraska, has introduced a bill to change the present system of holding national conventions to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. His bill provides the machinery for holding nation-wide national primaries on the first Tuesday of May each year, when a President is to be nominated, and for a convention the fourth Monday in May in that year. The bill isn't to go into effect until at least twenty states have adopted and enacted laws in conformity of its provisions. It is provided that such state shall have one delegate to the national conventions, together with as many more as there are Representatives from that state affiliated with the party holding the convention. This would reduce the convention from its present unwieldy size. Under the Norris plan the voters would express both a first and a second choice for President, and if a majority of the delegates in any convention are instructed for any one candidate, the nomination would be but a matter of form and the convention would only transact such routine business as writing a platform and nominating a Vice President.

Various Matters.

The House passed the "cotton futures" bill on July 16, by a vote of 96 to 25. This bill prohibits all dealing in "cotton futures," and fixes heavy penalties for purchase or sale of cotton not actually in existence.

Representative Hull of Tennessee

(Dem.) has introduced a bill designed to amend the Sherman anti-trust law so that a penalty of 50 per cent. of an offending corporation's daily net earnings would be imposed as a fine upon the conviction of any such corporation. He has also introduced a bill forbidding participation of federal officeholders in presidential conventions.

The Federal Bureau of Labor, in a report to the Senate, on the textile workers' strike in Lawrence, blames the mill managers for not giving timely notice to their employes in regard to the State law reducing the weekly hours of labor from 56 to 54, and for their failure to readjust the pay so as to prevent reduction in the weekly earnings of employes. The report makes no recommendation.

On July 16, the Senate was sworn in as a court of impeachment for the trial of Judge Robert W. Archbald (a member of the Commerce Court) on charges preferred against him by the House of Representatives, that in connection with business deals he appeared as the beneficiary of favors from railroads having litigations before his court.

The House passed the bill to create a Department of Labor, the Secretary of which shall have a place in the Cabinet. The measure long has been pressed by organized labor and now goes to the Senate. Also, the bill to create a commission of nine to investigate industrial conditions and suggest some remedy for strikes and industrial unrest. The bill carries \$100,000 to meet the expense of the commission this year.

There is a proposition to give the Commerce Court larger authority in correcting errors of law made by the

Interstate Commerce commission, so as to give shippers the same relief that the railroads now have. Another bill abolishes this court, but makes provision to carry the five judges as extra Federal circuit judges.

A bill which has passed the House giving twenty-one free "smokers" weekly to employes of tobacco manufacturers will mean, if enacted into law, a loss of \$3,000,000 yearly to the Federal Treasury, according to estimates of Royal E. Cabell, Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The Government will lose about \$600,000 directly on the non-taxation of these cigars, in addition.

In a violent speech in the House, July 17, assailing the beef trust, Representative Kinkead, Democrat, of New Jersey, excoriated the United States Senate for its recent vote ousting William Lorimer of Illinois. He pictured the Senate as subservient to the press, and declared that such an attitude on the part of the Senate was very regrettable, and if continued would bring Congress to a position of cowardly subserviency to the magazines and newspapers.

The House special committee of inquiry into the United States Steel Corporation will report a bill amending the Sherman anti-trust law, which will provide that in any suit, alleging that a corporation or trust exists in restraint of trade, "the burden of proof to establish the reasonableness of such restraint shall be upon the party who contends that such restraint is reasonable." This provision would demand that the defendant establish its status as "reasonable" rather than requiring the Government to prove that it operated in "unreasonable" restraint of

trade. Another provision would grant to persons or concerns claiming to have been injured by a corporation adjudged guilty of violating the law, the right to damage without bringing an independent suit.

The Senate committee on Post Office has aimed a death blow at the Post Office Department's so-called "blue tag" system, under which certain second-class mail is so tagged and sent by freight. The committee agreed to an amendment to the House bill which would require the Postmaster General to send "all second-class matter" by mail. The committee practically agreed to recommend to the Senate a parcels post provision. The system approved was the so-called "zone system."

The Senate and House conferees on the river and harbor appropriation bill have reached a complete agreement on an amended bill, carrying a total appropriation of \$33,000,000. The bill as it passed the Senate was reduced in conference by \$809,000. The \$6,000,000 appropriation for levee work along the Mississippi River, the biggest amendments tacked onto the bill by the Senate, was agreed to by the conferees.

There is a deadlock on the naval appropriation bill. In conference, the House conferees refused to accept the Senate amendment providing for two new battleships. The Senate also adopted an amendment to make the recently enacted eight-hour law applicable to work on new ships, which Senators Gallinger and Heyburn contended would increase the expense by \$4,000,000 to \$5,000,000.

The House committee on Patents will report a bill to give relief from the "patent monopoly" which the

Democrats believe was established by the Supreme Court in its decision in the Dick mimeograph case. The three principal provisions are: 1. Prohibit purchase of patents by corporations designing to secure a monopoly upon patents in a general industrial line. 2. Permit use of patented machines with materials not specified as a restriction upon their use. Amendment of the Sherman anti-trust law to punish patent monopolies.

In the House, July 19, Representative Berger, of Wisconsin, the lone Socialist member, made a long political speech in which he denounced the Republican and Democratic parties and roasted President Taft, ex-President Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and William J. Bryan. He charged that both parties were in control of the "capitalistic class" and that no relief would be afforded workingmen by the election of any of the presidential candidates now in the field. "Nothing," he said, "is left of the great anti-capitalist war cry for which Bryan was so well known in 1896. One can readily see that the Bryan of 1912 is quite a different man. He has got to be a capitalist himself."

OBITUARY.

AMORY A. LAWRENCE, a long-time member of the Home Market Club, died in Boston, July 6, after a long illness. He was born in Boston, April 22, 1848, and was the son of Amos A. Lawrence. After graduating from Harvard in 1870, he entered the dry goods commission and manufacturing house of Lawrence & Co. and in February, 1871, he was

admitted to the firm. In January, 1873, Mr. Lawrence became a director of the Massachusetts National Bank and remained as such until 1883, when he resigned to organize his firm on a new business basis, taking the Pacific Mills account. He became, in 1887, a director of the Union National Bank, Boston, and later in his business interests became president of the Salmon Falls Manufacturing Company and also of the Ipswich and Gilman-ton mills. He was a director of the Cocheco Manufacturing Company, Dwight Manufacturing Company and the Pacific Mills. He had been president of the Boston Merchants' Association, and was an officer in many other business organizations and benevolent associations. He is survived by a widow, and three children by his first marriage.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

From the New Bedford Standard, Rep.

Dr. Madison C. Peters argues that the French Revolution was brought about by the high cost of living, a statement which illustrates how shallow a sensationalist can be. He wants to prevent a revolution in this country, as most of us want to prevent one—and he thinks a revolution can be prevented by reducing the tariff, and particularly by abolishing all tariff duties on foodstuffs. So he is going to vote for Woodrow Wilson. We rather question the accuracy of his foresight when he says that if Mr. Wilson stands firm on no tariff on the absolute necessities of life, he will carry every State in the Union. Should Woodrow Wilson go into the great food-producing areas of this country and announce

his purpose to secure the wiping out of duties on every article which goes into food there would be large sections he would not carry. We do not mean if he were to go there and talk in generalities, which might mean anything or nothing—but if he were to say, with precision and definiteness, in Aroostook County, Me., for example, that he would do all he could to abolish the duty of twenty-five cents a bushel on potatoes. Or, if he were, all over the country, to make similar assertions with other products. William H. Taft advocated reciprocity with Canada—a scheme which would have gone but a little way in the direction pointed out by Dr. Peters. But see what happened to him because he went only that little way. Mr. Roosevelt, before his recent candidacy for a Republican nomination, an indorser of Mr. Taft's reciprocity treaty, went into agricultural districts whose inhabitants were resentful, and appealed to them on the score that their interests had been imperilled by the reciprocity proposition. The voters of those regions responded exactly as they will respond if Woodrow Wilson tells them Democratic success means abolition of duties on all food products. We venture that neither he nor the Democratic orators will tell them anything of the sort, though they may seek in the cities to convey the impression that something like this drastic revision is their purpose.

We certainly hope that this tariff issue will be discussed with definiteness, rather than with rhetorical efflorescence. It is all very well as a rouser for Dr. Peters to declaim that "a tariff on the necessities of life, particularly on foodstuffs, is a

tragedy—a social crime"; but what is wanted is an exact statement of what Candidate Wilson thinks should be done—with rice, for example, and wheat, and potatoes, and so on. He can get a copy of the tariff law, and see what the duties are now; and in view of his experience and the reasonable assumption of his study of the problem, it is not unfair to ask him today exactly what he thinks would be right to do about these articles.

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From the Philadelphia Public Ledger.

The Democratic platform demands "a tariff for revenue only," and the tariff now constitutes the chief line of demarcation between the parties. The Democrats have shaken off Bryanism, if they have not completely rid themselves of that concrete representation of Bryanism—William J. Bryan. The platform of 1896, when Bryan was at his zenith, declared that "we denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions." The reference was to Cleveland's despatch of troops to Chicago to put down the Debs revolution, in which the anarchist, Governor Altgeld of Illinois, quite cheerfully acquiesced. The platform of 1912 discourses quite in the vein adopted by the Republicans in reference to judicial reform and the like, but reiterates the 1908 declarations upholding the integrity and independence of the courts as the bulwarks of our liberties.

The Democratic platform, like the Republican declaration of principles and policies, omits all reference to the initiative and referendum and

the recall. Thus the field for exploitation with these progressive fetiches is left to Roosevelt, Flinn, McCormick, Perkins of the Harvester Trust and Dan Hanna, who tried to have the Taft Administration recall an indictment against him for rebating.

With both of the chief parties so plainly "progressive" in spirit, the independent or doubtful voter will be obliged, in the formulation of his reasons for his choice, to consider the tariff and then consult his own judgment as to the relative character of the leading candidates and the men and influences which surround them.

From the Pittsburg-Gazette Times.

Protection will be or remain the issue upon which the two great parties will contest for the presidency, the vice-presidency and control of the national legislature in the campaign of this fall and the people will decide the issue in the November election. It is the issue upon which the Republican party has won former elections and upon which it expects to win that of 1912. Fortunately the Democratic national convention did not seek to evade it, but with commendable boldness put it to the front by making it the leading plank of the Baltimore platform.

There is much else in the platform—much that is not in dispute and more over which there is little controversy, put in for filling and for sound. There is a great deal that will be forgotten long before the campaign ends, for it is around the Tariff issue that the battle will rage. Therefore, the Tariff is the big thing in the Democratic platform; most if not "all the rest's but leather and

prunella"—in other words, padding, embellishment and airy persiflage or ponderous nothings.

As the Democratic platform was held back by ukase of William Jennings Bryan until after the nominations for president and vice-president, so that it might be made to fit the man instead of trying to adjust the man to the platform, he who reads may fairly assume that Wilson and his ticket mate, Governor Marshall, of Indiana, are in harmony with the Tariff declaration and the prominence given it. In view of this it is significant, perhaps, that another plank of the platform should declare for "a single presidential term" and pledge "the candidate of this convention to this principle." Our Democratic friends may have seen with prophetic vision that one Tariff for revenue quadrennial was all that the American people would stand for, if they would even stand for that much. One is all that they have stood for since Lincoln's election before returning to the complete sanity of Protection and prosperity. One four-year term of Democratic policy has been more than ample heretofore, and people who learned wisdom through empty stomachs while the term lasted will not vote for a repetition of the educative process.

There have been periods when Democrats sought to evade this fundamental issue of the parties and to disguise and sugar-coat the historic fiscal policy of their party, but this time they boldly avow it, for which the Republican party gives thanks.

There will be plenty of opportunity to consider, and contrast the Tariff planks and Tariff records of the

two parties between now and the election, and whither they tend. Therefore, as the people are no doubt wearied with conventions, discussion may be postponed with profit to all. But there is one feature of the Democratic plank to which attention may be directed now. It is an offer of a palliative in the following language:

"We recognize that our system of Tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry."

This means that instead of at once killing off the Protective principle by a knife thrust in the heart or by quick decapitation the surgeons will at first cut off a leg, then an arm, then some other member, or gouge out an eye, or tear out some vital organ, until in the course of the proceeding the patient expires. It would be humorous if it were not so sad. For it is death that is proposed, whether by slow and painful processes or by sudden means.

REPUDIATE THE DEMOCRATIC TARIFF PLANK.

Hearst Papers Denounce Tariff for Revenue Only.

The Boston American, one of the chain of Hearst newspapers, on July 18 published in a leading editorial a frank repudiation of the Democratic tariff plank. Under the heading, "The Democrats Won't Abolish Protection," the American said:

James Bryce, the British Ambassador to the United States, who is visiting in

Australia, has stirred the British Empire to high hopes of gain by predicting, in a speech, that Democratic success next November will result in great reductions in the American tariff.

The people of England and her colonies will widely err, however, if they anticipate the early overthrow of the American protective system.

Every friend of genuine tariff reform in America will wish that Mr. Bryce had not made his Melbourne speech, or having made it, that he and his compatriots may be quickly and emphatically assured that the free trade plank in the Democratic national platform does not represent universal Democratic sentiment in the United States.

That plank was written by William J. Bryan, who is a violent extremist on most public questions, and upon the tariff question in particular, a dangerous and unprincipled demagogue. He possesses neither knowledge of the tariff, nor business experience, nor political principles of any kind on the great American question. He ardently advocated as a member of Congress a tariff for revenue only. and within two years thereafter, as a candidate for President in 1896, suppressed all references to the tariff, posing as a Protectionist in the hope of winning the votes of free silver Republicans, all of whom were ardent Protectionists.

The Democratic national platform was adopted without discussion at the end of seven days and nights of unparalleled stress and strain. The free trade plank purports to stand for sentiment of the platform committee; but that committee submitted absolutely to the dictation of Mr. Bryan.

The free trade plank is Bryan's plank. It represents, therefore, no settled policy or conviction at all. The majority of thoughtful Americans are not ready wholly to abandon the protective policy in favor of a tariff for revenue only. And even if they were, the need of national revenue is so urgent that tariff reform must necessarily look to lightening the monstrous load that is now laid upon the necessities of life—rather than to the abolishment of all tariff duties.

It is certainly true in this sense that the program of the Democratic party does in good faith contemplate some very sweeping reductions. England is naturally sympathetic with any program that promises an extended market for her manufactures. She does not object to securing new American free trade, even though she showed herself last year violently opposed to giving the United States corresponding benefits through reciprocity with Canada.

But America will settle its tariff question, not to please England, but to please itself—and to promote the welfare of its own people.

The welfare of the American people requires that the Coolie labor of China and the underpaid labor of other alien peoples shall not be put in competition with American labor—save in those industries where the perfection of American industrial organization and the incomparable efficiency of the American workman enables them to maintain the American standard of living—in spite of all foreign competition.

The Democratic party has suffered long enough from the unscrupulous egotism and the unbridled fanaticism of Mr. Bryan.

Mr. Bryan's free trade plank declares that protection does not tend to increase the wages of American workmen, but that those wages are determined by the competitive system. If, however, a protective tariff, properly levied, tends to develop new industries and in that way to give employment to a greater number of men, it is impossible to maintain that a protective tariff does not increase the demand for labor, and so tend to raise wages.

If any considerable number of American industries would be eliminated by reducing the tariff to a bare revenue basis, then it is absurd to say that the men who would thus be thrown out of employment would not tend to glut the labor markets, and so to lower the general level of wages—through the operation of that very system of competition which Mr. Bryan invokes.

The proposition of the extreme free traders cannot be established, because it is a matter of history and experience

that protection can be made to increase the number and scope of industries in this country, and so broaden the field of labor and increase the wages of wage-earners.

Governor Wilson will, if he is as able and sagacious as we hope he is, make it clear, both to the American electorate and to all over-expectant onlookers in foreign lands, that the Democratic party will go on with the work of intelligent, reasonable, tariff reform in the spirit that has actuated the present Democratic House of Representatives, and not in the spirit of destruction and fanaticism which Bryan vainly tried to impose upon Speaker Clark and Leader Underwood. They resisted Bryan's counsel of folly and so will Governor Wilson, we hope and believe.

WILSON AS A FREE TRADER.

From the New York Press.

Woodrow Wilson is a free trader. He is the sort of free trader that, if able to put cherished views into actual practice, could be the most dangerous of all to American industries and American wage-earners. The scholastic free trader. The academic free trader. The theoretic free trader. The sentimental free trader.

The proposition in a book applying to things that do not exist, to men that do not live, is as clear as daylight to the scholastic Free Trader. To the Free Trader who never had to make an article and sell it against the article made by somebody else. The Free Trader who never had a cost of production to face. The Free Trader who never had to meet a payroll out of proceeds from the sale of articles produced to sell. The Free Trader, in fact, whose own income has always been entirely independent of indus-

trial cost of production and commercial cost of operation.

Prosper mills or fail mills, the salary of a college professor, of a college president, continues to come to him—out of an endowment fund. The wages of labor stop. They must come out of profitable production. Capital, engaged in the productive industries, knows the school teacher's theoretic side of free trade; it experiences as well the side of the producer, selling against the world—if there is free trade. Labor lives that practical side—the side of having no employment if the cost of production in its industry cannot be brought down to the level of the cost of production in some other country seeking to sell in the market where an American producer must sell to hold his wage and get his living.

Woodrow Wilson is a scholastic free trader—the worst kind for the mill that must have a market to go on producing, the worst kind for the wage-earner whose mill must have a market if his wage is to go on feeding him.

In this campaign nobody is going to hurt Woodrow Wilson's claims upon the White House by proving his ingratitude to political bosses; that is what the people like. Nobody is going to hurt his claims by charging that he is antagonistic to great men whom he ought to reverence; that is, what the people like. Nobody is going to hurt his claims by taxing him with playing to the galleries; that is what the people like.

But the people don't like to have their employment taken away from them and given to people in foreign lands. They don't like to have their

wages diminish or disappear. They don't like to lose their bread and butter. They may love Woodrow Wilson or any other man for many things. But if he has in his mind a national program that can threaten their work and wages they are not going to love him in that role.

Woodrow Wilson is a free trader, and the party behind him is a free trade party, giving him, upon which to stand, a platform making for free trade. If he is to be defeated in this campaign it will be on that issue and no other—the issue of the bread and butter of the American people as they have been accustomed to earn it since the time of the latest Democratic President—Grover Cleveland—sixteen years ago, when, instead of long lines of wage-earners going in to their work each morning, there were long bread lines everywhere in the United States.

DEARLY BOUGHT CHEAP- NESS.

From the New York Tribune.

The assumption of the Democratic platform that the country would be signally benefited by reducing tariff duties and thus lowering the prices of manufactured articles—especially of articles classed as necessaries of life—does not find favor with all Democrats. There are some Democrats intelligent enough to see that the demand for cheap necessaries of life, if yielded to all along the line, must result in a general lowering of the standard of living. "The New Orleans Picayune," for instance, is not impressed by the suggestion that ease and plenty are to be guaranteed merely by "making every-

thing cheaper to the general consumers." It said the other day:

The advocates of this change do not seem to realize that free trade will open the country to all foreign products and close our own factories and destroy many important industries, and by forcing our work people to compete with the pauper labor of Europe and Asia throw millions of wage earners out of employment.

That is surprising language to find in a leading Democratic newspaper in a state which will undoubtedly endorse the Democratic platform next November. Yet there is reason in it, for at least a portion of the people of Louisiana realize that the trifling benefit which might come to them through the free importation of sugar would not begin to compensate them for the destruction of one of their most extensive and prosperous industries.

Cheaper goods will be no boon to consumers who are earning less money and being thrust down a stage in the scale of living. "The Picayune" adds dismally but justly:

But all articles of consumption will thereby be made cheaper, which is the grand object in view, and if that can be accomplished it makes no difference whether there are any wage earners or whether millions of the people will have any money to buy with. What is wanted above all things is to make all articles of use and daily consumption cheaper, and if that be accomplished no consideration need be given to the other consequences.

There is no royal road to cheapness, which comes as a permanent condition only where wants are few or are restricted by incapacity to purchase. If the Democratic party ever succeeds in bringing about an era of cheapness here through the

free entry of cheaper foreign products the country will discover that it is no better off, since its purchasing power will have correspondingly been reduced. With lowered wages, salaries and incomes, the necessities of life will be no cheaper than they were before "cheapness" was paraded as a summum bonum in politics.

CANADIAN RECIPROCITY WITH BRITISH WEST INDIES.

The proposed reciprocal agreement between the Canadian Government and nine islands of the British West Indies, including Trinidad, British New Guiana, Barbados, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Antigua, St. Kitts, Dominica and Montserrat, was made public July 1, by J. D. Reid, Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce. Briefly, the agreement provides for a preference of 20 per cent. of the existing rate of duty on a large number of articles, with a minimum preference in the case of flour and sugar.

The islands agree that in the importation of flour the preference in favor of Canada shall at no time be less than 12 cents per 100 pounds. In return Canada makes special reductions in the duties on sugar and molasses imported from the islands. The rate on raw sugar not above No. 16 Dutch standard, and molasses testing between 56 and 57 degrees by polariscope shall at all times show a preference of not less than 4 1/2 cents per 100 pounds, while for each additional degree over 57 the preference shall not be less than a half-cent per 100 pounds.

Among the Canadian goods which

will enjoy the benefit of the preferential tariff of 20 per cent. are fish and meats in all forms, cereal foods, bread and biscuits, oats, beans, peas, butter, cheese, lard, boots and shoes, agricultural machinery of all kinds, steam and electrical machinery, wires, nails, vehicles, paints and varnishes, fruits and vegetables in all forms, paper, pianos and organs, cement and vehicles of all sorts.

The agreement will come into force by proclamation as soon as it has been ratified by the parties concerned and by the British Secretary of State for the colonies, and may be terminated at the end of ten years on a year's notice. Provision is made for admitting the other British West India islands and Newfoundland to the benefits of the agreement at any time within three years after the agreement goes into force.

THE LORIMER CASE.

From the Burlington, Vt., Free Press.

The fact that one of Vermont's United States senators voted for the expulsion of Senator Lorimer of Illinois and the other against such expulsion, serves to emphasize the existence of two sides to the case. The evidence taken in the case by the committee of which Senator Dillingham is chairman fills nearly thirty volumes, and Senator Dillingham, who had followed the case from beginning to end, did not hesitate to declare that the evidence showed Lorimer not to be guilty.

On the other hand it is not to be gainsaid that in the estimation of the great majority of people, Lorimer deserved to be expelled from the Senate, but the chances are that it will be necessary to await further

developments before the people as a whole discover what the gist of the case really is, and inasmuch as Lorimer proposes to seek an election to the House, from which he passed to the Senate, the public is likely to get at the nub of the matter sooner or later.

What puzzles us is that Lorimer is expelled while Senator Stephenson of Wisconsin, who spent an enormous amount of money in the primaries to secure the senatorship holds his seat. Stephenson confessedly spent his own money, while there is conflict of evidence as to whether Lorimer knew that money was being paid to members of the Legislature for his election to the United States Senate. If Lorimer deserved to be put out, Stephenson would surely seem to be deserving of a similar fate.

Meanwhile it is worth while to note how two leading Republican newspapers, the New York Sun and the New York Tribune, look at this situation. The Sun makes the startling discovery that very few of those who voted to oust Lorimer had studied the case, basing their votes in not a few instances on popular clamor. The Tribune, on the other hand, believes that the expulsion of Lorimer is a great victory for clean politics and good government, and whether he was guilty or innocent, it cannot be denied that the lesson will be a wholesome one.

Protection is the cardinal Republican principle and policy. To be a Republican is to be a Protectionist. A man who is not a Protectionist should be a Democrat, and Democrats, and there are thousands many times multiplied, who are Protectionists should be Republicans.—Marion (Ia.) Register.

GOOD NEWS FOR AUSTRALIA.

At a banquet in Melbourne tendered to Hon. James Bryce, British Ambassador to the United States, the esteemed diplomat is reported to have said that substantial reductions in the American tariff were quite probable and that he expected a considerable reduction in the duty on raw wool.

A banquet in Australia was a fitting setting for such an important disclosure. The wool production of Australia for the season of 1910-1911 was 820,000,000 pounds. The production of the United States during the same season was 318,000,000 pounds. Any considerable reduction in the duty on wool would mean a larger market for the Australian product. The Ambassador's prediction summoned up among the Australian wool growers visions of displacing the American production with the wool clip of Australia. Increased prosperity for Australia, a larger market for Australian wool and greater profits for Australian wool growers are matters of interest to a British ambassador, and afford a pleasing prospect for the citizens of the Antipodes, but they are not legitimate objects of American legislation nor a wise and patriotic policy for a political party in the United States.

A low tariff or no tariff at all on wool may be popular in Australia but it does not commend itself to the owners of 1,150,000 sheep in Missouri; 1,300,000 in Colorado; 1,400,000 in Texas; 1,600,000 in Michigan; 1,700,000 in California; 1,800,000 in Oregon; 2,000,000 in Utah; 2,200,000

in Idaho; 2,900,000 in Ohio; 3,000,000 in New Mexico; 4,000,000 in Wyoming and 4,650,000 in Montana, and the people of the United States ought not to be willing to follow a political party which proposes to prostrate a great American industry which supplies two-thirds of the raw wool used in our mills in order to increase the prosperity of Australian wool-growers or please the British Ambassador.

THE TARIFF CAMPAIGN.

From Fibre and Fabric.

It is a self evident fact that for a year at least we are not going to have our tariff fixed for the benefit of foreign manufacturers. For a year there is nothing but hot air and yellow journalism to disturb the full measure of sane prosperity for the textile industry. Schedules K and I may be assailed in the newspapers and magazines and on the stump, but the fact remains that a year will pass before any changes can be made. The boom is on, and it is one time for every man connected with the textile industry to give it a boost. Optimism is now an asset that can be made of great influence.

When the politicians tell us how, with low tariff, they will reduce the high cost of living, sensible voters will have some hesitation in swallowing the dose without some new kind of sweetening. The possibilities of a low tariff and the agitation just about knocked the bottom out of the textile industry, and it looks as if the voting element had awakened to the fact. Leaders are wanted now, to organize the masses. We do not require political leaders, as

the woods are full of them. But overseers, superintendents, agents and treasurers should be the leaders in their own organizations, and push along the boom talk, until in every town and city, on trains and boats and in the hotels, we have a regularly organized force talking good times, and passing the word along that it is America for the Americans and no sale of American industry to foreign competitors through low tariff.

BRYAN'S STAGE THUNDER.

From the New York Tribune.

Mr. Bryan doubtless thought he was playing clever politics in his resolution committing the Democratic party against the nomination of any candidate under obligations to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan or August Belmont. But he seems to have overreached himself. The readiness with which Messrs. Ryan and Belmont and their friends joined to put through his motion turned what was meant to be an heroic defiance of "the interests" into a burlesque. Claptrap does not seem to work always, even in a Democratic convention.

Mr. Bryan has before now exhibited his conception of his position as a Democratic despot empowered to read out of the party all who do not agree with him. But his motion, afterward withdrawn, to exclude Messrs. Ryan and Belmont, fellow delegates sitting by the same right as himself, from the convention was the culmination of egotistical intolerance. The rush of his opponents to pass what was left of the resolution converted his bolt of lightning into stage thunder. The spectacle of a great party solemnly resolving not to name a candidate under obligations to some of its own delegates is ridiculous. Under it, if Mr. Belmont and his friends of the New York delegation find themselves in the balloting turning to Governor Wil-

son or Mr. Bryan himself it will put either of these statesmen under obligations to them and make him unfit for the nomination. "The interests" seem to have a keener sense of the absurd than the Great Commoner.

THE CAUSES OF DISCONTENT.

From the New York Tribune.

The theory that the present extraordinary prevalence of industrial unrest and discontent in Great Britain is due chiefly to the increase in the cost of living is partly confirmed and partly discredited by the record. It is undoubtedly true that the cost of living has increased. So has the average of wages. But the former increase has been much greater than the latter. Mr. Asquith the other day made this fact clear. If the year 1900 be taken as the standard, as it may fairly be, and the cost of food and drink and the average of wages in that year be set down as 100, the cost of food and drink in 1911 was 111.6 and the average of wages was 100.3. The former had risen 11.6 and the latter only .3 per cent. That difference has doubtless been keenly felt in a country where the margin of earnings above the cost of the necessaries of life is always narrow.

If, however, taking a somewhat more extended view, we retain 1900 as the standard year and turn back to 1882, we find that then the cost of living was as high as 142.2, while wages were only 85.8. That is to say, the cost of living was then 30.5 points higher than last year, and the average of wages was 14.5 points lower than last year. It is impossi-

ble to escape the conclusion, therefore, that the condition of workingmen was considerably worse then than it is now. Moreover, those conditions were not confined to that single year. From 1879 to 1893 the cost of living only once fell below 109, while only twice did the average of wages rise above 90, and most of the time it was below 85. Surely, discontent should have been more marked and general then than now, if the contrast between cost of living and rate of wages had been its chief cause.

It will probably be judicious to ascribe the unrest and discontent in Great Britain, and also elsewhere, even here, partly to that cause, but also to various others, of widely differing natures. In more than one country political agitation and the formation of labor parties must be held largely responsible. Thus in Great Britain and France extensive strikes have been fomented for the expressed purpose of demoralizing the functions of government and of forcing government itself into complete subservience to trade union dictation. Such movements generally spring, not from distress, but from prosperity among the workingmen. The discontent must be reckoned as not alone economic, but also political, and in the latter aspect it will command far less sympathy than in the former.

The best thing that can be said about the Democratic Free-Trade policies is that very few of them will ever become a law.—Walnut Cove (N. C.) News.

Canada having learned from observation of the United States that Protection produces prosperity, thought it wise to make no hole in her wall.—Norwalk (O.) Reflector.

THE GHOST OF RECI- PROCITY.

From the Toronto Mail.

Contrary to what was generally expected, the meeting of the Anti-Reciprocity League in Montreal was not for the transaction of winding-up business.

Though the reason for its existence would appear to have vanished as completely as the thunder clouds of last summer, the League is not to be dissolved.

It may be said that the last Dominion election put it into the class of obsolete things. Since that the great mass of the people of Canada have been easy in their minds about Reciprocity.

They then settled its fate for good, and the subsequent course of events has only served to bury deeper what the landslide of September 21st had already overwhelmed beyond hope of digging up.

The members of the League have themselves no fear of the ghost of reciprocity.

On matters touching the national life they know the Canadian people are not unstable. The Canadian people were against reciprocity in 1911, and would be against it more strongly if it were proposed now or at any time in the future.

But if for nothing else than to symbolize this stability, the Anti-Reciprocity League might well take a fresh lease of life.

Its leaders admit that it cannot be needed again to stem a reciprocity propaganda, but they consider that the giving of notice of its continuance is a fitting answer to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's latest declaration that

he means to keep the flag of reciprocity flying.

Being themselves Liberals, the leading men in the League feel called upon to advise all and sundry that the Liberals who opposed his reciprocity policy in the last election campaign are permanently opposed to it.

In Sir Wilfrid's recent speeches and in those of his colleagues, and in his newspaper press, it has been made to appear that the Liberals who broke with him because of his reciprocity policy have since come to the view that he was right.

Nothing could be further from the fact.

If the issue were before the people today the Liberal votes cast against the reciprocity pact would be far more numerous than those so polled on the 21st of last September. And it is by way of corrective reply to Sir Wilfrid that the League announces that its sign is not to be taken down.

CHAIRMAN HILLES.

From the Boston Herald.

No better example of the changed point of view toward the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee could be found than in the designation to that office of Charles D. Hilles, the President's secretary. In the old days the commanding general for the great quadrennial battle was selected because of his repute as a strategist, tried in many a hard-fought campaign. Matthew Stanley Quay thus led the Harrison forces in 1888. B. F. Jones of Pittsburgh, the great iron manufacturer, had occupied the same place of command four years earlier. As recently as 1896 Mark Hanna of Cleveland, although new to politics, was known as one of the great business men of the country.

Mr. Roosevelt started the practice of making the national chairmanship a

personal appointment. George B. Corley, who had been his private secretary, and from that position appointed to the cabinet, was made national chairman in 1904. Frank H. Hitchcock, serving Mr. Taft four years later, typified the same idea. Now Mr. Taft selects his secretary, an estimable young man, long identified with charitable and philanthropic work, but wholly new to public life when appointed to an office in the treasury in the present administration. On the Democratic side the probable designation of McCombs, whose relation to Prof. Wilson has been correspondingly personal, is of the same sort. National chairmen now receive a stated compensation for their services, in keeping with their changed relationships.

The Republican leaders will do well to perfect as efficient an organization as possible, and to supply it with reasonable sinews of war. Wholly apart from the presidency itself, the results of the campaign will be far-reaching in importance. United States senators, for example, the outcome of the same balloting, will serve until March 3, 1919.

An ideal selection for the secretaryship of the Republican national committee is that of James B. Reynolds of Massachusetts. Able, active and possessed of a saving sense of humor, he admirably meets the needs of the present situation.

HELP FOR HARD CONDITIONS.

Not to be Found in Politics and Rarely in Legislation.

From the New York Times.

No party can make things easier for both buyer and seller, for both worker and employer. It makes no difference which party succeeds, a man's best friend is himself, and if each betters his condition he will do his best to better the conditions of all. The people have it in their

power to smash the trusts, but they will cease to be as good paymasters. The people have it in their power to enact eight-hour days, but they must put up with scarcity and higher prices which are the necessary result. The people may dethrone the judges and pillage the rich, but they will not thereby profit themselves. Ethics cannot be solved by statutes, nor profits made, nor wages raised. The cry we hear for equity too often is a cry merely for a greater divisible share without paying the price. If that is what the people want, worse times lie ahead rather than simple disappointment of false hopes. It is sobering to reflect how often the "equitable" distribution of wealth is represented to be the goal of democracy. It is a debasement of the sentiments of the founders of our institutions who concerned themselves with the general good and left the individual good to the individual.

An equal division of the fruits of industry is not a natural or just division. All men are entitled to the same opportunity under the law, but the profit under the opportunity never can be legislated about. To average everything in the manner of the unions is to give the weak too much, and to deprive the community of the advantage of the strong. Nobody who thinks of any high degree of success thinks of a unionist. The triumph of that ideal would be the handicapping of the community down to an average. We need to think less of the sordid uses of the law, and to give ourselves each according to our strength and opportunity to swelling the general stores. The true way to shorter hours is through the abundance of

production and cheapness thereby. The capitalist or the unionist who commits himself to shortness of production and scarcity prices, or to enforcement of unearned profits or leisure by statute, is equally an enemy of the common good. The way to reform is through virtue, not by cunning or by combination against others. It was true in previous generations and it is true in ours. The merit of these trite remarks is that they tend to moderate the excesses of political thinking. We are suffering from too much politics, not from poverty of effort of our reformers. Their newest ideas are ancient and discarded, and old truths never can become false. The preacher, not the politician, is the needed prophet of our times.

THE PRODUCER AND THE CONSUMER.

From a Speech by Senator Joseph W. Bailey.

The American people have gone through a curious transformation in the last 12 or 15 years. When I first entered politics there seemed to be a widespread disposition, which might almost be characterized as a craze, among the American people to exalt the producer of commodities, and anyone who was producing something or who would erect a factory or establish an enterprise to produce something had only to ask and the Government freely gave him what he asked. Of course these producers, in their greed, not only oppressed the American consumer, but they overreached themselves, and in the last four or five years there has come a complete reversal of the tendency, until now the demand everywhere is for the consumer, and you never hear anybody lifting his voice in behalf of the producer.

As between the consumer and the producer, if that states the whole case, I

am on the producer's side, because the producer of wealth, whether it be on the farm or in the factory, contributes to the sum of human comfort and human happiness, while it often happens that the consumer is a mere idler, if rich, living upon the fortune which his forefathers accumulated, and, if poor, living upon the labor of others. For such men I have no such patience and respect as I have for a man who is working out for himself and his family and helping his fellow men to work out a great destiny for his country. But, while I believe that the producer deserves consideration, I would do full justice to the consumer.

OUR TERRITORIES IN CONVENTIONS.

From the Boston Herald.

The constitution provides for a system of president-making by states. It allows no part in that task to "other possessions" of the United States. The convention has in a large measure displaced the electoral college. There is an obvious anomaly in having men help to nominate a President who can have no part in electing him. The fact that they make only a little difference with results does not affect the logical aspects of the situation.

The territories, within our continental domain, have been given representation on the theory that they were on their way to statehood. And the Democrats have long sought to make favor with these oncoming commonwealths by granting them the full representation of the smallest state—or six delegates—whereas the Republicans have limited the territories to a nominal representation of two. But we are now confronted with a different kind of territory, that which lies beyond our continental confines, and should not be on its way to statehood.

It would be a reversal of most of the arguments on which the acquisition of the Philippine islands was justified, for example, if their people are to possess full-fledged citizenship in the American union, and their islands to become states, with perhaps a

determining voice in the electoral college. Unless the American people want that sort of thing they should shut it off in its beginning, and that comes in the treatment of the Philippine islands in the convention as if they were on their way to the electoral college. The situation is the same with other outlying possessions, and with whatever additional territory may yet be acquired. The issue is thus not a small one.

THE NEW BEDFORD STRIKE.

From the Boston Advertiser.

The strike in the cotton mills at New Bedford appears to be based on the denial of the right to pay good workmen more than poor workmen. The principle of giving a larger compensation for a better quality of work is one which has long ruled among the industries of this commonwealth. When an operative is able to produce goods which have no flaw in them, the mill owners declare that he should be paid on a different basis from the basis on which an operative, who is constantly spoiling goods or whose whole output is of an inferior quality, is paid. This contention is denied by the strikers. They contend that all operatives, efficient or not, should be paid alike. The strike is to rage around this question. Should the operatives win, it is difficult to see how the industries of the state will be able to prosper under the changed conditions. If accepted, this new arrangement would be a blow to the industries of Massachusetts.

THE NEW BOSS.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

The old boss was apt to keep behind the scenes and direct things by pulling wires and issuing orders to his underlings who worked the machine. The new boss is a talker, a writer and a man of magnetism. He occupies the middle of the stage and keeps in the limelight. He appears as the champion of the people against the old kind of boss and against the "interests" with which he is allied. He appeals to ignorance, to pas-

sion and to prejudice, as well as to the spirit of freedom and independence, and he gets a following which is not organized into a powerful machine, but is animated by some common sentiment or devoted to some popular cause and look to him to "do things." But when it comes to getting and controlling delegates and appearing in conventions, he seems to become as dictatorial and as devoted to selfish designs or carrying his own ends as the other kind. He is as much an obstacle to freedom and independence of action and as determined to rule or ruin as those whom he would dislodge. He may have higher purposes, better motives and nobler sentiments, but he is equally a boss, bent upon having his own way with the party he claims to represent. This kind used to be called demagogues.

WAGES IN PRAGUE BUTTON FACTORY.

A Prague button factory is turning out large quantities of a ball and socket fastener, the invention of a member of the firm of Waldes & Co., which, it is claimed, is rapidly taking the place of hooks and eyes for blouses and dresses. These buttons vary in size from one-fourth of an inch in diameter to four-fifths of an inch, and are guaranteed not to rust or tarnish or injure garments to which they are attached. The buttons are cut from bands, or ribbons of brass of various widths and thickness, according to the size of the buttons desired. These brass ribbons are automatically fed into machines which make the buttons, 15,400 pounds of brass being used each week.

At present the capacity of the factory is being doubled. The machines are operated by both men and women, who are paid, according to Consul J. I. Brittain at Prague, Bohemia, \$3.04 to \$3.65 a week, but some skilled laborers receive \$10.15 to \$12.18 a week. Upward of 700 persons are employed in the factory, and 300 additional workmen call at the factory daily for buttons, which are taken to their homes and there attached to cards by the various members of the family, including young chil-

dren. Thirty-six buttons are attached to a card and for this labor the factory pays \$0.24 for each 100 cards. The daily output of the factory is 1,500 gross of buttons.

COTTON GROWING IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

The output of the British grown cotton, under the auspices of the British Cotton Growing Association, is showing steady progress. The latest statistics of the Association, published in the Cotton Year Book of 1912, give the following approximate estimate of the cotton grown under the auspices of the Association in West Africa and East Africa during the past seven years. In 1903 the total was 1,900 bales, valued at \$141,128. In 1904 it had risen to 5,500 bales valued at \$364,987. Each year shows a steady increase, and the value of the product of 1911 was \$3,503,880.

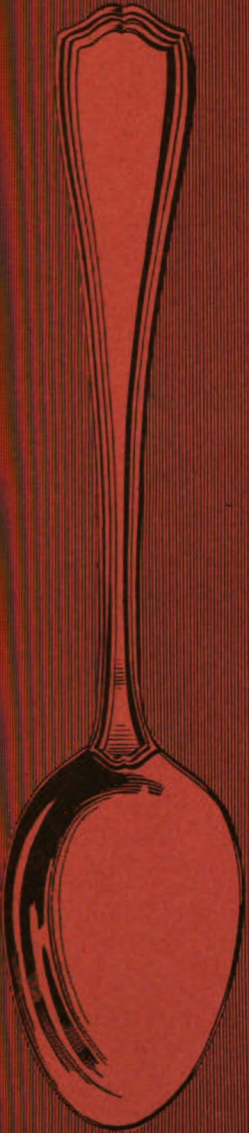
The Tariff does not and cannot regulate wages. But this it can and does do: It creates employment and thereby increases the demand for labor. As the demand for labor increases so must the price of labor increase. To that extent the Tariff affects and regulates wages.—American Economist.

Old-fashioned Republicans still believe in Protection because they believe that it has done much to make their country great and its people prosperous.—Olean (N. Y.) Times.

Our public officials sometimes show wonderful insight into human nature. A woman has been appointed by the treasury department to burn up money.—Milwaukee Sentinel.

The Tariff is the issue for the Nation, the initiative, referendum and recall belong to the States.—Wilkes-Barre Times.

Even the Filipinos do not like the Democratic "free sugar" bill and are opposing the measure.



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Taft's and Wilson's Speeches of Acceptance

The Progressive Party Convention

Strenuous Tariff Legislation

The British Parliamentary Situation

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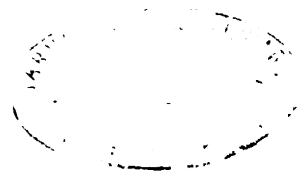
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Vol. XXIV. No. 5.

10 Cents Each, \$1.00 a Year

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THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress.

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Vol. XXIV.

SEPTEMBER, 1912.

No. 281

DO WE WANT A FREE TRADE PRESIDENT?

The importance of the tariff issue in the pending campaign has been recognized by the leaders of all parties, and is emphasized by the attention given to it in all the party platforms. Governor Wilson is reported as saying, "The tariff will be the dominant issue. It will not be the sole issue, of course, but it will be the most important."

The attack upon the protective tariff by the chief opposition party lacks some of the force and virulence of earlier campaigns. Protection is not denounced as "robbery," and manufacturers as "robber barons," but the Democratic platform boldly declares that a protective tariff is unconstitutional and appeals to the country to aid it in establishing a tariff for revenue only.

In his speech of acceptance, Governor Wilson handles the tariff question more timidly and tentatively. "We do not ignore the fact," he says, "that the business of a country like ours is exceedingly sensitive to changes in legislation of this kind. When we act, we shall act with caution and prudence. It is obvious that the changes we make should be made only at such a rate and in such

a way as will least interfere with the normal and healthful course of commerce and manufacture. But," apparently gaining courage, he adds, "we shall not on that account act with timidity, as if we did not know our own minds, for we are certain of our ground and of our object. There should be an immediate revision, and it should be downward, unhesitatingly and steadily downward."

The promise to act on tariff matters with caution and prudence is an attempt to allay the alarm which a frank and open free trade propaganda would cause and is in line with that paragraph in the Democratic tariff plank which says, "we recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry."

But this effort to conceal the purpose and plan of the party under soft and soothing phrases will not succeed in blinding the eyes of American business men to the menace of the Democratic tariff program. They

will not forget that the Democratic party declares that "the Federal Government under the Constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue;" they will not forget that the Democratic platform appeals "to the American people to support us in our demand for a tariff for revenue only;" nor will they forget that Governor Wilson is on record as opposed to the policy of protection with all the force of a theoretical free trader. But a few weeks have passed since he declared, "It seems to me very absurd to maintain that we should have free trade between different portions of this country, and at the same time shut ourselves out from free communication with other producing countries of the world. If it is necessary to impose restrictive duties on goods brought from abroad, it would seem to me, as a matter of logic, necessary to impose similar restrictions upon goods taken from one state of this Union to another."

There can be no balder declaration for free trade between the United States and all other countries of the world; with England and its wage workers, whose wage scale, compared with ours, is as one hundred to two hundred and fifty; with Germany and Belgium and France, whose wages are even less; and with the millions of Japan's wage earners who work for a pittance of ten, twenty and thirty cents a day.

To see no difference between competition with countries where such labor conditions prevail and competition between the various states of the Union which so closely approximate each other in the cost of production, stamps the Governor

of New Jersey as a man incapable of understanding the economic and industrial conditions of this country. To turn the shaping of our National tariff legislation over to a man who would as soon have "free communication with other producing countries of the world" as to "have free trade between different portions of this country," would be to place the destinies of the country in the hands of an avowed and outspoken free trader.

WHO MAKES OUR TARIFF LAWS?

In his letter accepting the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, Governor Wilson asks, "Who, when you come down to the hard facts of the matter, have been represented in recent years when our tariff schedules were being discussed and being determined, not on the floor of Congress, for that is not where they have been determined, but in the Committee Rooms and Conferences?"

This would have been a good question for Governor Wilson to address to his party leaders in the House of Representatives who, according to Congressman Hinds "have brought out of the precincts of the Ways and Means mysteries, a more revolutionary regulation than has been proposed for the cotton industry by any responsible statesman, Democratic or Republican, since the foundation of the Government. No person whose livelihood or fortune may be imperiled by a disaster to the industry has been permitted to be heard; none of the careful, scientific inquiry that modern statesmanship in other lands has called in to

safeguard the process of making tariffs has been attempted or awaited."

It is due to the frankness of Chairman Underwood of the Ways and Means Committee that we have learned the sources from which its committee received its light in framing the recent cotton bill. He has told us, again quoting Mr. Hinds, that "so far as the wisdom of mortal man is concerned, the fourteen non-partisan Democratic members were permitted to commune with a gentleman from New York who is the master of many figures relating to the industry. But, so far as the industry itself is concerned, it may be said of him, as was said of the lilies of the field, that he toils not, neither does he spin."

Out of the silence and seclusion of this Committee of the House of Representatives issued a cotton bill which most seriously affects an industry in which \$822,000,000 are invested, and in which 380,000 of wage earners obtain their livelihood. Legislation of such an important nature, it is presumed, is enacted "for the general welfare," and yet no man whose capital is imperiled or whose welfare and livelihood are involved was asked or permitted to appear before the Committee.

Is this the method of tariff making which Governor Wilson approves? Is this why he slurringly refers to the fact that in all previous Congresses, the representatives of our great industries, upon whose success in business depend the welfare and livelihood of six million wage earners and ninety millions of our population, have been given an opportunity to testify concerning the need of their industries for that "encour-

agement and protection to manufactures" which has been the policy of our Government since the enactment of the first tariff law?

Is it better to have the important schedules of our tariff devised behind closed doors where fourteen members "commune with a gentleman from New York," than to have our tariff laws represent the needs of our industries and the welfare of our people? Which method promises the most to our country; that method which Governor Wilson evidently approves or the method which has prevailed since the administration of George Washington, the method which seeks the fullest information and gives to employers and employes the fullest opportunity of expressing their opinions and explaining the conditions under which their business is conducted?

In a speech at Gloucester, N. J., Aug. 15, Governor Wilson told the farmers that they were greatly wronged by the tariff; that they pay the costs and get none of the benefits. Mr. Wilson is not too young to remember that under the low tariff of 1893-'97 the farmers of the country lost many hundreds of millions in the diminished farm values of their products and live stock, and in decreased consumption by the masses. For example, the domestic consumption of wheat which had risen to six bushels per capita under the McKinley tariff fell as low as three and one-half bushels per capita under the Wilson tariff. Since 1897 the farmers have greatly prospered under protective tariffs. They have been well taken care of, and ought to be satisfied to let well enough alone.

THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY SITUATION.

“Free Trade” in Danger.

By a Student of British Politics.

Previous references in these pages to the British Tariff Reform agitation may have served to throw some light upon the difficulties under which the Liberal ministry labors in its self-imposed task of overthrowing the institutions of the realm. So far from these difficulties showing any sign of retrogression, the evidence of Parliamentary by-elections maintains its one-sided character, with the result that any lingering idea of a “mandate” from the country must have vanished from the minds of ministers and their supporters.

It is true that the nominal balance of parties has been but little disturbed by these tell-tale appeals to isolated constituencies. But the disquieting fact remains that in supposedly “safe” boroughs and other electoral divisions a transfer of votes from the ministerial to the opposition side is a feature of each election—a transfer often more than sufficient, were it not for the heavy antecedent majorities, to defeat the ministerial candidate. Ilkeston, a mining and industrial district represented by Col. Seely, recently promoted to the ministry of war, furnishes an excellent example of this changed attitude. With all the advantages of prestige on his side in his elevation to one of the highest offices in the service of the Crown, his majority of 4,044 in December, 1910, was reduced to 1,211 in July, 1912. A still more significant instance, in-

volving the substitution of a Unionist for a Liberal, is found in the Northwest Manchester by-election of August 8. The sitting Liberal member, Sir George Kemp, unable to identify himself with the Government’s Irish Home Rule bill, resigned his seat as a protest against that measure, with the result that his 1910 majority of 783 has been converted into a Unionist majority of 1202.

An election in an English industrial constituency is especially significant in its relation to the fiscal issue. It is precisely among such voters that a readiness to listen to wild and disingenuous talk about “food taxes” can be found and exploited by the emissaries of what, in England, passes for Free Trade. It is, therefore, almost as amazing to read of the Ilkeston turnover as to note the steady advance of Tariff Reform sentiment in Lancashire—the cradle of Cobdenism and the traditional domain of superstitious worshippers at that mediaeval shrine. Such manifestations have their parallel in Parliament itself in the failure of the Government to hold their former nominal majority of 114 to that unflinching loyalty which is so vital an element of the British party system. Thus, on July 1, a Tariff Reform amendment to Mr. Lloyd George’s finance bill, embodying a preferential reduction of the duty on British-grown tea to the extent of 2 cents a pound (4 pence

instead of 5 pence) was defeated by a Government majority of only 22, surely evidence enough of a serious weakening of the "Free Trade" phalanx on which, not so long ago, implicit reliance could have been placed.

The situation is further complicated, to the disadvantage of the ministry, by the restiveness of the Labor party within and without the House of Commons. The equivocating attitude of ministers in regard to free and union labor during the recent London dock strike has widened a rift which much pains had been taken to ignore, if not to conceal. The abandonment of this ostrich-like policy is evidenced by the closing act of the Government, before adjourning Parliament on August 7, in passing to a second reading a bill designed to remove a part, at least, of the Labor party's disability under the Osborne judgment of December, 1909. The latter declared as illegal the use of labor union funds for political purposes, while the measure now being promoted by the Government will permit this and, incidentally, legalize the application of weekly subscriptions from Unionist (Conservative) workmen to the financing of the Liberal propaganda. Comment on the inherent injustice of this course is as superfluous as any attempt to characterize a ministry content to rely upon such a palpable bribe as a means of prolonging its endangered existence. The scandal becomes the more flagrant when it is remembered that the payment of a £400 salary to members of the lower chamber, in force since August, 1910, was the direct result of the Osborne judg-

ment and its threatened effect upon Labor representation.

The reality of the danger which these tactics are designed to avert may be judged from the possibility of less than a score of disaffected Liberals allying themselves with the 41 Labor members, and turning out the Government on a division. Its recognition by the ministry is further attested by attempts—successful in one recent by-election—to displace Labor members by regular ministerial supporters as opportunities arise. The result of this policy at the Hanley by-election of July 12 was to let in a Liberal in place of the deceased Labor member—a heavy blow for the Labor party—and at Crewe (July 26) the gain of a seat by the Unionists at the expense of the Liberals.

Parliament will reassemble in October for the discussion—so called—of an array of measures unique in British annals. Among these is a bill which, while professedly aiming at a reform of the electoral franchise, has been aptly described by the Free Trade "Spectator" (June 22) as "the most shameful piece of political partisanship that has ever been introduced into the House of Commons." Intended to secure the addition of 2,500,000 male voters to the Parliamentary register and the removal of 575,000 voters by the abolition of plural voting, the bill avowedly leaves untouched the unequal distribution of seats which is largely responsible for the inequitable Parliamentary representation of England in particular. As the "Spectator" puts it, the Government proposes "to select those anomalies which are injurious to their party

and to reform others in a way which they believe will very largely increase the number of votes available for Liberals. Those electoral anomalies which tell against the Unionist party, and so in favor of the Liberals, though they are undoubtedly the most glaring and, from the public point of view, the most injurious, they propose to leave entirely untouched and unremedied."

This is not the place for a discussion of the British electoral system. But it may at least be pointed out that any attempt to reform it should aim at the elimination of conditions under which 217,462 Liberal voters return 30 ministerial members from Wales, while 100,547 Welsh Unionists voters are entirely unrepresented in Parliament. Again, and as prejudicing the other political party, 27,011 Liberal voters in Sheffield were able, at the last general election, to return only two members, while three were returned by only 24,538 Unionist voters. A still more glaring inequality is to be noted in the return of 103 Irish members of Parliament by a total electorate of 696,405, while 23 English constituencies, with an electorate of 706,540, return only one member each—23 against 103. Among the unlucky 23, the growing English borough of Romford, with 58,145 electors, may be contrasted with the Irish town of Kilkenny, with 1,763 electors, each having the same representation in Parliament. And yet, the Liberal ministry proposes to leave these anomalies as they stand!

If the astounding mass of legislation presented by the Asquith ministry is to be forced through Parliament without a direct appeal to the electorate it will be done in violation

of every English characteristic and sentiment and by means utterly inimical to the spirit of English institutions.

OUR INCREASING FOREIGN TRADE.

Most satisfactory is the balance of \$550,795,914 on the exports side of the ledger over the amount of imports for the fiscal year ending June 30, according to figures issued by the National Bureau of Statistics. While not the largest balance ever obtained it is nevertheless most satisfactory.

The total value of imports for the 12 months was \$1,653,426,174, which is \$126,200,069 more than for the preceding year. The total of exports reached \$2,204,222,088, an increase of \$154,901,889 over that of the previous year, when it passed the two billion dollar mark for the first time. The excess of exports over imports is \$28,701,820 more than for the year ending June, 1911.

The high figures for exports began with October and for four months in succession they exceeded \$200,000,000, reaching the maximum of \$224,907,907,136 in December. The lowest figure for any month in the year was \$127,697,054 in July, and that was the only month when it did not exceed the latest June value. The months of highest imports were March, April and May and the maximum of 162,471,159 was reached in April. The lowest figure was \$118,054,204 in July a year ago.

The people are just as calm over being denied the opportunity to rule as when Mr. Bryan first called their attention to it.

PRESIDENT TAFT'S SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE.

Scientific Revision of Tariff—Danger of "Hard Times" in Democratic Schedules—Trusts, Federal Incorporation, and Other Matters Discussed.

Surrounded by his family and friends, President Taft received, on August 1, from Senator Root, chairman of the committee of notification, his first information of his renomination by the Chicago convention. The President and committee and guests were assembled in the East Room of the White House, and at the conclusion of the speeches luncheon was served. Members of the notification committee besides Senator Root included: California, Julius Kahn; Colorado, Simon Guggenheim; Connecticut, Frank B. Weeks; Maine, Edward M. Lawrence; New Hampshire, Charles M. Floyd; Rhode Island, R. L. Beekman; Utah, Reed Smoot; Philippines, Thomas L. Har-digan; Porto Rico, Mateo Eajardo.

In his speech of notification Senator Root said in part:

"For the second time in the history of the Republican party a part of the delegates have refused to be bound by the action of the convention. Now, as on the former occasion, the irreconcilable minority declares its intention to support either your Democratic opponent, or a third candidate. The reason assigned for this course is dissatisfaction with the decision of certain contests in the making up of the temporary roll of the convention. Those contests were decided by the tribunal upon which the law that has governed the Republican party for more than forty years imposed the duty of deciding such contests.

"So long as those decisions were made

honestly and in good faith all persons were bound to accept them as conclusive in the making up of the temporary roll of the convention, and neither in the facts and arguments produced before the National Committee, the Committee on Credentials and the convention itself, nor otherwise, does there appear just ground for impeaching the honesty and good faith of the committee's decisions. Both the making up of the temporary roll, and the rights accorded to the persons upon that roll, whose seats were contested, were in accordance with the long-established and unquestioned rules of law governing the party, and founded upon justice and commonsense. Your title to the nomination is as clear and unimpeachable as the title of any candidate of any party since political conventions began.

"Your selection has a broader basis than a mere expression of choice between different party leaders representing the same ideas. You have been nominated because you stand pre-eminently for certain fixed and essential principles which the Republican party maintains. You believe in the rule of law rather than the rule of men. You realize that the only safety for nations, as for individuals, is to establish and abide by declared principles of action. You are in sympathy with the great practical rules of right conduct that the American people have set up for their own guidance and self-restraint in the limitations of the Constitution—the limitations upon governmental and official power essential to the preservation of liberty and justice. You know that to sweep away these wise rules of self-restraint would not be progress but decadence. You know that the great declarations of principle in our Constitu-

tion cannot be made an effectual guide to conduct in any other way than by judicial judgment upon attempts to violate them; and you maintain the independence, dignity and authority of the courts of the United States."

The President's Speech.

The President's speech is very long, and as it would fill a dozen pages of this magazine we can give space only for a synopsis and some extracts. The speech will probably be widely circulated by the Republican National Committee, and it is announced that the President will later issue a formal letter of acceptance, which may be equally comprehensive.

The supreme issue that confronts the voters, the President declares, is that of the maintenance of the nation's institutions and the preservation of the Constitution, threatened, he says, on the one hand by the Democratic party and on the other by those Republicans who have left the party to try their fortunes in a new one. Next in importance Mr. Taft places the tariff. In the proposals of the Democrats for reductions in the present schedules, he says, lies danger of business depression and hard times. The Republican principle of revision only where scientific investigation shows it necessary, marked the straight road to continued prosperity and commercial peace. In discussing the tariff, the President says that it is untrue that to its door could be traced the high cost of living, and pointed out that conditions of living were alike all over the world. A political promise could not remedy such a condition, he says. As an issue only less important than the tariff, the President places the regulation of trusts. He says the Sherman law had been en-

forced with success, but adds that specific acts of unfair trade should be denounced as misdemeanors that such acts might be avoided or when committed punished by summary procedure. Interstate business enterprises should be offered a Federal incorporation law.

Aside from those issues the President points to the record of the Republican party and particularly during his own administration as an earnest of what it might be expected to do in the future if the people returned it to power in November. He attacks the Democrats at other points than the tariff, making special reference to the refusal of that party in the House of Representatives to continue the naval policy of two battleships a year. Taft does not mention either Colonel Roosevelt or Governor Woodrow Wilson by name but refers to each. While he does not accuse either of embracing the doctrines of socialism, many of the proposals they had made, the President says, savored of it strongly. He closes with a review of his administrative achievements and appeals directly to the conservative voters of the Democratic party to join with the Republicans at the polls. He says there are many who call themselves Democrats, who view, with the same aversion that Republicans do, the radical propositions of change in our form of government that are recklessly advanced to satisfy what is supposed to be popular clamor. They are men who revere the Constitution, men who deprecate disturbances in business conditions, and are yearning for that quiet from demagogic agitation which is essential to the enjoyment by the whole people of the great prosperity which the good

crops and the present conditions ought to bring. To them the President appeals, as to all Republicans, to join in an earnest effort to avert the "political and economic revolution" and business paralysis which Republican defeat will bring about. Such misfortune, he says, will fall most heavily on the wage-earner.

The President discusses at some length the recall of judges and judicial decisions and the proposals to forbid the use of injunctions to protect property against a secondary boycott and the use of juries in contempt proceedings brought to enforce decrees or orders. The recall of decisions he labels the "grotesque proposition by the leader of former Republicans who have left their party." "The Republican party," concludes the President, "stands for none of these innovations for the purpose of making a change, and cultivating popular hope that in the change something beneficial, undefined, will take place. We favor the greatest good to the greatest number. We believe that we have made progress from the beginning to now and that the progress is to continue into the far future; that it is reasonable progress, that experience has shown to be really useful and helpful, and from which there is no reaction to something worse. It is said that this is not an issue in the campaign. It seems to me it is the supreme issue."

Public Roused by Demagogues.

In the work of rousing the people to the danger that threatened our civilization from the abuses of concentrated wealth and the power it was likely to exercise, the public imagination was wrought upon and a reign of sensational journalism and unjust and unprincipled muckraking has followed, in which

much injustice has been done to honest men. Demagogues have seized the opportunity further to inflame the public mind and have sought to turn the peculiar conditions to their advantage.

We are living in an age in which by exaggeration of the defects of our present condition, by false charges of responsibility for it against individuals and classes, by holding up to the feverish imagination of the less fortunate and the discontented the possibilities of a millennium, a condition of popular unrest has been produced. New parties are being formed, with the proposed purpose of satisfying this unrest by promising a panacea. In so far as inequality of condition can be lessened and equality of opportunity can be promoted by improvement of our educational system, the betterment of the laws to insure the quick administration of justice, and by the prevention of the acquisition of privilege without just compensation, in so far as the adoption of the legislation above recited and laws of a similar character may aid the less fortunate in their struggle with the hardships of life, all are in sympathy with a continued effort to remedy the injustice and to aid the weak, and I venture to say that there is no national administration in which more real steps of such progress have been taken than in the present one. But in so far as the propaganda for the satisfaction of unrest involves the promise of a millennium, a condition in which the rich are to be made reasonably poor and the poor reasonably rich by law, we are chasing a phantom; we are holding out to those whose unrest we fear a prospect and a dream, a vision of the impossible.

"Social Justice" Means Socialism.

In the ultimate analysis, I fear, the equal opportunity which those seek who proclaim the coming' of so-called social justice involves a forced division of property, and that means socialism. In the abuses of the last two decades it is true that ill-gotten wealth has been concentrated in some undeserving hands, and that if it were possible to redistribute it on any equitable principle to those from whom it was taken without adequate or proper compensation it would be a good result to bring it about. But this is obviously impossible and impracticable. All that can be done is to

treat this as one incidental evil of a great expansive movement in the material progress of the world and to make sure that there will be no recurrence of such evil. In this regard we have made great progress and reform, as in respect to secret rebates in railways, the improper conferring of public franchises, and the immunity of monopolizing trusts and combinations. The misfortunes of ordinary business, the division of the estates of wealthy men at their death, the chances of speculation which undue good fortune seems often to stimulate, operating as causes through a generation, will do much to divide up such large fortunes. It is far better to await the diminution of this evil by natural causes than to attempt what would soon take on the aspect of confiscation or to abolish the principle and institution of private property and to change to socialism. Socialism involves the taking away of the motive for acquisition, saving, energy and enterprise, and a futile attempt by committees to apportion the rewards due for productive labor. It means stagnation and retrogression. It destroys the mainspring of human action that has carried the world on and upward for 2000 years.

Political "Reforms" and Class Legislation.

But after we have changed all the governmental machinery so as to permit instantaneous expression of the people in constitutional amendments, in statutes and in recall of public agents, what then? Votes are not bread, constitutional amendments are not work, referendums do not pay rent or furnish houses, recalls do not furnish clothing, initiatives do not supply employment or relieve inequalities of condition or of opportunity. We still ought to have set before us the definite plans to bring on complete equality of opportunity and to abolish hardships and evil for humanity. We listen for them in vain.

Instead of giving us the benefit of any specific remedies for the hardships and evils of society they point out, they follow their urgent appeals for closer association of the people in legislation by an attempt to cultivate the hostility of the people to the courts and to represent that they are in some form upholding injustice and are obstructing the

popular will. Attempts are made to take away all those safeguards for maintaining the independence of the judiciary which are so carefully framed in our Constitution. These attempts find expression in the policy, on one hand, of the recall of judges, a system under which a judge whose decision in one case may temporarily displease the electorate is to be deprived at once of his office by a popular vote—a pernicious system embodied in the Arizona constitution and which the Democrats of the House and Senate refused to condemn as the initial policy of a new State. The same spirit manifested itself in the vote by Democratic senators on the proposition, first, to abolish the Commerce Court, and, second, to abolish judges by mere act of repeal, although under the Constitution their terms are for life, on no ground except that they did not like some of the court's recent decisions. Another form of hostility to the judiciary is shown in the grotesque proposition by the leader of former Republicans who have left their party for a recall of decisions, so that a decision on a point of constitutional law, having been rendered by the highest court capable of rendering it, shall then be submitted to popular vote to determine whether it ought to be sustained. Again the Democratic party in Congress and convention shows its desire to weaken the courts by forbidding the use of the writ of injunction to protect a lawful business against the destructive effect of a secondary boycott and by interposing a jury in contempt proceedings brought to enforce its order and decrees. These provisions are really class legislation, designed to secure immunity for lawlessness in labor disputes on the part of the laborers; but operating much more widely to paralyze the arm of the court in cases which do not involve labor disputes at all. The hostility to the judiciary and the measures to take away its power and its independence constitute the chief definite policy that can be fairly attributed to that class of statesmen and reformers whose absorption and control the Republican party escaped at Chicago and the Democratic party yielded to at Baltimore.

Praise for Payne Tariff Bill.

The platform of 1908 promised, on behalf of the Republican party, to do cer-

tain things. One was that the tariff would be revised at an extra session. An extra session was called and the tariff was revised. The platform did not say in specific words that the revision would be generally downward, but I construed it to mean that. During the pendency of the bill and after it was passed, it was subjected to the most vicious misrepresentation. It was said to be a bill to increase the tariff rather than to reduce it. The law has been in force now since August, 1909, a period of about thirty-five months. We are able to judge from its operation how far the statement is true that it did reduce duties.

It has vindicated itself. Under its operation, prosperity has been gradually restored since the panic of 1907. There have been no disastrous failures and no disastrous strikes. The percentage of reduction below the Dingley bill is shown in the larger free list and in the lower percentage of the tariff collected on the total value of the goods imported. The figures show that under the Dingley bill, which was in force 144 months, the average per cent. of the imports that came in free was in value 44.3 per cent. of the total importations, and that under the Payne bill, which has been in force 35 months, the average per cent. in value of the imports which have come in free amounts to 51.2 per cent. of the total; that the average ad valorem of the duties on all importations under the 12 years of the Dingley bill was 45.8 per cent., while under the 35 months of the Payne bill this was 41.2 per cent., and that the average ad valorem of the dutiable imports under the Dingley bill was 25.5 per cent., while under the Payne bill it was 20.1 per cent. In other words, considering only reductions on dutiable goods, the reduction in duties from the Dingley bill to the Payne bill was 10 per cent., and considering both free and dutiable reductions, they amounted to 21 per cent.

Work of Tariff Board.

Under the provisions of the Payne bill I was able to appoint a Tariff Board to make investigations into each schedule with a view to determining the cost of production here and the cost of production abroad of the articles named in the schedule, in order to enable Congress in adjusting this schedule to know what

rate of duty was necessary to prevent a destructive competition from European countries and the closing up of our mills and other sources of production. We are living on an economic basis established on principles of protection. A large part of our products are dependent for existence upon a rate of duty sufficient to save the producer from foreign competition which would make the continuance of his business impossible. In the making of the Payne bill, Congress did not have the advantage of the report of the Tariff Board showing the exact facts. If it had, the bill would have been constructed on a better basis, but we now have had the Tariff Board working, and it has made a report on the production of wool and the manufacture of woollens in this country and in all the countries abroad, and has given the same data as to the manufacture of cotton. If the Republican party had control of the House of Representatives, there would be no difficulty now in passing a woolen bill such indeed, as has been proposed by the Republicans in the House, reducing the duty on wool and on woollens to such a degree as not to include more than enough to enable the wool industry and the woolen industry to live and produce a reasonable profit. The same thing is true with respect to the cotton industry. On the other hand, our opponents, the Democrats, have presented to me for my signature a woolen bill and a cotton bill, both of which if allowed to become a law, as the reports of the Tariff Board show, would have made such a radical cut in the rates on many woolen and cotton manufactures as seriously to interfere with those industries in this country. This would have forced a transfer of the manufacture to England and Germany and other foreign countries.

Democratic Success Menaces Prosperity.

If the result of the election were to put the Democrats completely in control of all branches of the Government, then we may look for the reduction of duties upon all articles the manufacture of which need protection, and may anticipate a serious injury to a large part of our manufacturing industry. We would not have to wait for actual legislation on this subject; the very prospect

of Democratic success when its policy toward our great protected industries became understood would postpone indefinitely the coming of prosperity and tend to give us a recurrence of the hard times that we had in the decade between 1890 and 1897. The Democratic platform declares protection to be unconstitutional, although it has been the motive and purpose of most tariff bills since 1789, and indicates as clearly as possible the intention to depart from a protective policy at once. It is true the Democratic platform says that the change to the policy of a revenue tariff is to be made in such a way as not to injure industry. This is utterly impossible when we are on a protective basis, and it is conclusively shown to be so by the necessary effect of bills already introduced and passed by the Democratic House for the purpose of making strides toward a revenue tariff. It is now more than fifteen years since the people of this country have had an experience in such a change as that which the coming in of the Democratic party would involve. It ought to be brought home to the people as clearly as possible that a change of economic policy, such as that which is deliberately proposed in the Democratic platform, would halt many of our manufacturing enterprises and throw many wage-earners out of employment, would injure much the home markets which the farmers now enjoy for their products, and produce a condition of suffering among the people that no reforming legislation could neutralize or mitigate.

High Cost of Living.

The statement has been widely circulated and has received considerable support from political opponents, that the tariff act of 1909 is a prominent factor in creating the high cost of living. This is not true. A careful investigation will show that the phenomenon of increased prices and cost of living is world-wide in its extent and quite as much in evidence in other countries of advanced civilization and progressive tendencies as in our own. Bitter complaints of the burden of increased prices and cost of living have been made not only in this country, but even in countries of Asia and Africa. Disorder and even riots have occurred in several European cities because of the unprecedented cost of

food products. In our own country, changes have been manifested without regard to lower or higher duties in the tariff act of 1909. Indeed, the most notable increase in prices has been in the case of products where no duties are imposed, and in some instances in which they were diminished or removed by the recent tariff act.

It is difficult to understand how any legislation or promise in a political platform can remedy this universal condition. I have recommended the creation of a commission to study this subject and to report upon all possible methods for alleviating the hardship of which the people complain, but great economic tendencies notable among which are the practically universal movement from the country to the city and the increased supply of gold, have been the most potent factors in causing high prices. These facts every careful student of the situation must admit.

RAILROAD WAGES IN UNITED STATES AND ABROAD.

The average daily compensation of railway employes of all classes for the year 1910 was in the United States, \$2.23; in the United Kingdom, \$1.05; excluding supplementary allowances negligibly affecting the average, it was in Prussia-Hesse 81 cents and in Austria 89 cents. The lowest paid railway employe in the United States, the ordinary trackman, receives a greater compensation than many of the railway employes of France, even those of higher grades and with responsible duties. The compensation of railway employes is from two to three times as high in the United States as in Italy.

A recent report of the English Board of Trade on railway wages shows that the average weekly pay of enginemen in the United Kingdom in 1907 was \$11.17; of firemen, \$6.67. In the same year enginemen on American railways received an average weekly compensation of \$25.80, counting six days to the week, and firemen \$15.24. Recent returns make it clear that in 1912 enginemen and firemen in the United States are compensated at rates of pay for specific runs that are two, three and four times as high as the corresponding rates on representative English railways.

WILSON'S SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE.

An Exposition of "Democratic Doctrine—Advocates Regulation of Trusts, Lowering of Tariff, Banking Reforms, Merchant Marine and Saving of Natural Resources.

Gov. Woodrow Wilson unfolded the fabric of his political beliefs in a speech formally accepting the Democratic nomination to the Presidency, at his residence in Sea Girt, N. J., on August 7, in the presence of a large gathering of prominent Democrats and friends. Senator-elect Ollie James of Kentucky officially informed Governor Wilson of the action of the Baltimore convention, in a speech frequently interrupted by outbursts of applause. On the left of Mr. James was Governor Marshall, the vice presidential nominee, and on his right, Governor Wilson. Governors Dix of New York, Foss of Massachusetts, Baldwin of Connecticut, Donaghey of Arkansas, Plaisted of Maine, O'Neal of Alabama, and Mann of Virginia, sat near.

Gov. Wilson's speech was of much length. The platform, he said, was not a program but a practical document intended to show "that we know what the nation is thinking about and what it is most concerned about." The people, he added, were about to be asked not particularly to adopt a platform but to entrust the Democratic party with "office and power and the guidance of their affairs" and their desire now was to know what "translation of action and policy we intend to give to the general terms of the platform, should we be elected."

"Plainly it is a new age," said the governor. "It requires self-restraint not to attempt too much, and yet it would be cowardly to attempt too little in the broad light of this new day. There are two great things to do. One is to set up the rule of justice and of right in such matters as the tariff, the regulation of the trusts and the prevention of monopoly, the adaptation of our banking and currency laws to the very uses to which our people must put them, the treatment of those who do the daily labor in our factories and mines and throughout all our great industrial and commercial undertakings, and the political life of the people of the Philippines, for whom we hold governmental power in trust, for their service, not our own. The other, the additional duty, is the great task of protecting our people and our resources and of keeping open to the whole people the doors of opportunity through which they must, generation by generation, pass if they are to make conquest of their fortunes in health, in freedom, in peace and in contentment. In the performance of this second great duty we are face to face with questions of conservation and of development, questions of forests and water powers and mines and waterways, of the building of an adequate merchant marine.

"The so-called labor question is a question only because we have not

yet found the rule of right in adjusting the interests of labor and capital. Here, again, the sense of universal partnership must come into play if we are to act like statesmen, as those who serve, not a class, but a nation."

"In dealing with the complicated and difficult question of the reform of our banking and currency laws it is plain that we ought to consult very many persons besides the bankers, not because we distrust the bankers, but because they do not necessarily comprehend the business of the country, notwithstanding they are indispensable servants of it and may do a vast deal to make it hard or easy. No mere bankers' plan will meet the requirements, no matter how honestly conceived. It should be a merchants' and farmers' plan as well."

"I do not know any greater question than that of conservation. We have been a spendthrift nation and must now husband what we have left. We must do more than that. We must develop, as well as preserve, our water powers and must add great waterways to the transportation facilities of the Nation, to supplement the railways within our borders as well as upon the Isthmus. With regard to the development of greater and more numerous waterways and the building up of a merchant marine, we must follow great constructive lines and not fall back upon the cheap device of bounties and subsidies. The very fact that we have at last taken the Panama Canal seriously in hand and are vigorously pushing it towards completion is eloquent of our reawakened interest in international trade. It would be a little ridiculous if we should build it and then have no ships to send through it. There have been years

when not a single ton of freight passed through the great Suez Canal in an American bottom, so empty are the seas of our ships and seamen. We must build and buy ships in competition with the world. We can do it if we will but give ourselves leave."

We copy in full what he says on the Tariff, Trusts and Cost of Living.

Tariff As a Matter of Business.

See how it makes business out of the tariff question. The tariff question, as dealt with in our time at any rate, has not been business. It has been politics. Tariff schedules have been made up for the purpose of keeping as large a number as possible of the rich and influential manufacturers of the country in a good humor with the Republican party, which desired their constant financial support. The tariff has become a system of favors, which the phraseology of the schedule was often deliberately contrived to conceal. It becomes a matter of business, of legitimate business, only when the partnership and understanding it represents is between the leaders of Congress and the whole people of the United States, instead of between the leaders of Congress and small groups of manufacturers demanding special recognition and consideration. That is why the general idea of representative government becomes a necessary part of the tariff question. Who, when you come down to the hard facts of the matter, have been represented in recent years when our tariff schedules were being discussed and determined, not on the floor of Congress, for that is not where they have been determined, but in the committee rooms and conferences? That is the heart of the whole affair. Will you, can you, bring the whole people into the partnership or not? No one is discontented with representative government; it falls under question only when it ceases to be representative. It is at bottom a question of good faith and morals.

Trusts Due to Tariff.

How does the present tariff look in the light of it? I say nothing for the moment about the policy of protection,

conceived and carried out as a disinterested statesman might conceive it. Our own clear conviction as Democrats is, that in the last analysis the only safe and legitimate object of tariff duties, as of taxes of every other kind, is to raise revenue for the support of the Government; but that is not my present point. We denounce the Payne-Aldrich tariff act as the most conspicuous example ever afforded the country of the special favors and monopolistic advantages which the leaders of the Republican party have so often shown themselves willing to extend to those to whom they looked for campaign contributions. Tariff duties, as they have employed them, have not been a means of setting upon equitable system of protection. They have been, on the contrary, a method of fostering special privilege. They have made it easy to establish monopoly in our domestic markets. Trusts have owed their origin and their secure power to them. The economic freedom of our people, our prosperity in trade, our untrammelled energy in manufacture, depend upon their reconsideration from top to bottom in an entirely different spirit.

Immediate Tariff Revision Downward.

We do not ignore the fact that the business of a country like ours is exceedingly sensitive to changes in legislation of this kind. It has been built up, however ill-advisedly, upon tariff schedules written in the way I have indicated, and its foundations must not be too suddenly disturbed. When we act we should act with caution and prudence, like men who know what they are about, and not like those in love with a theory. It is obvious that the changes we make should be made only at such a rate and in such a way as will least interfere with the normal and healthful course of commerce and manufacture. But we shall not on that account act with timidity, as if we did not know our own minds, for we are certain of our ground and of our object. There should be an immediate revision, and it should be downward, unhesitatingly and steadily downward.

Revenue Questions Later.

It should begin with the schedules which have been most obviously used

to kill competition and to raise prices in the United States, arbitrarily and without regard to the prices pertaining elsewhere in the markets of the world; and it should, before it is finished or intermitted, be extended to every item in every schedule which affords any opportunity for monopoly, for special advantage to limited groups of beneficiaries, or for subsidized control of any kind in the markets or the enterprises of the country; until special favors of every sort shall have been absolutely withdrawn and every part of our laws of taxation shall have been transformed from a system of governmental patronage into a system of just and reasonable charges which shall fall where they will create the least burden. When we shall have done that, we can fix questions of revenue and of business adjustment in a new spirit and with clear minds. We shall then be partners with all the business men of the country, and a day of freer, more stable prosperity shall have dawned.

Tariff Talk Upsets Business.

There has been no more demoralizing influence in our politics in our time than the influence of tariff legislation, the influence of the idea that the Government was the grand dispenser of favors, the maker and unmaker of fortunes, and of opportunities such as certain men have sought in order to control the movement of trade and industry throughout the continent. It has made the Government a prize to be captured and parties the means of effecting the capture. It has made the business men of one of the most virile and enterprising nations in the world timid, fretful, full of alarms; has robbed them of self-confidence and manly force, until they have cried out that they could do nothing without the assistance of the Government at Washington. It has made them feel that their lives depended upon the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate (in these later years particularly the Finance Committee of the Senate). They have insisted very anxiously that these committees should be made up only of their "friends"; until the country in its turn grew suspicious and wondered how those committees

were being guided and controlled by what influences and plans of personal advantage. Government cannot be wholesomely conducted in such an atmosphere. Its very honesty is in jeopardy. Favors are never conceived in the general interest; they are always for the benefit of the few, and the few who seek and obtain them have only themselves to blame if presently they seem to be contemned and distrusted.

Prosperity for Few.

For what has the result been? Prosperity? Yes, if by prosperity you mean vast wealth no matter how distributed, or whether distributed at all, or not; if you mean vast enterprises built up to be presently concentrated under the control of comparatively small bodies of men who can determine almost at pleasure whether there shall be competition or not. The nation as a nation has grown immensely rich. She is justly proud of her industries and of the genius of her men of affairs. They can master anything they set their minds to and we have been greatly stimulated under their leadership and command. Their laurels are many and very green. We must accord them the great honors that are their due and we must preserve what they have built up for us. But what of the other side of the picture? It is not as easy for us to live as it used to be. Our money will not buy as much. High

wages even when we can get them, yield us no great comfort. We used to be better off with less, because a dollar could buy so much more. The majority of us have been disturbed to find ourselves growing poorer, even though our earnings were slowly increasing. Prices climb faster than we can push our earnings up.

High Cost of Living Agreements.

Moreover, we begin to perceive some things about the movement of prices that concern us very deeply, and fix our attention upon the tariff schedules with a more definite determination than ever to get to the bottom of this matter. We have been looking into it, at trials held under the Sherman act and in investigations in the committee rooms of Congress, where men who wanted to know the real facts have been busy with inquiry; and we begin to see very clearly what at least some of the methods are by which prices are fixed. We know that they are not fixed by the competitions of the market, or by the ancient law of supply and demand which is to be found stated in all the primers of economics, but by private arrangements with regard to what the supply should be and agreements among the producers themselves. Those who buy are not even represented by counsel. The high cost of living is arranged by private understanding.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONVENTION.

Forty-Six States Represented—Roosevelt for President
and Johnson for Vice-President by Acclamation—
Roosevelt's Speech—Trouble Over Negro
Delegates—Platform of the New Party
—“A Tariff to Protect Worker
and Consumer.”

The national convention of the “Progressive Party” (as it has been named) was held in Chicago, August 5-7. It was found that nearly 2,000 men had come to serve as delegates,

in a convention in which less than 600 were entitled to seats. Among the delegates were a number of women. Many who were elected by popular primaries to the June Re-

publican Convention were again delegates in this convention. Col. Roosevelt, who arrived in Chicago at an early hour, was greeted with much enthusiasm.

The convention was called to order by Senator Dixon, as national chairman, soon after noon, who announced that former Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, had been selected as temporary chairman. In his long speech, Mr. Beveridge outlined the policies of the Progressive party:

"Abuse," said he, "will only strengthen it, ridicule only hasten its growth, falsehood only speed its victory. To carry out our principles we have a plain programme of constructive reform. We mean to tear down only that which is wrong and out of date, and where we tear down we mean to build what is right and fitted to the times."

The speaker discussed the Republican and Democratic parties, the "boss system" and "special interests," saying among other things:

"At the present moment notorious bosses are in the saddle of both old parties in various important states which must be carried to elect a President. Neither of the old parties' nominees for President can escape obligation to these old party bosses.

"The South has men and women as genuinely progressive and others as genuinely reactionary as those in other parts of the country. Yet, for well known reasons, these sincere and honest southern progressives and reactionaries vote together in a single party, which is neither progressive nor reactionary.

"The root of the wrongs which hurt the people is the fact that the people's government has been taken away from them."

Mr. Beveridge said American business is uncertain and unsteady compared with the business of other nations. "What, then," he asked, "must we do to make American business better? We must do what poorer nations have done. We must end the abuses of business by

striking down those abuses instead of striking down business itself."

After the announcement of organization committees, the convention adjourned for the day. The action of the National Progressive Committee in excluding negro claimants to seats from Florida and Mississippi, in accord with Col. Roosevelt's declaration that the party should proceed under white leadership in the South, created much friction in the credentials committee, but the national committee were finally sustained. The Mississippi delegates, both white and colored, were shut out completely, because Col. Roosevelt had protested against the use of the word "white delegates" in the call for the Mississippi state convention. In the Florida cases the contesting negro delegation was thrown out. The negroes protested loudly against this. They were invited to attend the convention as "supplemental delegates" without votes, but declined to do this, eventually going as spectators. Then the national committee decided to bar also the white delegates from Florida, there having been some question of irregularity in calling a white and a negro convention separately.

It was stated that all was not "harmony" in the committee on platform, and some important changes were made in the tentative draft. Planks were proposed on civil service reform, prohibition, and nearly every advanced political idea.

The second day's session (August 6) was given over almost entirely to Col. Roosevelt, and his long-awaited speech. Its delivery was preceded by a great demonstration when he

appeared on the platform, and he was cheered for more than an hour. We give some extracts.

Roosevelt's Speech.

You are taking a bold and a greatly needed step for the service of our beloved country. The old parties are husks, with no real soul within either, divided on artificial lines, boss-ridden and privilege-controlled, each a jumble of incongruous elements, and neither daring to speak out wisely and fearlessly what should be said on the vital issues of the day. This new movement is a movement of truth, sincerity, and wisdom, a movement which proposes to put at the service of all our people the collective power of the people, through their Governmental agencies, alike in the Nation and in the several States. We propose boldly to face the real and great questions of the day, and not skillfully to evade them. We propose to raise aloft a standard to which all honest men can repair, no matter what their past political differences, if they are content to face the future and no longer to dwell among the dead issues of the past. We propose to put forth a platform which shall not be a platform of the ordinary and insincere kind, but shall be a contract with the people; and, if the people accept this contract by putting us in power, we shall hold ourselves under honorable obligation to fulfill every promise it contains as loyally as if it were actually enforceable under the penalties of the law.

No Hope from the Old Party Machines.

The prime need to-day is to face the fact that we are now in the midst of a great economic evolution. There is urgent necessity of applying both common sense and the highest ethical standard to this movement for better economic conditions among the mass of our people if we are to make it one of healthy evolution and not one of revolution. To do this we must break up the old party organizations and obliterate the old cleavage lines on the dead issues inherited from fifty years ago. Our fight is a fundamental fight against both of the old corrupt party machines, for both are under the dominion of the plunder league of the professional politicians who are controlled and sustained

by the great beneficiaries of privilege and reaction. Our needs are such that there should be coherent action among those responsible for the conduct of National affairs and those responsible for the conduct of State affairs; because our aim should be the same in both State and Nation; that is, to use the Government as an efficient agency for the practical betterment of social and economic conditions throughout this land. It is preposterous to leave such a movement in the hands of men who have broken their promises as have the present heads of the Republican organization. The Underwood-Fitzgerald combination in the House of Representatives has shown that it cannot safely be trusted to maintain the interests of this country abroad or to represent the interests of the plain people at home. Far-seeing patriots should turn scornfully from men who seek power on a platform which with exquisite nicety combines silly inability to understand the National needs and dishonest insincerity in promising conflicting and impossible remedies.

The Right of the People to Rule.

The time is ripe, and overripe, for a genuine Progressive movement, Nationwide and justice-loving, sprung from and responsible to the people themselves, and sundered by a great gulf from both of the old party organizations. The first essential in the Progressive programme is the right of the people to rule. We should provide by National law for Presidential primaries. We should provide for the election of United States Senators by popular vote. We should provide for a short ballot.

There must be stringent and efficient corrupt practices acts, applying to the primaries as well as the elections; and there should be publicity of campaign contributions during the campaign. We should provide throughout this Union for giving the people in every State the real right to rule themselves, and really and not nominally to control their public servants and their agencies for doing the public business; an incident of this being giving the people the right themselves to do this public business if they find it impossible to get what they desire through the existing agencies. In each community it must be shaped so as to correspond not merely with the

needs but with the customs and ways of thought of that community, and no community has a right to dictate to any other in this matter. But wherever representative government has in actual fact become non-representative, there the people should secure to themselves the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, doing it in such fashion as to make it evident that they do not intend to use these instrumentalities wantonly or frequently, but to hold them ready for use in order to correct the misdeeds or failures of the public servants when it has become evident that these misdeeds and failures cannot be corrected in ordinary and normal fashion. I do not mean that we shall abandon representative government; on the contrary, I mean that we shall devise methods by which our Government shall become really representative. My proposal is merely that we shall give to the people the power, to be used not wantonly but only in exceptional cases, themselves to see to it that the governmental action taken in their name is really the action that they desire.

The People and the Courts.

The American people, and not the courts, are to determine their own fundamental policies. The people should have power to deal with the effect of the acts of all their governmental agencies. This must be extended to include the effects of judicial acts as well as the acts of the executive and legislative representatives of the people. Where the judge merely does justice as between man and man, not dealing with Constitutional questions, then the interest of the public is only to see that he is a wise and upright judge. Means should be devised for making it easier than at present to get rid of an incompetent judge; means should be devised by the bar and the bench acting in conjunction with the various legislative bodies to make justice far more expeditious and more certain than at present. Our prime concern is that in dealing with the fundamental law of the land, in assuming finally to interpret it, and therefore finally to make it, the acts of the courts should be subject to and not above the final control of the people as a whole.

Whenever in our Constitutional system of government there exist general

prohibitions that, as interpreted by the courts, nullify, or may be used to nullify, specific laws passed, and admittedly passed, in the interest of social justice, we are for such immediate law, or amendment to the Constitution, if that be necessary, as will thereafter permit a reference to the people of the public effect of such decision under forms securing full deliberation, to the end that the specific act of the legislative branch of the Government thus judicially nullified, and such amendments thereof as come within its scope and purpose, may constitutionally be excepted by vote of the people from the general prohibitions, the same as if that particular act had been expressly excepted when the prohibition was adopted. Our purpose is not to impugn the courts, but to emancipate them from a position where they stand in the way of social justice, and to emancipate the people, in an orderly way, from the iniquity of enforced submission to a doctrine which would turn Constitutional provisions which were intended to favor social justice and advancement into prohibitions against such justice and advancement.

Social and Industrial Justice.

(Under this head, Col. Roosevelt advocated minimum wage commissions in the nation and in each state; minimum wage scales for women; old-age pensions; a living wage, sufficient to provide for education, recreation, sickness, and support of dependants; prohibition of night labor for women and children; eight-hour shifts for workmen in industries running night and day; National and State workmen's compensation laws; guarantee of one day's rest in every seven; old-age insurance against sickness, invalidism and involuntary unemployment; woman suffrage; and that working women have the same need to combine for protection that workingmen have.)

The Farmer.

(Under this head, Col. Roosevelt advocated the revival of the Country Life Commission, with increased powers. "The welfare of the farmer," he said, "is a basic need of the nation, and the government should co-operate with him to make the farm more productive. This nation has to learn the lessons of efficiency in production and distribution,

and of avoidance of waste and destruction; and it is only by improved methods that the farmer can have an increased income, and at the same time reduce the cost to the consumer of food products.")

Business and Control of the Trusts.

Our aim is to control business, not to strangle it—and above all, not to continue a policy of make-believe strangle toward big concerns that do evil, and constant menace toward both big and little concerns that do well. Our aim is to promote prosperity, and then see to its proper division. We do not believe that any good comes to any one by a policy which means destruction of prosperity; for in such cases it is not possible to divide it because of the very obvious fact that there is nothing to divide. We wish to control big business so as to secure among other things good wages for the wage-workers and reasonable prices for the consumers.

Unfortunately, those dealing with the subject have tended to divide into camps, each as unwise as the other. One camp has fixed its eyes only on the need of prosperity. This is merely the plan of giving prosperity to the big men on top, and trusting to their mercy to let something leak through to the mass of their countrymen below—which in effect, means that there shall be no attempt to regulate the ferocious scramble in which greed and cunning reap the largest rewards. The other set has fixed its eyes purely on the injustices of distribution, omitting all consideration of the need of having something to distribute, and advocates action which, it is true, would abolish most of the inequalities of the distribution of prosperity, but only by the unfortunately simple process of abolishing the prosperity itself. This means merely that conditions are to be evened, not up, but down, so that all shall stand on a common level, where nobody has any prosperity at all.

We Progressives stand for the rights of the people. When these rights can best be secured by insistence upon States' rights, then we are for States' rights; when they can best be secured by insistence upon National rights, then we are for National rights. It is utterly hopeless to attempt to control the trusts merely by the Anti-Trust Law, or

by any law the same in principle, no matter what the modifications may be in detail. In the first place, these great corporations cannot possibly be controlled merely by a succession of lawsuits. The administrative branch of the government must exercise such control. The preposterous failure of the Commerce Court has shown that only damage comes from the effort to substitute judicial for administrative control of great corporations.

As construed by the Democratic platform, the Anti-Trust Law would, if it could be enforced, abolish all business of any size or any efficiency. What is needed is the application to all industrial concerns and all co-operating interests engaged in inter-State commerce in which there is either monopoly or control of the market of the principles on which we have gone in regulating transportation concerns engaged in such commerce. The Anti-Trust Law should be kept on the statute-books and strengthened so as to make it genuinely and thoroughly effective against every big concern tending to monopoly or guilty of anti-social practices. At the same time, a National industrial commission should be created which should have complete power to regulate and control all the great industrial concerns engaged in inter-State business—which practically means all of them in this country.

The Tariff.

I believe in a protective tariff, but I believe in it as a principle, approached from the standpoint of the interests of the whole people, and not as a bundle of preferences to be given to favored individuals. In my opinion, the American people favor the principle of a protective tariff, but they desire such a tariff to be established primarily in the interests of the wage-worker and the consumer. The chief opposition to our tariff at the present moment comes from the general conviction that certain interests have been improperly favored by over-protection. I agree with this view. The commercial and industrial experience of this country has demonstrated the wisdom of the protective policy, but it has also demonstrated that in the application of that policy certain clearly recognized abuses have developed. It is not merely the tariff that

should be revised, but the method of tariff-making and of tariff administration. Wherever nowadays an industry is to be protected it should be on the theory that such protection will serve to keep up the wages and the standard of living of the wage-worker in that industry with full regard for the interest of the consumer. To accomplish this the tariff to be levied should as nearly as is scientifically possible approximate the differential between the cost of production at home and abroad. This differential is chiefly, if not wholly, in labor cost. No duty should be permitted to stand as regards any industry unless the workers receive their full share of the benefits of that duty. In other words, there is no warrant for protection unless a legitimate share of the benefits gets into the pay envelope of the wage-worker.

The practice of undertaking a general revision of all the schedules at one time and of securing information as to conditions in the different industries and as to rates of duty desired chiefly from those engaged in the industries, who themselves benefit directly from the rates they propose, has been demonstrated to be not only iniquitous but futile. It has afforded opportunity for practically all of the abuses which have crept into our tariff-making and our tariff administration. The day of the log-rolling tariff must end. The progressive thought of the country has recognized this fact for several years, and the time has come when all genuine Progressives should insist upon a thorough and radical change in the method of tariff-making.

The first step should be the creation of a permanent commission of non-partisan experts whose business shall be to study scientifically all phases of tariff-making and of tariff effects. This commission should be large enough to cover all the different and widely varying branches of American industry. It should have ample powers to enable it to secure exact and reliable information. It should have authority to examine closely all correlated subjects, such as the effect of any given duty on the consumers of the article on which the duty is levied; that is, it should directly consider the question as to what any duty costs the people in the price of living. It should examine into the wages and

conditions of labor and life of the workmen in any industry, so as to insure our refusing protection to any industry unless the showing as regards the share labor receives therefrom is satisfactory. This commission would be wholly different from the present unsatisfactory Tariff Board, which was created under a provision of law which failed to give it the powers indispensable if it was to do the work it should do.

It will be well for us to study the experience of Germany in considering this question. The German Tariff Commission has proved conclusively the efficiency and wisdom of this method of handling tariff questions. The reports of a permanent, expert, and non-partisan tariff commission would at once strike a most powerful blow against the chief iniquity of the old log-rolling method of tariff-making. One of the principal difficulties with the old method has been that it was impossible for the public generally, and especially for those members of Congress not directly connected with the committees handling a tariff bill, to secure anything like adequate and impartial information on the particular subjects under consideration. The reports of such a tariff commission would at once correct this evil and furnish to the general public full, complete, and disinterested information on every subject treated in a tariff bill. With such reports it would no longer be possible to construct a tariff bill in secret or to jam it through either house of Congress without the fullest and most illuminating discussion. The path of the tariff "joker" would be rendered infinitely difficult.

As a further means of disrupting the old crooked, log-rolling method of tariff-making, all future revisions of the tariff should be made schedule by schedule as changing conditions may require. Thus a great obstacle will be thrown in the way of the trading of votes which has marked so scandalously the enactment of every tariff bill of recent years. The tariff commission should render reports at the call of Congress or of either branch of Congress and to the President. Under the Constitution, Congress is the tariff-making power. It should not be the purpose in creating a tariff commission to take anything away from this power of Congress, but rather to afford a wise means

of giving to Congress the widest and most scientific assistance possible, and of furnishing it and the public with the fullest disinterested information. Only by this means can the tariff be taken out of politics. The creation of such a permanent tariff commission, and the adoption of the policy of schedule by schedule revision, will do more to accomplish this highly desired object than any other means yet devised.

The Democratic platform declares for a tariff for revenue only, asserting that a protective tariff is unconstitutional. To say that a protective tariff is unconstitutional, as the Democratic platform insists, is only excusable on a theory of the Constitution which would make it unconstitutional to legislate in any shape or way for the betterment of social and industrial conditions. The abolition of the protective tariff or the substitution for it of a tariff for revenue only, as proposed by the Democratic platform, would plunge this country into the most widespread industrial depression we have yet seen, and this depression would continue for an indefinite period. There is no hope from the standpoint of our people from action such the Democrats propose. The one and only chance to secure stable and favorable business conditions in this country, while at the same time guaranteeing fair play to farmer, consumer, business men and wage-worker, lies in the creation of such a commission as I herein advocate. Only by such a commission and only by such activities of the commission will it be possible for us to get a reasonably quick revision of the tariff schedule by schedule—a revision which shall be downwards and not upwards, and at the same time secure a square deal not merely to the manufacturer, but to the wage-worker and to the general consumer.

The High Cost of Living.

There can be no more important question than the high cost of living necessities. The main purpose of the Progressive movement is to place the American people in possession of their birthright, to secure for all the American people unobstructed access to the fountains of measureless prosperity which their Creator offers them. We in this country are blessed with great natural resources, and our men and

women have a very high standard of intelligence and of industrial capacity. Surely such being the case, we cannot permanently support conditions under which each family finds it increasingly difficult to secure the necessaries of life and a fair share of its comforts through the earnings of its members. The cost of living in this country has risen during the last few years out of all proportion to the increase in the rate of most salaries and wages; the same situation confronts alike the majority of wage-workers, small business men, small professional men, the clerks, the doctors, clergymen. The Democratic platform affects to find the entire cause of the high cost of living in the tariff, and promises to remedy it by free trade, especially free trade in the necessaries of life. In the first place, this attitude ignores the patent fact that the problem is world-wide, that everywhere, in England and France, as in Germany and Japan, it appears with greater or less severity; that in England, for instance, it has become a very severe problem, although neither the tariff nor, save to a small degree, the trusts can there have any possible effect upon the situation. In the second place, the Democratic platform, if it is sincere, must mean that all duties will be taken off the products of the farmer. Yet most certainly we cannot afford to have the farmer struck down. The welfare of the tiller of the soil is as important as the welfare of the wage-worker himself, and we must sedulously guard both. The farmer, the producer of the necessities of life, can himself live only if he raises these necessities for a profit. On the other hand, the consumer who must have that farmer's product in order to live, must be allowed to purchase it at the lowest cost that can give the farmer his profit, and everything possible must be done to eliminate any middleman whose function does not tend to increase the cheapness of distribution of the product; and, moreover, everything must be done to stop all speculating, all gambling with the bread-basket which has even the slightest deleterious effect upon the producer and consumer. There must be legislation which will bring about a closer business relationship between the farmer and the consumer.

There is urgent need of non-partisan expert examination into any tariff

schedule which seems to increase the cost of living, and, unless the increase thus caused is more than countervailed by the benefit to the class of the community which actually receives the protection, it must of course mean that that particular duty must be reduced. The system of levying a tariff for the protection and encouragement of American industry so as to secure higher wages and better conditions of life for American laborers must never be perverted so as to operate for the impoverishment of those whom it was intended to benefit. But, in any event, the effect of the tariff on the cost of living is slight; any householder can satisfy himself of this fact by considering the increase in price of articles, like milk and eggs, where the influence of both the tariff and the trusts is negligible. No conditions have been shown which warrant us in believing that the abolition of the protective tariff as a whole would bring any substantial benefit to the consumer, while it would certainly cause unheard of immediate disaster to all wage-workers, all business men, and all farmers, and in all probability would permanently lower the standard of living here. In order to show the utter futility of the belief that the abolition of the tariff and the establishment of free trade would remedy the condition complained of, all that is necessary is to look at the course of industrial events in England and in Germany during the last thirty years, the former under free trade, the latter under a protective system. During these thirty years it is a matter of common knowledge that Germany has forged ahead relatively to England, and this not only as regards the employers, but as regards the wage-earners—in short, as regards all members of the industrial classes. Doubtless, many causes have combined to produce this result; it is not to be ascribed to the tariff alone, but, on the other hand, it is evident that it could not have come about if a protective tariff were even a chief cause among many other causes of the high cost of living.

It is also asserted that the trusts are responsible for the high cost of living. I have no question that, as regards certain trusts, this is true. I also have no question that it will continue to be true just as long as the country confines itself to acting as the Baltimore plat-

form demands that we act. This demand is, in effect, for the States and National Governments to make the futile attempt to exercise forty-nine sovereign and conflicting authorities in the effort jointly to suppress the trusts, while at the same time the National Government refuses to exercise proper control over them. There will be no diminution in the cost of trust-made articles so long as our Government attempts the impossible task of restoring the flint-lock conditions of business sixty years ago by trusting only to a succession of lawsuits under the Anti-Trust Law—a method which it has been definitely shown usually results to the benefit of any big business concern which really ought to be dissolved, but which cause disturbance and distress to multitudes of smaller concerns. Trusts which increase production—unless they do it wastefully, as in certain forms of mining and lumbering—cannot permanently increase the cost of living; it is the trusts which limit production, or which without limiting production, take advantage of the lack of governmental control, and eliminate competition by combining to control the market, that cause an increase in the cost of living.

Currency.

We believe that there exists an imperative need for prompt legislation for the improvement of our National currency system. The experience of repeated financial crises in the last forty years has proved that the present method of issuing, through private agencies, notes secured by Government bonds is both harmful and unscientific. This method was adopted as a means of financing the Government during the Civil War through furnishing a domestic market for Government bonds. It was largely successful in fulfilling that purpose; but that need is long past, and the system has outlived this feature of its usefulness. The issue of currency is fundamentally a governmental function. The system to be adopted should have as its basic principles soundness and elasticity. The currency should flow forth readily at the demand of commercial activity, and retire as promptly when the demand diminishes. It should be automatically sufficient for all of the legitimate needs of business in any section of the country. Only by such

means can the country be freed from the danger of recurring panics.

Conservation.

On this question, Col. Roosevelt said in part: "There can be no greater issue than that of Conservation in this country. Just as we must conserve our men, women and children, so we must conserve the resources of the land on which they live. We must conserve the soil so that our children shall have a land that is more and not less fertile than our fathers dwelt in. We must conserve the forests, not by disuse but by use, making them more valuable at the same time that we use them. We must conserve the mines. Moreover, we must insure so far as possible the use of certain types of great natural resources for the benefit of the people as a whole. The public should not alienate its fee in the water power which will be of incalculable consequence as a source of power in the immediate future. In the West, the forests, the grazing lands, the reserves of every kind, should be so handled as to be in the interests of the actual settler, the actual home-maker. He should be encouraged to use them at once, but in such a way as to preserve and not exhaust them."

International Affairs.

In international affairs this country should behave toward other nations exactly as an honorable private citizen behaves toward other private citizens. We should do no wrong to any nation, weak or strong, and we should submit to no wrong. Above all, we should never in any treaty make any promise which we do not intend in good faith to fulfill. I believe it essential that our small army should be kept at a high pitch of perfection, and in no way can it be so damaged as by permitting it to become the plaything of men in Congress who wish to gratify either spite or favoritism, or to secure to localities advantages to which those localities are not entitled. The navy should be steadily built up; and the process of upbuilding must not be stopped until—and not before—it proves possible to secure by international agreement a general reduction of armaments. The Panama Canal must be fortified. It would have been criminal to build it if we were not prepared to fortify it and to keep our navy

at such a pitch of strength as to render it unsafe for any foreign power to attack us and get control of it. We have a perfect right to permit our coastwise traffic (with which there can be no competition by the merchant marine of any foreign nation—so that there is no discrimination against any foreign marine) to pass through that canal on any terms we choose, and I personally think that no toll should be charged on such traffic. Moreover, in time of war, where all treaties between warring nations, save those connected with the management of the war, at once lapse, the canal would of course be open to the use of our warships and closed to warships of the nation with which we were engaged in hostilities. But at all times the canal should be opened on equal terms to the ships of all nations, including our own engaged in international commerce. That was the understanding of the treaty when it was adopted, and the United States must always, as a matter of honorable obligation and with scrupulous nicety, live up to every understanding which she has entered into with any foreign power.

The question that has arisen over the right of this nation to charge tolls on the canal vividly illustrates the folly and iniquity of making treaties which cannot and ought not to be kept. As a people there is no lesson we more need to learn than the lesson not in an outburst of emotionalism to make a treaty that ought not to be, and could not be, kept; and the further lesson that, when we do make a treaty, we must soberly live up to it as long as changed conditions do not warrant the serious step of denouncing it. If we had been so unwise as to adopt the general arbitration treaties a few months ago, we would now be bound to arbitrate the question of our right to free our own coastwise traffic from canal tolls; and at any future time we might have found ourselves obliged to arbitrate the question whether, in the event of war, we could keep the canal open to our own war vessels and closed to those of our foes. There could be no better illustration of the extreme unwisdom of entering into international agreements without paying heed to the question of keeping them. On the other hand, we deliberately, and with our eyes open, and after ample consideration and discussion, agreed to

treat all merchant ships on the same basis; it was partly because of this agreement that there was no question raised by foreign nations as to our digging and fortifying the canal; and, having given our word, we must keep it. When the American people make a promise, that promise must and will be kept.

After talking an hour and a quarter, Col. Roosevelt said he had omitted about one-half of his prepared speech (of 20,000 words) because he did not wish to take up the time of the convention, but that copies of the complete speech would be distributed later. At one point he departed from his manuscript to answer a query about his attitude on the negro question. He said:

I think the American people is a good people to lead and a good people to drive. In Republican national conventions hitherto there has been a large representation of colored men, all from non-Republican States. The virtue of the Republicans of the Southern States trying to make the Democratic States be good I could not see. The Northern negro delegates were sent to the convention because they had won the respect of their communities. It was useless to try to force the Southern States to recognize the negro. Let us take the same attitude toward the negro in the South that we do in the North and then ultimately we will have the colored man recognized in the South as he is in the North. The easy thing for me to have done in this matter, if I had only my own political profit in mind, would have been to repeat the blunders of the Republican party. This might have helped me. But I would have been insincere and I would have been accepting the very thing that wrought disaster in the Republican party.

The committee on credentials presented a report, barring every negro delegate who had contested a seat in the convention. In addition it threw out a white delegation from Florida, and four contestants from the first

and second Ohio districts, who were charged by their opponents with representing the Cox-Taft Republican machine in the city of Cincinnati. The report embraced in its discussion of the Mississippi contests a declaration that the use of the word "white" in the call issued for a "lily white" State convention in that State was "disavowed" by the convention.

The report was adopted without discussion and without a dissenting vote. Then the convention adjourned until Wednesday.

On the third and last day (August 7) just before the convention was called to order, the band played "Onward, Christian Soldier," the delegates and spectators singing the hymn. The rules committee presented a report, which makes the following changes: One delegate for each 5,000 voters for progressive candidates; allowing any State represented in this convention to run a Progressive ticket under any other party name when the exigencies of the political situation made it advisable; adding four women to the National Committee; and excluding federal office holders from membership in the National Committee. The report designates the new party as the "Progressive Party," eliminating the word "National." The report was adopted without debate. The temporary organization had previously been made permanent.

Roosevelt and Johnson Nominated.

The roll of States was called for nominations for President. William A. Prendergast, of New York, nominated Theodore Roosevelt. Speeches seconding the nomination were made by Judge Lindsey, of

Colorado; Miss Jane Addams; A. F. Hamilton, of Georgia; Gen. Horatio C. King, of New York; Col. T. P. Lloyd, of Florida; Gen. John H. McDowell, of Tennessee; Henry J. Allen, of Kansas; ex-Gov. Garvin, of Rhode Island; P. V. Collins, of Minnesota; J. J. Sullivan, of Ohio; and Robert S. Fisher, of Arizona.

(At this point, the committee on resolutions presented the platform, which was adopted without a dissenting vote.)

Then Col. Roosevelt was nominated by acclamation.

John M. Parker, of Louisiana, then nominated Gov. Hiram W. Johnson, of California, as a candidate for Vice President. The nomination was seconded by Judge Lindsey, of Colorado; C. S. Wheeler, of California; James R. Garfield, of Ohio; Bainbridge Colby, of New York; Frederick Landis, of Indiana; Raymond Robbins, of Illinois; F. N. Gleed, a negro delegate, of New York; and Gifford Pinchot.

Then Johnson was nominated by acclamation.

As Col. Roosevelt and Governor Johnson took their places side by side on the platform a demonstration broke loose. The delegates leaped to their chairs and cheered. When order was restored, both nominees made brief speeches of acceptance. Then Beveridge, stepping to the front of the platform, announced the adjournment of the convention "without day." "And thus ends," he said, "one of the three most notable occasions in the country's history."

The Platform.

The platform declares that "the old parties have become the tools of corrupt interests which use them impar-

ally to serve their selfish purposes," and that the new party offers itself as the instrument of the people to "sweep away old abuses to build a new and nobler commonwealth."

It declares under heading, "The Rule of the People," for direct primaries for the nomination of State and national officers and candidates for the Presidency; for the popular election of United States Senators, and urges on the States the use of the short ballot, "with responsibility to the people, secured by the initiative, referendum and recall."

The party is pledged to provide "a more easy and expeditious method of amending the Federal Constitution," and national jurisdiction of problems which have expanded beyond reach of individual States is advocated.

It pledges the party to secure equal suffrage, and to enactment of legislation limiting campaign contributions and expenditures and providing for publicity thereof.

Participation by Federal appointees in State or national conventions is opposed, and "such restrictions of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy" is demanded.

Pledges judicial reform, believing "that the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes should be prohibited when such injunctions would not apply where no labor disputes existed."

It declares against child labor and for a minimum wage for women, for prevention of industrial accidents, safeguards for health of employes, publicity as to wages, eight-hour workday and establishment of a Federal Department of Labor.

The establishment of a country life commission and promotion of the welfare of farmers, is urged.

A single national health service is favored; national regulation of interstate corporations is demanded and the "establishment of a Federal commission to supervise interstate industrial corporations" urged. The strengthening of the Sherman law to insure competition in business and prevent unfair trade practices is favored.

Pledges the party to the enactment of a patent law that will prevent monopolies.

Favors legislation giving the Interstate Commerce Commission power to value physical property of railroads, and demands abolition of the Commerce Courts;

Condemns the method of issuing currency notes to private agencies, and urges control thereof by the Government alone, and opposes the Aldrich currency bill.

Favors Government co-operation with manufacturers and producers in extending foreign commerce;

Declares for prompt development of all natural resources, condemning exploitation, waste and monopolization; urges reasonable compensation to the public for water power rights hereafter granted;

Declares for good roads, national highways and extension of rural free delivery; in immediate development of natural resources of Alaska and promises to that territory local self-government as given other territories;

Pledges party to immediate preparation of plan to develop rivers of the country, especially the Mississippi and tributaries, without delay;

Demands that the Panama Canal shall be so operated as to insure sea competition with transcontinental railroads and urges that American railroad-controlled ships be denied the use of the canal;

Favors inheritance, income taxes, international agreement for limitation of naval forces and the construction of two battleships a year pending such agreement;

Favors Governmental action in behalf of immigrants; a wise and just policy of pensions for soldiers and sailors and the immediate creation of a parcels post.

In conclusion the platform "appeals for the support of all American citizens without regard to previous political affiliations."

The Tariff Plank.

We believe in a protective tariff which shall equalize conditions of competition between the United States and foreign countries, both for the farmer and the manufacturer, and which shall maintain for labor an adequate standard of living. Primarily the benefit of any tariff should be disclosed in the pay envelope of the laborer. We declare that no industry

deserves protection which is unfair to labor or which is operating in violation of federal law. We believe that the presumption is always in favor of the consuming public.

We demand tariff revision because the present tariff is unjust to the people of the United States. Fair dealing toward the people requires an immediate downward revision of those schedules wherein duties are shown to be unjust or excessive.

We pledge ourselves to the establishment of a non-partisan scientific tariff commission, reporting both to the President and to either branch of Congress, which shall report, first, as to the costs of production, efficiency of labor, capitalization, industrial organization and efficiency and the general competitive position in this country and abroad of industries seeking protection from Congress.

Second, as to the revenue producing power of the tariff and its relation to the resources of government; and third, as to the effect of the tariff on prices, operations of middlemen, and on the purchasing power of the consumer. We believe that this commission should have plenary power to elicit information and for this purpose to prescribe a uniform system of accounting for the great protected industries. The work of the commission should not prevent the immediate adoption of acts reducing those schedules generally recognized as excessive.

We condemn the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill as unjust to the people. The Republican organization is in the hands of those who have broken and cannot be again trusted to keep the promise of necessary downward revision. The Democratic party is committed to the destruction of the protective system through a tariff for revenue only—a policy which would inevitably produce widespread industrial and commercial disaster. We demand the immediate repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act.

High Cost of Living.

The high cost of living is due partly to world-wide and partly to local causes; partly to natural and partly to artificial causes. The measures proposed in this platform on various sub-

jects, such as the tariff, the trusts and conservation, will of themselves remove the artificial causes. There will remain other elements, such as the tendency to leave the country for the city, waste, extravagance, bad system of taxation, poor methods of raising crops and bad business methods in marketing crops.

To remedy these conditions requires the fullest information, and, based on this information, effective government supervision and control to remove all the artificial causes. We pledge ourselves to such full and immediate inquiry and to immediate action to deal with every need such inquiry discloses.

THE AMERICAN FLAG IN THE PANAMA.

Winthrop L. Marvin in the Boston Herald.

Whether President Taft and Senator Lodge on the one hand or Great Britain and Senator Root on the other are right as to American control of the Panama Canal may be a moot question. But there can be no possible dispute as to the practical results of acceptance of the British contention on the maritime strength of the United States.

The consequences would be worse than a foreign war—not only deep but permanent. The British contention in brief is that we have no right under the Hay-Pauncefote treaty to protect or prefer American ships in the great waterway which American money and toil are constructing. That same contention under other treaties has been successfully enforced against American ships on the high seas for more than 60 years—with the result that Boston, for example, with 482,000 tons of shipping owned and registered in 1855, now has less than 30,000.

The laws of the United States protect a cotton mill or a woolen mill or a shoe shop or a foundry, but they do not protect an ocean ship. That is why the United States has thousands of factories, but almost no shipping in ocean commerce. The

whole problem of the American merchant marine is summed up in these few words. Under all other flags in a greater or less degree ocean shipping is a protected industry. In this country, the chief protectionist nation in the world, it is unprotected—the only unprotected industry of all exposed to foreign competition.

Why it is unprotected is a long story going back into history, but a knowledge of this history is essential to an understanding of the real significance of the new and fierce British contention that we have no right to prefer our ships at Panama. Ocean shipping has not always been an unprotected and almost dead industry in this country. The very first real law of the fathers of the republic under the new Federal government—framed and passed under the eye of Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson and Madison, on July 4, 1789—besides providing a tariff "for the encouragement and protection of manufactures," gave American shipping the advantage of a remission of 10 per cent. of the customs duties and also preferential tonnage taxes on all foreign goods imported under the American flag.

At that time only 23 per cent. of American exports and imports were being conveyed beneath the Stars and Stripes—all the rest under foreign colors, chiefly British, as now. The effect of that law was magical. American registered deep-sea shipping rose from 123,000 tons in 1789 to 667,000 in 1800, and the proportion of American commerce carried by our own sailors, from 23 to 89 per cent. This splendid advance continued until the embargo and the approach of the war of 1812. As Mr. H. C. Adams says in "Taxation in the United States": "The growth of American shipping from 1789 to 1807 is without parallel in the history of the commercial world."

This preferential policy of the fathers applied to American ocean trade in general, but to encourage long voyages to the East Indies a special and even more vigorous policy was enforced. Tea was then the chief commodity of Oriental commerce. A high duty was levied on it if imported in foreign ships, but a low duty if brought direct in American ships by way of the Cape of Good Hope. On a cargo of 100,000 pounds of tea an American ship from China or India would pay about \$10,000 in duties, but a foreign ship would pay \$28,000. This was intended to be and was prohibitive. It made the China trade as completely our own as our coastwise commerce. The American Institute in 1828 reported that since the passage of that law "not a single pound of tea has been imported which has not been brought in an American bottom."

That was the law which created the merchant princes and the merchant fleets of Salem, Boston, New

York and Philadelphia. A Federal statute lay at the foundation of those chapters of romance.

The new national policy was regarded as resentfully in Great Britain as the present proposal to remit the tolls to American ships at Panama. After the war of 1812, and practically as one of the conditions of peace, the preferential duties were withdrawn against British ships in the direct trade with the United Kingdom. The result was disastrous, or as McMaster, the historian, says, "Wholly favorable to England." But it was a part of a treaty—not the peace treaty, but a special convention—and the British government held us to it just as it is now endeavoring with distinguished American help to hold us to the strict British interpretation of the Hay-Pauncefote compact. American shipping fell from 800,000 tons in 1816 to 583,000 tons in 1820. Fortunately this ill-starred treaty did not cover all our commerce. American shipowners and sailors were still protected in other trades than the direct trade with Great Britain—and continued protected in part until 1849. By 1828 our registered fleet had again advanced to 757,000 tons, more than 200,000 tons below the fleet of 1810, but sufficient to convey 89 per cent. of our foreign commerce.

In 1828, the non-maritime states, over the protest of shipowners and merchants, foisted on the country a miscalled reciprocity act abolishing preferential duties in general against the ships of all nations that enforced none against our own. Gradually under this act commercial treaties have been made stripping our ocean

ships of all preference and leaving this industry at the end unprotected against new forms of foreign aggression. This act of 1828, as Professor J. R. Soley well says in "The Maritime Industries of America," "has done the United States, especially in South America, a great and lasting injury." "It caused at once an enormous reduction of our registered tonnage, while the proportion of our own carrying trade which we had then maintained for eight years—namely 90 per cent.—began almost immediately thereafter to fall and it has been falling ever since until it has reached almost the point of extinction." In 1845 we were carrying 81 per cent. of our commerce under our own flag; in 1860, only 66 per cent. By this time American ocean shipping had become wholly an unprotected industry.

The Irish famine and its demand for food-stuffs, the California gold discovery and the Crimean War, between 1847 and 1855, gave a great temporary impetus to our registered tonnage, but the actual decline in our ocean shipping had begun several years before the Civil War. In 1855, no less than 583,000 tons of ships, including 381 square-rigged vessels, were built in the United States. By the year 1859 the output of our yards had fallen to 156,000 tons. The doom of the American merchant marine was written where everyone could read it, several years before the Alabamas and Floridas were launched and manned by eager British hands—several years before the first shot was fired at Sumter. The war did not destroy our ocean fleet. All the American tonnage burned or sunk by Anglo-Confeder-

ate cruisers between 1861 and 1865 exceeded little the loss of the one port of Boston in the years of peace from 1855 to 1861.

It was not war that worked the ruin of the American ocean fleet—it was the same economic policy which the British government, aided by some American statesmen, now proposes to enforce at Panama. The American diplomatists who framed the fatal commercial treaties of 1828-1861 were honest and patriotic men, but they were fearfully mistaken. When they agreed that all preference should gradually be withdrawn from American ships, our wooden sail fleet was the second largest and incomparably the finest in the world. Those diplomatists and many of our lawmakers believed it to be invincible. But they did not look ahead and see the incoming of the steam engine and the iron hull—and, above all, of the British subsidy.

When the British diplomatists, shrewder and more experienced than our own, had securely tied us hand and foot in the treaty stipulations that we should not shield our ocean shipping by the wonderfully successful American method of preferential duties in any trade, steam navigation was in its infancy. The best experiments had been tried on this side of the Atlantic. Yankee mechanics were of the same blood as Yankee seamen. Left to individual initiative, Americans would unquestionably have triumphed in steam as they had in sail. But there was to be no fair and equal chance. The cards were stacked against us.

As far back as 1834 the British government had begun the giving of subsidies to steamship lines. In

1840 the first British trans-Atlantic service was established—the Cunard line, created outright by a grant of \$425,000 from the British treasury. This was quickly followed by other subsidized lines to the West Indies, South America and the Orient. British ship-owners, with profits guaranteed, developed engine works and iron shipyards that built not only mail liners but steam cargo “tramps”—so that the new and potent protection of subsidy, though applied nominally to national postal lines alone, really aided every branch of British shipping. This was the deliberate purpose, as the parliamentary committee on ocean mail contracts said in 1854, “to afford us rapid, frequent and punctual communication with distant ports which feed the main arteries of British commerce, and with the most important of our foreign possessions, to foster maritime enterprise and to encourage the production of a superior class of vessels which would promote the commerce and wealth of the nation in time of peace, and assist in defending its shores against hostile aggression.” In other words, the British subsidy policy on which at least \$300,000,000 has been expended up to date, was frankly and aggressively protective in its character.

With this formidable British weapon, our unprotected ships, in foreign commerce, whether of wood or iron, with sail or steam, could not compete. From 1847 to 1856 an effort was made to meet British subsidy by American subsidy on the North Atlantic. It was successful—our steam tonnage surpassed Brit-

ain’s in growth, speed and efficiency—until the American subsidy was suddenly cancelled by the dominant South in the passionate quarrels that preceded the civil war. From that time to this, every effort to subsidize American ocean ships or prefer them in any way has been defeated by a combination of South and West in Congress. Now our American tonnage actually employed in real foreign commerce has sunk to about 500,000 tons, or less than one-half of the fleet of a century ago, conveying about 8 per cent. of American commerce. The remaining 92 per cent. is monopolized by the ships of foreign governments, our rivals in trade and possible enemies in war, to which we pay an annual tribute estimated at upwards of \$200,000,000.

This story of how we Americans have been first outwitted, then beaten and now nearly destroyed on the ocean is worth telling as a certain forecast of what will happen in the Panama canal if the British contention is sustained by American law-makers. The British government is perfectly well aware of the causes that have prevented and probably will continue to prevent subsidy legislation at Washington. No subject is more keenly followed by the diplomatic corps than this one. A Democratic House has just voted by a decisive majority to remit the Panama canal tolls to American coastwise ships. But the whole world knows that this Democratic House, controlled by men from non-maritime states, would never grant a dollar of compensatory subsidy to

American shipping. If free or repaid tolls to American vessels can be forbidden by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, the results will be (1) that every American ship engaged in foreign trade through the canal will be run off the route by subsidized foreign competitors, and then (2) that the domestic shipping now covered by the coastwise law will be so discouraged that it will prove inadequate to the trade—and an imperative demand will then arise that this

coastwise traffic, too, be opened to foreign shipowners.

These results are as sure as the rising of the sun tomorrow, if the British contention is successful at Panama. And every American citizen in public office or at an editor's desk who now echoes and approves the British demand is helping to pass a sentence of death on what is left of the American merchant marine. It is well that this should be understood in season.

STRENUOUS TARIFF LEGISLATION.

Democrats and Insurgents Combine at Washington—Old Wool and Metal Bills Again Vetoed—Wilson's Amazing Free-Trade Blunders.

From Our Washington Correspondent.

Washington, Aug. 17, 1912.

The last few weeks have been rather strenuous in the way of tariff legislation in Congress. Unexpectedly, Mr. La Follette and a few other insurgent Senators rushed to the aid of the Democrats in passing the same old wool bill that was sent to the President and vetoed last year. It was expected that these Senators would have some regard for the facts disclosed in the unanimous report of the Tariff Board on this subject, particularly as the two Democrats on the board were men of high standing. But no attention was paid to the report of the board except to denounce it. Of course the President vetoed the bill, and through absentee Republicans the

Democrats managed to override the veto in the House.

The metal bill was also passed by the aid of insurgents and necessarily vetoed by the President. It was unexpectedly called up in the House almost as soon as the veto message was received. This was the result of an understanding between Mr. Underwood and the "insurgents," who voted to override the wool bill veto, that they would vote in a similar manner on the extraordinary metal bill. The vote was 174 to 83, or 8 more than the necessary two-thirds. The "insurgent" Republicans voting with the Democrats to pass the bill over the veto were Davis, Lindbergh and Steenerson, of Minnesota; Haugen and Woods of Iowa;

Kent of California; Kinkaid, Norris and Sloan of Nebraska; Lafferty of Oregon; La Follette of Washington; Rees, Jackson and Young of Kansas, and Morse of Wisconsin.

The sugar bill passed by the House, providing for free sugar and which the Spreckels and other cane refiners expended much money to promote, was not accepted by the Senate. An able speech on the sugar question by Senator Lodge had a good deal of influence in securing the passage of an amended bill, which reduced the duty on raw sugar and repealed the Dutch Standard test and swept away all discrimination in favor of the Sugar Trust and its associate refiners such as the Arbuckles. The Free Trade Democrats in the House have so far refused to accept the Senate amendments which would reduce duties to the extent of \$5,000,000, and by taking away the advantages which the Trust now has would secure cheaper sugar for the consumer, and promote the growth of the beet sugar industry. But that is not what the Free Trade Democrats want, so they refuse to accept the reduction in rates provided by the Senate.

Excise Bill and Reciprocity Repeal.

The unnecessary excise bill passed the Senate with an amendment repealing the law providing for the so-called reciprocity with Canada. The Democrats, however, will not give up anything in the way of Free Trade, once on the statute books, hence the Underwood following will not agree with this Senate amendment, though it was supported by the Democratic Senators. Mr. Bacon, of Georgia, remarked in the Senate that the people of the North

were all opposed to this reciprocity proposition, but that does not influence Mr. Underwood and his Southern followers. The conferees on the part of the Senate unwisely have offered to exclude print paper and wood pulp from the repeal if the House Democrats would agree to the remainder of the repealing clause. But Mr. Underwood & Co. declined.

The admission of print paper from Canada free while that country imposes a duty on all American paper is very unjust, and has been of no advantage in reducing the price of paper, though it has helped to establish a number of new paper mills in Canada, while closing some on this side of the line. It operates in the same way as the law passed some years ago admitting coal from Canada free of duty for one year. The Canadians largely increased their sale of coal that year, but they charged the same prices as American producers, so that the law was of no advantage to American consumers. The free admission of Canadian paper is no advantage, but it has produced trouble with Germany and other countries who demand under the most-favored nation clauses of their treaties with the United States similar rights. Germany is now imposing, as a result of that law, higher duties on certain American products than she imposes on similar products from other countries. Hence this unfair reciprocity proposition is a loss to the United States, and should be swept from the statute books. But Prof. Wilson, the Democratic candidate for President, and his followers in

the House, are in favor of it and will retain it on the law books.

Cotton Bill in Suspense.

The sudden anxiety of the Democrats in the House to pass again the cotton bill vetoed last year by the President seems to have misled Republican Senators. When the bill was brought before the Senate, Mr. Penrose, chairman of the Finance committee, which has jurisdiction of tariff bills, explained that there might have been an effort to get the Republicans together upon a cotton bill, but there was no indication of any purpose on the part of the House to take up the measure until a few days ago, and the schedule is too complicated to take action on at this time. After waiting five or six months, with the session near its end, it was too much to expect a perfected bill to be presented when the Senators were holding night sessions on appropriation bills. Mr. La Follette presented a substitute for the House bill, but only 14 votes, nearly all "insurgents," were cast for the substitute, whereupon the House bill was passed by ayes 36, nays 19. Nearly all of the 14 votes cast for the La Follette substitute were cast for the House bill. An amendment to repeal the reciprocity law failed by ayes 29, nays 31. Among the nays were Bristow, Clapp, Kenyon, Poindexter and Works. An amendment to repeal the law, excepting the provision for free print paper and pulp, was adopted by a vote of ayes 51, nays 9. The nays included Culberson, Overman, Stone, Tillman, Williams, Bryan, Chilton, Reed and Smith of South Carolina.

The chemical bill, as passed by the Senate, is a very different measure from the one passed by the House, and it does not look as though any agreement will be reached on the subject.

This tariff legislation of the Democrats is all so crude and destructive that much surprise has been expressed that Prof. Wilson, the Democratic candidate for President, should give it his approval. But he has no hesitation in aligning himself with his Southern associates, so that it can easily be seen what the future will bring if he is elected. He and Gov. Marshall, of Indiana, the candidate for Vice-President, are in entire harmony on the subject. After consulting with Wilson, Marshall said: "I am opposed to the policy of protection and that is the chief issue. Roosevelt will not take a Democratic vote in Indiana."

Wilson's Astonishing Statements.

Wilson has been so outspoken on this subject in the past that his effort in his academic speech of acceptance to evade the question does not increase respect for him. Speaking in Boston on January 27, last, he said: "While we have surrounded ourselves with this wall of the tariff, and are rejoicing in the great area of free trade which we enjoy in America we are becoming ignorant of the markets of the world." Prof. Wilson made that statement in apparent ignorance of the fact that under protection the foreign commerce of the United States has grown from less than \$1,000,000,000 in 1870 to practically \$4,000,000,000 in 1912, of which amount \$1,000,000,000 was products of the factory sent to for-

eign markets. Meantime the internal commerce of the country, the trade among our own people, the home market for home products, has grown from \$7,000,000,000 in 1870 to \$33,000,000,000 in 1912, a development under the tariff which exceeds anything known before in the history of the world.

Wilson Needs Information.

Prof. Wilson said in his Boston speech: "We do not know how to make cotton goods of the kind and patterns that are suitable in all quarters of the world, and then to place them there. We have bound ourselves hand and foot in a smug domestic helplessness by this jacket of a tariff we have wound around us. We are going to change it."

And yet "bound hand and foot" this nation's commerce has expanded to the enormous extent mentioned while our domestic expansion exceeds anything known in the history of the world. The wealth of the nation was officially stated as \$30,068,518,000 in 1870 and reached \$130,000,000,000 in 1912. total imports were \$435,958,000 in 1870 and \$1,653,426,174 in 1912, while the ad valorem duty on all imports has been reduced in that time from 44.89 to 20.29 per cent. The exports have increased from \$392,771,768 to \$2,204,222,083. The value of farm property has increased from \$8,944,000,000 to \$40,991,000,000, and the value of manufactures from \$4,232,000,000 to \$20,672,000,000.

Wilson Should Apologize.

Notwithstanding this development, unprecedented in the history of the world, Prof. Wilson says that we have "shut our doors tight against

foreign commercial intercourse" and "have been decreasing our efficiency," and he added: "We import a workman who earns 30 cents a day on the other side of the water, and find him in our employ earning \$2 a day on this side of the water. A man cannot change the dexterity of his fingers or his physical make-up in a month. When I hear the reports that tell of protecting the American laborers that I know of against the pauper labor of Europe I can only smile that my fellow voters are so gullible."

And yet Prof. Wilson says that a man getting 30 cents in Europe gets \$2 a day on this side! How can he expect cotton to be manufactured on this side, with such a difference in wages, and exported, in competition with foreign manufacturers who pay wages nearly seven times less, according to his own figures, than those paid in the United States?

Development of the Cotton Industry.

The value of the cotton manufactures in the country in 1909 was \$628,391,813 and in 1899 \$339,200,320, or nearly 100 per cent. increase in ten years. What is Prof. Wilson talking about? Evidently he needs information about cotton goods as well as other things. Hon. Wm. S. Greene, of Fall River, talking in the House recently on this subject, said that there is no other industry in the country which can show as small a margin of profit in the general sense as the cotton manufacturing industry in which there is keen competition, and which the Democrats threaten to destroy. The existing law helped to develop the production of fine goods at which the Demo-

crats strike a hard blow. Mr. Underwood asked W. H. Langshaw, president of some mills at New Bedford, to come to Washington to help prepare the Democratic cotton bill, but Mr. Langshaw declined, saying that the committee needed information before acting. But it did not seek information and struck at the 1713 cotton mills, delivering the hardest blow at the fine goods industries in which \$16,000,000 additional capital was invested in New Bedford alone in two years under the new tariff, producing goods before imported.

Mr. Greene told of a manufacturer who sold goods for 8 1/4 cents a yard which were sold at retail in Boston for 25 cents a yard. That is where the high cost of living comes in. It is not due to manufacturers.

Democrats Waste Money.

The large number of investigating committees set at work by the Democrats in Congress have accomplished nothing. The steel investigation extended over a year, but no legislation has resulted. It was a repetition of what the Democrats did before the Sherman anti-trust law was passed—they investigated and did nothing, while the Republicans passed the law as soon as they got control of Congress. Prof. Wilson talks about trusts and the tariff, ignoring the fact that the oil and coal trusts, the two oldest and strongest combinations, deal in articles that always have been on the free list. Free Trade England has as many trusts in proportion to population as any other nation.

Free Ships.

The Democrats lose no opportunity to extend their free trade pro-

gram. Mr. Williams, of Mississippi, secured the adoption in the Senate of an amendment to the Panama Canal bill to admit foreign fruit ships to American registry to engage in the foreign trade. Of course he did not propose free raw materials to build such ships with. In the same way the Democrats proposed in the metal bill to admit machine tools, printing presses, sewing machines, typewriting machines, etc., free, but they kept the duties on the raw materials required to produce them!

Since the Wilson bill was passed when Cleveland was President, wages in the woolen industry have increased from 25 to 35 per cent. and all raw materials have increased in price. But the Democrats propose less protection to the industry now than was given in the Wilson law when more than half the mills were closed!

Senate Refuses to Override Vetoes— Speaker Clark's Unfairness.

The refusal of the Senate to pass the wool and metal bills over the President's vetoes has discouraged the Democrats and may arrest further tariff legislation at this session. Mr. La Follette made a long speech in his effort to help the Democrats override the wool veto, but he failed to get anything like enough Republicans to assist him in his onslaught on the tariff. The passage of the wool bill in the House over the President's veto would have been promptly assailed in the courts had the Senate overridden the veto. The vote in the House was ayes 174, nays 80, and "present" 10. That makes 264 who answered to their names, of which number 174 voted

to override the veto, or two less than two-thirds. Speaker Clark declared that two-thirds had voted to override, but the Supreme Court has decided in *United States vs. Ballin* (144 U. S.) that those present and not voting are a part of the House as much as those who voted. Under that decision Speaker Clark's ruling is void and unquestionably would have been so decided.

Free Ship Amendment Causes Alarm.

The free ship amendment to the Panama Canal bill is arousing vigorous protests, and the President is asked to disapprove the measure. Not only are foreign-built ships to

be admitted free, when engaged in the foreign trade and in the trade with the Philippine islands, but all materials for the construction, repair of machinery and equipment of vessels are to be admitted free. This applies to coastwise and all other vessels. Shipbuilders assert that it will, if approved, close nearly all American ship yards. Foreigners have a great advantage in ocean transportation rates, and with such free admission of materials of all kinds for construction, repair and equipment, American workmen would find little employment in that business.

THE FRENCH AND GERMAN INSURANCE SCHEMES.

By Our London Correspondent.

London, Aug. 15, 1912.

In a few days' time England will have entered upon one of the greatest attempts at social and economic legislation in her history. I refer to her great Insurance scheme for providing her people against the economic effects of illness. Something of the same sort of thing has been attempted in Germany, but on rather restricted lines, and has achieved a measure of success. But we must remember that Germany is a young nation, and that her people are accustomed to being governed by officials and led about at the end of a string. If that were not so Germany would not consent to have a Parliament that is quite powerless to act,

nor would she be willing to occupy the same position in many respects politically that England occupied under the Plantagenets. Therefore what suits Germany does not necessarily suit Britain.

A State Insurance scheme has been tried in France and has not been a brilliant success. The French Old Age Pensions Act of 1910 represents the first experiment with obligatory insurance in France. It is compulsory and contributory. Originally, all employed men and women of 65 years of age in July, 1911, earning a maximum salary of £120 a year are forced to insure themselves for a pension. The men's contribution was fixed at 7s 6d a year, or

7 1/2d a month and the women's at 5s a year or 5d a month; children under 18 paying 2s 9d a year or 3 1/2d a month. An equal amount is paid by the employer, and under the original provisions of the Act, the State contributes £2 8s 4d annually to such pensions. Payments are effected by the usual means of stamps.

But in spite of all the advantages, supposed or real, the French people have remained strangely apathetic, if not hostile. Even those whom the Act found on the threshold of their sixty-fifth birthday and who needed but the payment of a few shillings to enter into possession of an annuity held back. In the face of this latent hostility the government had to make changes. The age limit has been reduced to 60, and the State now pays £4 instead of £2 8s 4d. But still the number of persons availing themselves of it has increased only in insignificant proportions. Calculations based on the revenue derived monthly from the sale of the insurance stamps show that up to the end of the first quarter of 1912 only 2,763,868 persons had fulfilled the law instead of the 18 millions reckoned by the Government. Such is the result of trying to force on a conservative minded people a measure quite opposed to their views. The French are a highly individualistic race, and much object to any interference with their home life or any prying therein.

As regards the compulsory clauses. In Germany the whole strength of the obligatory insurance laws lies in the fact that their execution rests with the employer. He is made responsible for seeing that the employe affixes his stamps, with the

result that the workman whose book is not in order does not find employment. The French Act provides, it is true, for a fine equal to the amount of the contribution as a penalty for failure, but it is obviously impossible to fine ten millions of people. The French Government stated that if a man failed to produce his insurance card on pay day, the employer must deduct the amount from his wages. But the Supreme Court of Appeal has just decided that the employer has no legal power to do so, and that all he can do is to draw the employer's attention to the requirements of the Act. Truly a pretty muddle, and even England seems to be just about to enter upon similar troubles. To sum up: The employer has accepted the State insurance scheme; the employe has rejected it. The Government has failed to place on the employer the onus of enforcing an unpopular measure, and has now to resort to persuasion to get the mass of the people to submit to the scheme. That means that the Government must further tempt the workers. If they remain obdurate, presumably fresh concessions will be made, so that the measure instead of promoting thrift will be a measure of public charity.

F. C. CHAPPELL.

The free trader declares that that is the wisest policy which tends to create more wealth for distribution among the people. Measured by that test protection is incomparably the best of all fiscal methods.

When the workingman in the United States discusses what he calls "cost of living," he measures by a standard which the toilers of other countries could not form a conception of if they tried.

BENEFIT HOME INDUSTRY.

From Fibre and Fabric.

An English newspaper states that on account of the 14 years of our Dingley tariff, the woolen and worsted manufacturers of Huddersfield and the Colne Valley lost close to \$25,000,000 in American trade.

Why not? What do we have a big, growing woolen and woolen industry in America for? What do thousands of investors put money into developing the industry for, if not to aid in building up an American industry to support American workpeople and make America a prosperous country? The very object of our protective tariff is to keep out foreign manufactures that are not produced on a basis with the home made product. As a country, America is not in business for her health any more than a manufacturer in Huddersfield is, and where the sense and justice comes in of opening our country to foreign competition we cannot see.

The woolen and worsted manufacturers of Huddersfield and Colne Valley are sore because our tariff keeps them out of this country. The German hosiery makers are bitter, because of our tariff which prevents them from making America their chief dumping ground and the worsted, woolen and lace makers of France and Belgium are sore because our markets are not thrown open to them.

What more positive argument for a high protective tariff, than that foreign competitors are worried because they cannot flood this country with the product of labor receiving about one-half the American wage?

If the Huddersfield and Colne Valley manufacturers are losing trade of about \$2,000,000 a year on account of the high tariff then American mills are gaining more than \$3,000,000 and approximately one third of this gain is distributed to American labor for increased spending. Imports of foreign cloth for the past year were about \$14,000,000 against \$17,000,000 in 1911 and \$21,755,000 in 1910. Foreign competitors are losing ground as should properly be the case, and our tariff should be so high that foreign made cloth would come in the exclusive luxury class with diamonds, champagne, etc.

We have men, mills and money in America sufficient to provide every yard of cloth needed for necessities and luxuries and home competition is so strong that no goods can be overpriced. Let us fight out our own salvation right here in the little old United States and cut off foreign business by a protective tariff and nail up the slogan America for Americans and live up to it 365 days in each year.

JOSEPH WALKER'S GOOD ADVICE.

From the Fall River News.

In his appeal to the party to get together for the fall campaign, Mr. Walker makes it clear that the so-called Progressive members of the party will be best able to accomplish what they are seeking by working through the medium of the party, which in Massachusetts has always been a party of progress. Mr. Walker argues strongly that there can be no justification whatever for any of the Progressives to leave their party. They would have far more chance of advancing the cause to which they claim to be devoted if they should stay in the party and fight for their prin-

ciples inside it. Their party will cease to be an instrument for wise and progressive government the moment it splits up into factions and expends its strength in fighting for factional control. Mr. Walker asserts with force that much more can be accomplished for sane, progressive legislation if Republicans stand together than if they pull apart.

BREAKING DOWN WAGES.

From the Buffalo News.

The statement of the Democratic platform that American wages are established by competitive conditions and not by the Tariff, is one that is misleading in its statement as well as untrue in fact. American wages are established under competitive conditions within our own country, but not under conditions that are competitive with those in foreign countries.

Granting that industry of all kinds within the limits of our territory is Protective and that it is for the workman to choose his field of labor and to acquire the wages that are paid in the competitions that exist between industries; that is, if wages be unduly high in agriculture, labor will drift that way.

If, on the other hand, wages are unduly high in manufacturing as compared with agriculture, then labor will drift into manufacturing, to the neglect of agriculture, and with the neglect of production, prices will go up, and that is one of the great reasons why prices are now so high all over the world, the world itself having become more of a workshop than was ever known, with a higher percentage of citizens dwelling in cities than was ever the case before.

But the purpose of that Demo-

cratic plank is to assert that wages in America are established by conditions of competition with wages in Europe, and that is just as false and misleading as a statement can possibly be. One has to be familiar only with very few lines of manufacturing to know that if the duty were taken off, the factories of Europe would fill the American market and drive four-fifths of American mechanics out of their jobs. The wage earner would of necessity have to take to the soil, with the consequence that he would break down the profits of agriculture to such a great extent as to reduce the entire country to the foreign wages level.

There is no industry in the United States of any consequence that does not pay at least twice the wages paid foreign workmen in the same line of industry, while in most of them the American rate is three and four times the wages abroad. Even in railroading, which enlists whole armies of men without the requirement of their being skilled in the industrial sense to any unusual degree, comparisons stated between America and Europe and the American wages are two to three times higher in that field than they are abroad.

What the Democrats of the year have to explain is how they are going to throw Protection to the winds and at the same time see that American wages do not go the same way. It is not going to be a matter of assertion in the debate this year, but the men who are seeking to upset the established order of industry completely will have to show very fully and clearly the grounds on which they make their stand.

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid
To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

SEPTEMBER, 1912.

The New York Journal of Commerce has optimistic reports from presidents of Western banks concerning the grain harvests, and business prospects are also reported as most encouraging.

Governor Wilson's speech of acceptance is generally estimated as much too weak for radicals and a little too strong for conservatives. In trying to please everybody it would seem that he has pleased nobody.

In an address to the Maryland Republican Editorial Association, President Taft declared bluntly that Presidential electors were "dishonest" if they let their names appear on the Republican ballot and intended to vote for the candidate of another party.

The numerical strength of trades unions has been greatly overstated. Recent reliable statistics show that in the United States only 3 per cent. of the population are members; in Canada 2 per cent.; in Germany 4.1; in Great Britain 5.4; in France 2.5, and in Austria 1.4 per cent.

The foreign trade of the United States during the fiscal year 1912 was greater than ever before, reaching the grand total of approximately \$4,000,000,000. And yet the free trade papers will probably go right on asserting that our protective tariff is killing our foreign trade.

The Paris Temps declares that Roosevelt stands on a platform, "cleverly and admirably constructed," and that those who fail to take seriously his chances in the campaign are making a "profound mistake." That paper is also predicting a tariff war with the United States, and is a prophet of evil generally.

President Taft's veto of the wool bill was no surprise to anybody. The bill was prepared by Democrats and "Insurgents" in a way to challenge disapproval and to put the President "in a hole." It is possible that before this campaign is over Mr. Taft's opponents may find themselves deposited in the cavity they had dug for him.

The bidding of political parties for the support and votes of woman suffrage leaders does not seem to work to the advantage of any one party. Some prominent leaders are for Taft, some for Roosevelt, and others for Wilson; so there you are. At the primary election in California the women voters were as much divided in their preferences as the male voters.

It appears that only three "insurgent" Republican United States Senators have gone over to the new progressive party. They are Dixon

of Montana, Clapp of Minnesota, and Poindexter of Washington. Several of the other "insurgent" Senators still claim to be loyal to the Republican party, though they continue to vote with the Democrats on tariff questions.

It is stated that there are 600,000 negro voters in the Northern and Southern border states, and it is supposed that this vote may be a considerable factor in deciding the Presidential election. Probably no one party will get all of this vote, and we know of no reason why the Democratic party should have any of it, as it has eliminated the negro politically wherever possible.

It will be noted that the tariff plank in the "Progressive Party" platform, declares for "a protective tariff which shall equalize conditions of competition between the United States and foreign countries, both for the farmer and the manufacturer, and which shall maintain for labor an adequate standard of living;" and also for "the immediate repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act."

The disgraceful fact is recorded, that when the important vote was taken in the House, on August 13, on the question of repassing the wool bill over the President's veto, sixty Republican members were absent. Probably a few were necessarily absent, but the larger number were attending to private business or shirking responsibility, and neglecting their public duties. Five more Republican votes would have defeated the two-thirds' vote necessary to repass the bill.

It is charged that the twenty "insurgent" Republicans in the House who voted to repass the wool bill over the President's veto, felt that they could safely do this as they come from States where there is little wool grown or manufactured. If this is the fact they need to be reminded that they are in Congress as representatives of the United States and not merely of single states and districts.

We have received the following note from a prominent manufacturer: "I received your various papers regarding the tariff, for which I am much obliged. The manufacturers of this country have made a mistake in sitting dumbly in their busy offices and allowing the sentimental agitators to fill people with the thought that they are robbers instead of the hard headed philanthropists that most of them are."

Hon. Luther W. Mott, of New York, delivered one of the best speeches in support of the protective tariff that has been uttered at this session of Congress. The speech appears in the Congressional Record of August 5. Mr. Mott was appointed by Gov. Hughes Superintendent of Banks in New York State, and as a Harvard graduate has made a study of the tariff. He demonstrates conclusively the great benefits that all classes have derived from this beneficent policy.

The latest monthly report of the Department of Agriculture estimates that the total production of cereals will be 13.7 per cent. more than last year; potatoes 21 per cent.

more, and hay about one-third more. An increase in the apple crop of 33 per cent. is indicated over last year; and fruits and vegetables generally indicate an increase. It is estimated that the value of this season's crops will reach the enormous total of \$9,000,000,000 (if there are no drawbacks) or \$500,000,000 more than last year.

President Jones of the Live Stock Exchange, Chicago, says: "The West is raising little cattle. The market is short and beef animals are short in weight, and the price of beef has advanced. There is no question in my mind that the increase in the population of this country is outgrowing the production of meat producing animals." He also believes that Congress made a mistake in opening certain lands in the West for a settlement which were suitable and best for grazing. In short, too much "conservation."

Those Senators, both Republicans and Democrats, who voted for an amendment to the House cotton bill to repeal sections one and three of the Canadian reciprocity act, as a sop to the farmers, but not including the pulp and paper section, played pretty cheap politics. The retention of section two was a distinct bid for the support of newspapers that want free pulp and paper. Evidently they have little regard for the interests of our paper industry in which nearly \$300,000,000 of capital are invested and which pays over \$32,000,000 annually in wages.

In his speech accepting his nomination for President by the Prohibi-

tion Party, Eugene W. Chafin said the liquor traffic was the most serious drain on the wealth and resources of the nation, and is largely a cause of the high cost of living. On the tariff question he said: "Our position on the tariff question cannot be better stated than to quote in full the plank on that subject, which says: 'As the tariff is a commercial question, it should be fixed on the scientific basis of accurate knowledge, secured by means of a permanent, non-partisan tariff commission, with ample powers.'"

Chairman Hilles of the Republican National Committee has issued a statement claiming that thirty-four states are sure for Taft. In the list he includes Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and even Wilson's own state of New Jersey. The Roosevelt managers claim that Taft is not sure of more than four or five states. Some Democratic leaders claim that Wilson will carry a large majority of the States. No party is warranted in making any large claims at this stage of the campaign. A good many things may happen before the election in November that will upset all present calculations.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce furnishes the following interesting item: "Political advisers to President Taft say they do not believe he ever expressed an opinion on the repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act. It is declared that the President has not reversed his attitude on this question, notwithstanding the outcome of the Canadian elections last fall. Government

chiefs say they desire the reciprocity act to remain upon the statutes for some time in hope that Canada will reverse itself and sanction the agreement. This view is declared to be held by the President."

The Washington correspondent of the Boston Transcript writes: "No better illustration of the need of systematizing Government finance and of dissociating it from freak legislation could be offered than the present session of Congress. Policies like the parcels post and Federal road building, which would commit the Government to untold burdens of expense, are tacked on to appropriation bills and jammed through as cheerfully as if they belonged there, with no thought as to cost and no real investigation as to merit. The present Congress has been fast and loose with the good nature of the voters in a manner that would bring a fearful rebuke at the polls next November if the people were in a mood to consider their own interests and not those of a few ambitious politicians."

In the absence of complete official returns of the recent primary election in Kansas, it is difficult to give the exact results. It is claimed that the Roosevelt ticket for electors carried the State over Taft by about 34,000 plurality; also that Gov. Stubbs, who was running as the Roosevelt candidate for the United States was beaten by 1,200 majority on the popular vote by Senator Curtis, but as the Kansas law requires that the nomination shall be made on the basis of representative districts and Gov. Stubbs had ten more than a majority of these, it is

claimed that he will win the Senatorship. It is gratifying to know that Congressmen Campbell and Anthony, regular Republicans, were re-nominated. The other Republican representatives now in Congress from Kansas belong to the "insurgent" faction.

The House of Commons adjourned August 7th till October 7th. Except for a break of a few days at Easter, and again at Whitsuntide, the House has been in session for just seven months. While the House has not passed any important bills at this session it has cleared the decks for the autumn session, which will, according to the government organizers, continue until Home Rule, Welsh dis-establishment, the franchise bill, and a measure to allow trades unions to contribute to the funds for the support of labor members of the House, have passed the House of Commons. All these bills have received a second reading in the lower house, and the Home Rule bill has had a few days in committee. The program, however, is a heavy one for an autumn session, especially when the importance of the legislation is considered and the fact that each bill will have to be forced through against the united opposition of the Unionists, and there is much doubt of the ability of the government to carry through such an ambitious program.

The Ohio Constitutional Convention has presented to the voters of that State forty-one constitutional amendments for their acceptance or rejection at a special election on September 3. Among them may be mentioned as radical innovations,

the initiative and referendum; workmen's compensation covering occupational diseases; a majority of nine on a jury may decide in civil cases; minimum wage for labor; no limit on the amount recoverable in case of the death of an employe; the Legislature authorized to regulate the sale and issue of corporation stock; taxes on inheritances, incomes, franchises, municipal and state bonds; appeal litigation to be restricted except in felony cases; all candidates for State offices to be nominated in primaries, United States Senators by the people, and a Presidential preference vote to be taken; five of the six supreme judges must concur to decide a law to be unconstitutional; the Legislature may remove all State officers, including judges, on hearing; an eight-hour day for public work; abolition of injunctions in labor disputes; liability of State banks increased a hundred per cent.; fifty million dollars of State bonds to be issued for "good roads;" woman suffrage; and abolition of capital punishment. Some of the proposed amendments relating to finance and taxation are regarded as revolutionary and confiscatory measures, and if adopted it is predicted that many investors will prefer to place their capital outside of the State.

In a speech on the Canal bill, recently, Senator Lodge said: "I think also, Mr. President, that we shall not gain in the long run by this blind assault on everything American that has any flavor of business success about it. You cannot make the mass of the people of this country prosperous if you destroy all the machinery of prosperity. If the coun-

try is prosperous, all benefit; if the country is not prosperous, no one benefits; but we are getting into that state of mind where it seems to be the assumption that if any man or any corporation or anybody has a dollar in the world saved, accumulated or earned it is prima facie evidence that they stole it, and that the only certificate of honesty is that a man should have nothing in his pocket. Thrift, energy, frugality, hard work, and their fruits are offenses, apparently, under the new dispensation, although they were once regarded as virtues. Why, Mr. President, the material greatness of this Republic has been made through the enterprise of its business men; and its successful business men today, the great body of them, are honest men, working hard, saving money, earning money, helping the country and carrying its burdens of expense. I am no defender or apologist of the men who have made huge sums of money by speculation in stocks, or by trickery or dishonesty gathering in other people's property to enrich themselves. They are an evil and a curse to the country and the cause of most of the troubles under which we are now suffering; but, Mr. President, to extend our condemnation of such men, few in number as they are, and of misconduct of railroads here and there and of the greater industrial combinations to everybody in this wholesale way, and to suppose that all business men, great and small, are engaged in trying to rob somebody, can lead to nothing but disaster. You will end by bringing on ruinous stagnation, which will fall heavily on all the people, and most heavily on those least able to bear it."

THE DOINGS OF CONGRESS.

Brief Summary of the More Important
Proceedings from July 24 to
August 20.

The present session of Congress is nearing its end, and final adjournment will probably take place before this issue of *The Protectionist* reaches the reader. We give a brief summary of the more important doings. A more extended review of tariff legislation will be found in our Washington letter.

July 24. The Senate passed the civil appropriation bill, with an amendment, retaining the Tariff Board; also the Alaskan civil government bill. Senator Cummins offered a wool bill, imposing a duty of 19 cents per pound on class one, 8 cents on class two, and 6 cents on class three.

July 25. The La Follette substitute for the House wool bill passed the Senate 39 to 27, previous to which action the Cummins bill was defeated, 14 to 57, and the Lippitt-Penrose compromise bill adopted by a vote of 34 to 32. This took place in committee of the whole, but when reported in the Senate proper the La Follette substitute was adopted. The following "Progressives" voted to pass it: Borah, Bristow, Clapp, Crawford, Cummins, Gronna, Kenyon, La Follette, Poindexter and Works.

July 26. The House excise tax passed the Senate by a vote of 37 to 18. It received the following "Progressive" and "insurgent" votes: Bourne, Bristow, Clapp, Crawford, Cummins, Gronna, Jones, Kenyon, La Follette, Nelson, Poindexter, Townsend and Works. The measure

was changed from the original House bill only in minor particulars, except for the addition of the Canadian reciprocity repeal and the permanent tariff commission provision. Senator Borah's income tax bill offered as substitute, was defeated 23 to 33. The reciprocity amendment was adopted, 37 to 26, and provided for complete repeal, and fixing a rate of \$2 a ton on print paper imported from Canada in place of the present duty of \$3.75. The Senate made a change in the excise bill so that the tax would not apply to labor organizations, agricultural associations or fraternal organizations of an insurance character. A plan to check the tobacco monopoly by a special excise tax on production above a certain amount, offered by Senator Hitchcock, was defeated.

July 27. The solid Republican majority of the Senate, aided by the two Louisiana senators, passed the Lodge sugar bill as a substitute for the House bill by a vote of 37 to 25. The bill reduces the duty on sugar from \$1.90 to \$1.60 a hundred pounds, and abolishes the differential, designed as a protection to refiners, and the Dutch standard. The loss of revenue entailed would be about \$5,000,000. The Democratic bill would have cut off \$60,000,000 of revenue, and wrought havoc with the sugar growing interests.

July 30. In the House, the Senate amendments to the wool bill, excise tax bill, and sugar bill were all rejected, and conferences ordered. The votes were mainly along party lines. The House rejected the reciprocity rider by a vote of 107 to 127, and the permanent tariff commission rider by

96 to 130. The wool bill presented as a substitute by Mr. Payne was rejected.

July 31. The Senate passed over the President's veto, 42 to 17, a bill reimbursing certain sub-contractors of the Shoshone tunnel.

August 1. The House rejected the Senate amendments appropriating \$225,000 for continuance of Tariff Board and \$100,000 additional for the enforcement of the anti-trust laws, but concurred in the amendments for \$300,000 for extra pension clerks. The Tariff Board amendment was defeated by a vote of 109 to 145.

Aug. 2. The Senate adopted (with only four votes against it) the Lodge resolution warning foreign nations from encroaching on the American continents to obtain naval or military bases. Senate amendment of steel bill to repeal Canadian reciprocity act was rejected in the House. The Stanley steel investigation committee reported, attacking the United States Steel Corporation. It is signed by Mr. Stanley and Democratic associates (except Mr. Littleton). A minority report signed by Representative Gardner of Massachusetts, and Republican associates, was also presented. The majority report urges the dissolution of any corporation controlling more than 30 per cent. of its particular line of business; the minority urges the Government to legalize big corporations by federal license. The Underwood cotton bill (the same as was vetoed by the President last year) was passed, 156 to 72. Mr. Hill, of Connecticut, offered his substitute; rejected, 87 to 145.

Aug. 3. By a vote of 33 to 28, the Senate agreed to recede from its

Canadian reciprocity repeal amendment to the steel bill, which left the bill approved by both Houses. Senators Pomerene, of Ohio, and Kenyon, of Iowa, offered bills directed toward criminal proceedings and prison sentences for violators of the trust laws. La Follette offered a resolution to make it easier to amend the Constitution, on the initiative of ten States, acting through their legislatures or through popular vote, or both Houses of Congress, and that a majority of States shall suffice for ratification. (At present a two-thirds vote in Congress or a two-thirds vote in the States is required to initiate an amendment, which is not effective until ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States.)

Aug. 8. The House, by Democratic votes, adopted the conference report on the legislative appropriation bill which contained a provision for a seven years' tenure for employes in the government departments.

Aug. 9. The Senate, by a vote of 47 to 15, passed the Panama Canal bill. It provides for remission of tolls to all American ships; prohibits railroad owned vessels from using the canal; admits to American register American owned foreign-built ships not in coastwise trade, but subsequently adopted a modification giving the Inter-State Commerce Commission quasi-jurisdiction over the railroad-owned ship question.

Aug. 12. Representative T. E. Catlin of Missouri, Republican, was unseated by Democratic voters, and the seat given to his Democratic opponent. P. F. Gill, by a vote of 121 to 71. The charge against him was that he and his family had spent

\$10,200 to elect him, when the Missouri law prohibited an expenditure of more than \$662. In the Senate, the post-office appropriation bill was passed, with amendments restoring the fast freight service for second-class matter, and the Bourne-Bristow parcels post scheme, which provides for eight zones ranging from 50 to 1,800 miles and a graduated rate of 5 to 12 cents a pound, and weight limit of 11 pounds. The House provision that no postal employe should be removed for joining an organization for improving conditions of labor, was amended to prohibit employes from joining an organization which imposed an obligation or duty to strike or to assist in a strike against the United States.

Aug. 13. By a vote of 174 to 80, with 10 present and not voting, the House passed the wool bill over the President's veto. (We give the message in part in another place.) Sixty Republicans were absent. The margin was only five votes, and passage was made possible by 20 Republicans voting with the Democrats. The Republicans who went into the Democratic camp were Anderson, Davis, Lindebergh, Miller, Steener-son and Stevens, Minnesota; Anthony, Rees and Young, Kansas; Cooper and Morse, Wisconsin; Haugen and Woods, Iowa; Helgeson, North Dakota; Kent, California; Lafferty, Oregon; La Follette and Warburton, Washington; Norris and Sloan, Nebraska.

Aug. 14. The House Democratic cotton bill passed the Senate, 36 to 19. La Follette's substitute was rejected—there being only 14 affirmative votes. An amendment was tacked on, repealing sections 1 and 3

of the Canadian reciprocity act, but not including the pulp and paper section. The vote was 50 to 9. President Taft sent in a message vetoing the steel bill. His objections were that it provides only for revenue and fails to consider protection for industries; that the bill affected not only the iron and steel industry but 59 allied industries which were worthy of separate classification. He would not approve of legislation of this kind, which vitally affects not only millions of working men and the families dependent on them, but hundreds of millions of dollars worth of stocks of goods in the hands of storekeepers and distributors generally, without first providing for a careful and disinterested inquiry into the conditions of the whole industry. The House Democrats at once proceeded, with the aid of 16 insurgent Republicans, to re-pass the bill over the veto. The vote was 173 to 83. The "Republicans" voting with the Democrats were Davis, Lindbergh and Steener-son, Minnesota; Haugen and Woods, Iowa; Kent, California; Kinkaid, Norris and Sloan, Nebraska; Lafferty, Oregon; La Follette, Washington; Rees, Jackson and Young, Kansas, and Morse, Wisconsin.

Aug. 16. The President sent in a veto of the legislative appropriation bill. He objected to the provisions fixing a seven-year tenure for government employes, and for the abolition of the Commerce Court. The House failed to pass the bill over the veto—the vote, 153 to 107, being 20 short of the requisite two-thirds. Later the measure was reintroduced in the House with the objectionable provisions stricken out. In the Sen-

ate, the President's vetoes of the wool and steel bills were sustained. On the steel bill the vote was 32 to 38, and on the wool bill 39 to 36. Bristow, Clapp, Crawford, La Follette, Poindexter and Works voted with the Democrats. The House adopted Mr. Moon's substitute for the Senate's parcels post plan in the post-office appropriation bill, by a vote of 143 to 86. The Moon scheme provides for an experimental system confined to fourth-class mail and farm products.

Aug. 17. Mr. Lewis, of Maryland, succeeded in getting the House to adopt his bill as an amendment to the post-office appropriation bill, which provides for a parcels post scheme more drastic than any before offered; and which it is predicted would have the effect of putting the express companies completely out of business. Instead of zone system devised by Senator Bourne, the Lewis bill provides for a scheme by which the county in which parcels are mailed, and points in contiguous counties not more than 100 miles distant, are to compose "local zones." The rate within this limit is to be five cents for the first pound, and one cent per pound thereafter. For parcels shipped beyond the local zone, six cents a pound and two cents thereafter for the first 150 miles or less, with an additional cent a pound for each 150 miles beyond. The charge is limited to 12 cents a pound. The House, under the leadership of Underwood and Fitzgerald, repassed the Legislative bill, again eliminating the Commerce Court and striking out a \$100,000 appropriation for the Bureau of Trade Relations. The

House rejected the Senate plan for two battle-ships by a vote of 150 to 79, and the naval bill was sent to conference with the understanding that there would be a compromise on one battleship. The Republicans who opposed the two-battleship program were Representatives Anthony, Campbell, Jackson and Young, Kansas; Bartholdt, Missouri; Davis, Lindbergh and Steenerson, Minnesota; Helgeson, North Dakota; McKinley, Illinois; Mondell, Wyoming; Norris, Nebraska; Parran, Maryland; J. M. C. Smith and Wedemeyer, Michigan, and Switzer and Willis, Ohio. The Democrats who voted for two battleships were Representatives Murray and Curley, Massachusetts; Hammil and Kinkead, New Jersey; Lee, Pennsylvania; Maher, New York; O'Shaunessy, Rhode Island, and Reilly, Connecticut. Both Senate and House agreed to the pension bill, which abolishes the 18 pension agencies in the country; and all pensions will be paid direct from Washington. The Works resolution limiting Presidents to one term of six years, was taken up in the Senate, but action was deferred.

Aug. 17. The Panama canal bill, as agreed upon in conference committee, passed the House by a viva voce vote. It provides for the passage of American coast-wise vessels through the canal free of duty, and contains the obnoxious provision for the admittance of ship building material to the canal zone free of duty. (See our Washington letter.)

Aug. 19. Conferees on the naval bill agreed to one battle ship to cost not more than \$15,000,000. The President sent in a message on the

Canal bill, advising the adoption of a joint resolution voicing that the bill shall not be held to supercede the Hay-Pauncefort treaty. In the Senate, the legislative appropriation bill vetoed by the President was re-passed, carrying a provision for the abolition of the Commerce Court. The vote on this provision was 35 to 23.

THIRD PARTIES.

With scarcely an effort the schoolboy learns the names of the Presidents of the United States, but it takes years to absorb even a fragmentary knowledge of the side currents of politics. Linked, now with passing emotions, now with deeper impulses, the third party idea is sometimes half forgotten but never lost to the sight of genuine thinkers. It was a third party movement that elected Taylor; it was a third party movement that menaced Lincoln; it was a third party movement that defeated Hancock, it was a third party movement that defeated Blaine. Today every gamester is wondering whether Roosevelt will draw most of his votes from Taft or from Wilson.

Did the third party sentiment spring out of a four cornered fight? The Democratic party of 1824, having no antagonist, split into four factions. John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay and William Crawford were the candidates. At all events the anti-Masonic party in 1832 won the electoral vote of Vermont for its candidate, William Wirt. The fight against Masonry was like a forest fire, short but memorable. Remember that Thad-

deus Stevens and William H. Seward were in the movement, that many voters solemnly protested against Clay's Masonic "iniquities" by not voting, that such votes helped Jackson (who was a Mason), that Thurlow Weed has left a singularly interesting account of the affair. Almost forgotten, yet occasionally it echoes, and the writer may be pardoned for saying that one of his grandsires made anti-Masonic speeches, while the other was imprisoned for refusing to expose the mysteries of the fraternity. John Floyd also received some electoral votes in 1832.

In 1836 a faction of the Democratic party would not vote for Van Buren, and Hugh L. White carried Georgia and Tennessee. The same year, by the way, fourteen electoral votes were given to Daniel Webster, who, oddly enough, ran far behind White, and had only three more votes than W. P. Mangum. As a man, White has a moral claim neither Jackson nor Benton, neither Lincoln nor Clay can advance. He openly condemned dueling, ignored or blasted its social recognition, nearly stamped it out by law, and won the State of Tennessee when he ran for the Presidency. White, indeed, was almost eccentric in his scruples. As a youth, he killed a noted Indian warrior, but would not permit a state historian to mention the fact. Ready to jeopardize his life for patriotism, he dreaded to go down to history as one who had shed blood. One may doubt if Peter Cartwright would have shrunk from recording such an exploit.

While the anti-slavery party of 1840 polled only 7,000 votes, in 1844

it was strong enough to defeat Clay by turning New York over to Polk. In 1848 the Free State Democracy chose Martin Van Buren as its chief, and he made one of the most remarkable scores in political history—that is, he got more votes in New York than Cass, the regular Democratic nominee. The anti-slavery sentiment, though not strong enough to elect a Chief Magistrate, was yet strong enough to defeat a Whig and a Democrat. However, in 1852 Pierce won an overwhelming triumph. Scott was insignificant, John P. Hale was only a fractional candidate.

The white head of the American party has not yet turned to ashes, and similar movements have occurred in recent years. In 1856, Buchanan won the race, Fremont followed, and Millard Fillmore, the Native American, carried only one State, Maryland.

Lincoln, Douglas, Breckenridge and Bell were the candidates of 1860, and all received electoral votes. Fremont led a bolt in 1864, but was compelled to withdraw before November; Grant and Seymour were the candidates of 1868. In 1872, Grant swept the country, and Greeley died of a broken heart. Two side parties failed to secure electoral votes, but James Black inaugurated the Prohibition party movement and Charles O'Connor represented the protest of old-time Democrats who would not support Greeley.

During the Centennial year five candidates appeared—Hayes and Tilden, the real contestants, but Peter Cooper, the Greenbacker, lives in history and would live, even without the structure that bears his

name. In 1879, John Kelly bolted the Democratic nominee for Governor of New York, and threw the State to the Republicans—practically defeating General Hancock months before his nomination. Although James B. Weaver, the Greenbacker, and Neal Dow, the Prohibitionist, failed to receive electoral votes in 1880, they were strong personalities. General Phelps was merely the ghost of the old anti-Masonic party.

Of the five candidates of 1884, one received so few votes that they do not appear in the calendars. Republican wrath charged on St. John the defeat of Blaine, while Butler to the day of his death averred that his votes, if honestly counted, would have defeated Cleveland. Harrison in 1888 was successful over Cleveland. Clinton B. Fisk, the Prohibitionist, was a man of decided ability. Two labor candidates, and an American standard bearer are forgotten.

Neither Prohibitionists nor Social Laborites were to the front in 1892, but James B. Weaver, as the Populist candidate, secured 22 electoral votes. Bryan in 1896 was the candidate of the Democrats and also of the Populists; the Prohibitionists fell behind their vote of 1892; two other candidates picked up about fifty thousand votes between them; but the Gold Democratic bolt was more important than the lists show. Palmer had been in the Union army and Buckner had fought to destroy the Union. The former had sat in the United States Senate, the latter had been one of Grant's pall bearers. The Gold Democratic leaders did not ask for a large vote; they vir-

tually urged their friends to support McKinley and they were important factors in his election.

Three minor parties of 1900 are only recalled by the expert. But Wharton Barker is a name too prominent to be passed over; Woolley raised the Prohibition vote over that of 1896; and Eugene Debs is a well known character. In 1904, Debs again ran, more than quadrupling his vote. Corrigan was not conspicuous, Swallow had raised divers sensations, and Thomas E. Watson was known everywhere. A second run for Watson and a third for Debs marked the campaign of 1908, two small movements were almost ignored, but the Prohibitionists won over a quarter of a million ballots.

Among the Vice-Presidential candidates of minor parties we find Charles Francis Adams, George W. Julian, Edward Everett, Nathaniel P. Banks, Ignatius Donnelly, and John Temple Graves. There may yet be a book on these movements far more interesting than "Curiosities of Literature" or "The Percy Anecdotes." It is safe to wager that Theodore Roosevelt has read deeply in the annals of third parties, and that he has given special attention to the Free Soil campaign of 1848. As a matter of figures, the contest of 1876 hung on one electoral vote; the battle of 1884 hinged on 1,047 votes in New York; Neal Dow's vote in 1880 was several times as large as that which sealed the fate of Blaine. Third party annals deserve more attention than they have received.

A man whose father was a Maryland Republican of 1860 said to the

writer: "Nobody will ever guess how many Republicans there were in the border States. While Lincoln's vote was small, thousands who desired his election voted for Bell to keep their States from going to Douglas. If in war officers blow up their bridges or sink their ships to prevent the enemy from seizing them, it may be good politics to prevent an opponent from capturing a State.

ROLAND RINGWALT.

TAFT STATEMENT ON CONVENTION CONTESTS.

On July 29, a statement approved by President Taft, in defence of his nomination by the Chicago Convention, was issued from the White House. The statement, which is a lengthy document of 144 printed pages, is a detailed denial of the charge that the renomination of President Taft was accomplished by the seating of fraudulently elected delegates to the convention. It takes up individually the 238 contests instituted by the Roosevelt forces against Taft delegates who were seated, and presents evidence in each of these cases to show that the Taft delegates were regularly elected.

It says: "The total number of delegates summoned to the convention, was 1078, with 540 necessary to a choice. Mr. Taft had 561 votes on the first and only ballot, and was declared the nominee. There were instituted against 238 of the delegates regularly elected for Taft, contests on behalf of Roosevelt. These contests were avowedly instigated not for the purpose of really securing seats in the convention, not for the purpose of adducing evidence which would lead any respectable court to entertain the contests, but for the purpose of deceiving the public into the belief that Mr. Roosevelt had more votes than he really had, as the conventions and primaries were in progress for the selection of delegates. The two hundred and thirty-eight contests were reduced by abandonment, formal or in substance, to seventy-four. The very fact of these

164 frivolous contests itself reflects upon the genuineness and validity of the remainder."

As an appendix, the statement carries in detail the vote in the National Committee on each of the contests, and a statement of the dates of the Taft and Roosevelt conventions in contested States. The object of the latter is to show that the Roosevelt delegates were chosen after the regular conventions had named Taft representatives. Another appendix is the report of the credentials committee to the convention, in which the statement issued by the Roosevelt committeemen attacking the majority of the committee was answered.

In concluding, the majority of the credentials committee, defending its decisions, said: "As to the merits of these contested cases upon which the committee passed it should be remembered that the National Committee sat for fifteen days hearing evidence and argument upon them. Out of a total membership of 53 only 13 members of that committee objected to the findings and decisions and they only with regard to a part of the cases, the action of the committee having been unanimous with regard to a majority of them. The convention declined by a substantial majority to reverse the action of the National Committee, and it referred the contested cases to the committee on credentials. When our committee met, rules were adopted by unanimous vote. No one desiring to make complaint as to the seating of any delegate was prevented from presenting his case."

END OF COST OF PRODUCTION THEORY.

From the New York Sun.

One of the most satisfactory results of the work of the Chicago convention is the elimination of that hopeless scheme of basing tariff rates on an ascertained "difference in cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries." There appear to be some who still believe in the possibility of the

scheme, and for a time there was reason to fear that it would be again included in the party platform. Its disappearance is highly gratifying. The charge of vagueness has been brought against the expressions adopted in place of that phrase, but it is not well founded. There is no indirectness or evasion in the declaration that "we reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff." The issue is equally met in an assertion that "some of the existing duties are too high and should be reduced." The party policy is clearly set forth in the statement that "we hold that the import duties should be high enough, while yielding a sufficient revenue, to protect adequately American industries and wages."

Then follows a statement of the system to be adopted for the attainment of the desirable end. "To accomplish this correct information is indispensable." . . . The method proposed for the acquisition of this "correct information" is perhaps not the best conceivable. The platform states that "this information can best be obtained by an expert commission." Hundreds of men are dabbled with the tariff from many different points of view, some as statisticians, some as politicians, some as students or expositors. One group deals with figures and another with theories. Correct information is not necessarily the fruit of the work of either. An industrial fact is often much broader than either figures or theories. Better than a board or a commission, into whose work must almost of necessity creep the influence of preconceived opinions, is a permanent bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor, under a carefully selected and competent

chief in charge of a clerical force selected and retained on the basis of demonstrated individual fitness.

The people of the United States have been for years overwhelmingly in favor of a policy of protection. The workingman, the farmer, and the manufacturer have wanted it. But the structure should stand on a basis of ascertained and established economic facts, and not on a foundation of political theories or fallacies whose weakness is susceptible of ready demonstration.

From the Camden, N. J., Post-Telegram.

An American consul writes home that his efforts to ascertain the cost of production of sundry manufactured articles have been baffled by the refusal of English and German manufacturers to give out information that might benefit their competitors. Does this refusal surprise any one? Commercial rivalries have been as intense and more prolonged than those of politics. The desire for trade has raised up and pulled down ministries; it has brought on wars and made new maps. England fought with Holland over the Navigation act, but that act gave her the carrying trade of the world, and the greatest of all free traders, Adam Smith, deems it the wisest of all her commercial regulations. A few English merchants were bent on securing East Indian commerce, and the result is an empire. The yearning for shorter voyages cut Suez in two and is fast dividing Panama. Toil, money, and blood have been poured out for commercial objects, and the nation that has a decided superiority will not disclose its secrets any more than the individual with a lucrative

patent will inform others how to bankrupt him.

Legal pressure may compel our manufacturers to bring forth many statistics, but we have no extra territorial jurisdiction. We can not force a man in Birmingham, or Berlin, or Buda-Pesth to inform us how much it costs him to make an article. Investigations may tell foreigners a great deal about our cost of production, but what information can we get from them? This is worth reflection. Germany is not telling England all the details of her naval plans. Russia is not informing her rivals of her military preparations. Clashes of war are spasmodic and brief; the rivalries of trade never cease for an instant. We may find that our "cost of production" idea is an exceedingly good one for Europe and that it is an exceedingly poor one for ourselves.

From the New York Nation.

"It should not be overlooked that the Republican tariff plank lately dropped the great discovery of 1908 that customs duties should be levied in accordance with the difference in "the cost of production" at home and abroad. Whether the phrase was devised as merely one more protectionist juggle, or was honestly intended—as no doubt it was by President Taft—time has shown that it was worthless in practice. So it has now been discarded. Attacked from the first by economists, who maintained that it set up a standard impossible of precise ascertainment, it was little by little perceived by practical men to be elusive and fallacious. Even the Tariff Board, composed of men who wrestled honestly and in-

telligently with the problem, was forced to inform Congress that it had found a 'wide difference in efficiency and cost' among American mills. No fixed 'cost of production,' high or low, could be taken safely as the basis for tariff legislation.

BRITISH TARIFF REFORM PROSPECTS.

The trend of British sentiment in favor of a protective tariff is made clear by a review of the by-elections held since the general Parliamentary election of December, 1910. As is well known, these have gone uniformly against the Liberal (Free Trade) government.

An analysis of the votes cast in all by-election constituencies, at the general election itself and in the subsequent contests, shows an increase of 11,524 in the Unionist (Tariff Reform) vote as compared with a decrease of 21,006 in the vote recorded for the Government coalition candidates. These figures include the by-election in Northwest Manchester on August 8 of the present year, in which a Liberal seat was lost to a Unionist by a majority indicating a transfer of more than 800 votes.

GERMAN AND ENGLISH LIVING CONDITIONS.

Further testimony to the relative superiority of German economic conditions is being furnished by the almost daily discussions in the English press. The organs of "Free Trade," alive to the importance of minimizing the living advantages in a Protectionist country, have been something less than scrupulous in their assertions and arguments and

have thus opened up favorable channels for aggressive replies.

A typical example of these rebutting efforts is found in a letter from Sir William Bull, M. P., in the London "Morning Post" of July 16, dealing with reflections thrown upon the accuracy of statements previously made by the leader of the Unionist party, Mr. Bonar Law. With regard to the course of wages and prices in the United Kingdom over the 10-year period 1901-1910, Sir William's letter places the facts beyond contradiction in quoting from a Government publication of last year, showing a rise in wages of only 0.2 per cent. against a rise in retail prices of 9.9 per cent. These figures were confirmed by no less an authority than the Liberal Prime Minister himself on June 21, 1912, with the negligible variation that his figures, carried on to the year 1911, became 0.3 and 11.6 respectively. He added at that time the significant remark that "there is no doubt we are face to face with a very substantial rise in the prices of necessities, which has not been met by a corresponding increase in the rate of wages."

As against these discouraging concomitants of "Free Trade," British consular reports from Germany show that while "the ratio of the price of commodities has risen at the utmost 25 per cent.," there has been an average annual rise in German wages of between 37 and 38 per cent. during the seventeen years ending 1907.

Renewed attention is being devoted to a speech delivered in the House of Commons by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade on April 26, 1911, in which that representative of the Govern-

ment referred to the impossibility of making any substantial increase in British industrial wages, because that step would only increase foreign competition. Extracts from the fifteenth Abstract of Labor Statistics, recently issued by the British Government, are also being used in support of the contention that, since the opening of the twentieth century, there has been a net decline in the rate of weekly wages of about £58,000 a week, or £3,000,000 a year.

THE I. W. W. AND LABOR.

From the Boston Traveler and Evening Herald.

The workmen of this country will never gain the goal for which they are striving by joining their fortunes with the Industrial Workers of the World. This organization stands for everything that is opposed to American principles. One of its principal doctrines is set forth in the declaration: "There is only one bargain that the I. W. W. will make with the employer—Complete surrender of all control of industry to the organized workers."

This organization boasts that it has no idea of respecting any agreement made between any employer and the members of the body. Here is a direct declaration to that effect contained in the preamble of its constitution: "The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us. No terms made with an employer are final. All peace so long as the wage system lasts is but an armed truce. At any favorable opportunity the struggle for more control of industry is renewed."

No body of workmen which is striving to retain the confidence and sympathy of the public at large can

hope to attain it unless they are guided by the unalterable principles of justice and absolute respect for the rights of others, while insisting on their own rights. Certainly, joining in with the agitators of the I. W. W. will not help their cause in any way.

Capital and labor are dependent upon each other for existence. Neither can in this day, at least, accomplish its end to the fullest extent without the aid of the other. There must be the utmost and frankest understanding between them and agreements and contracts entered into for the conduct of business must be held as of the most sacred and inviolable character.

Of late years there has been growing up between the employer and the employee a mutual understanding of these basic principles upon which the industrial structure of the nation is built. More and more has the tendency been to submit disputes in regard to wages and hours of labor and thousand and one matters of dispute that arise in every business to arbitration and to abide by the decision rendered after full investigation and discussion.

The American Federation of Labor has always held to the principle that the rights of labor and the rights of capital are mutually interdependent; that one is the complement of the other and that neither can exist successfully without the assistance and co-operation of the other.

There has now entered upon the New Bedford stage, with the avowed intention of taking an active part in the strike, that organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World. For some time past its organizers had been attempting to make headway among the New Bed-

ford operatives, but with little success. The principles which they advocated did not appeal to the textile workers of the city, who had been taught different and more sane doctrines all their lives.

The Industrial Workers of the World, as a factor in labor problems, were very little known in the East until the recent Lawrence strike. Their activities had, for the most part, been confined to the West, where they had time and time again, put their peculiar ideas into active practice. What these ideas are may be learned from the official declaration of principles of the organization, which opens with these statements:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system."

In explaining the tactics or methods of the organization, Vincent St. John, one of the leaders in the movement, has written as follows:

"As a revolutionary organization, the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of 'right and 'wrong' does not concern us. No terms made with an employer are final. All peace as long as the wage system lasts is but an armed truce. At any favorable opportunity the struggle for more control of industry is renewed.

"Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and 'sabotage' is used to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers.

"During strikes the works are closely picketed and every effort made to keep the employers from getting workers into the shops. All supplies are cut off from the strike-bound shops. All shipments are refused or missent, delayed and lost if possible. Interference by the government is resented by open violation of the government's orders, going to jail en masse, causing expense to the taxpayers—which is but another name for the employing class.

"In short, the I. W. W. advocates the use of militant 'direct action' tactics to the full extent of our power to make good."

As a final and complete statement of what the organization expects to accomplish, this declaration is made: "We are looking forward to the time when the organized proletariat will meet in union the world over and decide how long they will work and how much of the wealth they produce they will give to the boss."

This is the organization which now proposes to take over the control of the strike in New Bedford, direct it according to the principles quoted above and send to the rear the men who have for years directed the fortunes of the thousands of textile workers of that city.

That the thoughtful workingman will be misled into acquiescence in such revolutionary principles as those enunciated by the leaders of the I. W. W. and accepted as the basic law of that organization cannot be dreamed of for a moment. The existence of such a body in this country cannot long be tolerated. It threatens the very existence of the whole industrial structure of the nation that has been built up after long years of labor and toil by the joint effort of capital and labor.

Acceptance of the principles advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World is absolutely impossible in

a free nation such as ours. They mean the destruction of confidence, the undermining of established institutions, disorder, riot and anarchy. Failure to respect agreements or contracts means that no industry can prosper and in the end that no employe can possibly hope for steady employment, promotion or improvement of his position in life.

WAGES AND COST OF LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES.

From the London Times.

"The report issued by the board of trade on wages, cost of living, and other conditions of industrial life in the United States, supplements the valuable series of similar inquiries already published into the same conditions in several European countries. It supplements the previous inquiries and corrects them, or rather corrects the inferences to be drawn from them, and for the serious student of social and economic conditions that is its chief value. It corrects the previous inquiries because it tells a very different tale and thereby puts the relations of cause and effect in a true light. The broad upshot of the reports dealing with European countries, including our own, has been to show that in regard to the conditions investigated the artisan in this country has, in a varying degree, the advantage over his fellows in Germany, France, or Belgium. He earns somewhat higher wages, works somewhat shorter hours, and pays somewhat less for the necessaries of life. Without going into qualifying details or minor distinctions we may accept that as a broad result.

"But when we come to the United

States the picture is turned almost completely round. From the abstract which we publish the reader will see that the workman in America enjoys an enormous advantage over his fellow in England, an advantage far greater than the latter enjoys over the German or the Frenchman. He earns more than two and a quarter times as much money and works shorter hours for it; so that his hourly rate of earnings is as 240 to 100, or pretty nearly twice and a half as much. Against that enormous difference in wages there is something to be set in the way of expenditure. Rent is twice as high and food is about one-third higher than in England, but the cost of living altogether is only as 152 to 100, or about half as much again.

"Now, these facts completely dispose of two widely current misconceptions or misstatements. One is that the higher wages admittedly paid in America are all swallowed up and more by the higher cost of living, which is believed to surpass the standard of this country in regard to the necessaries of life by an enormous amount, and to constitute an intolerable burden. The present report explicitly states the contrary at the conclusion of a long, elaborate and extremely careful comparison of the two countries. In the United States, it says, a much greater margin of earnings over cost of living is available, even when allowance has been made for the increased expenditure on food and rent. The margin is clearly large, making possible a command of the necessaries and conveniences and minor luxuries of life that is both nominally and really greater than that enjoyed by the corresponding class in this

country." It further appears from the report that the advantage enjoyed by this country in regard to the cost of food is even less than it looks in the summary comparison. A workman living on the American scale only pays 25 per cent more for his food in the United States than he would in England. Most men would cheerfully accept the condition of paying 25 or even 38 per cent. more for their food in order to get 130 per cent more pay. And when the food items are scrutinized the difference is seen to be even less in regard to important articles.

"British beef and mutton are actually dearer than American, and pork is much dearer. The items in which the American prices are really much higher are potatoes and bread; but that means baker's bread bought in the loaf, which is little eaten by working-class families in the United States, as the report points out. The bread on which they chiefly live is made at home, and flour only costs 3d. a stone more. That is not a ruinous difference, and therefore, so far as bread and meat are concerned, the British housewife has but small advantage. These results, we must confess, are a little surprising; but there is no doubt about the care and accuracy with which the data have been collected. It is clear that prices have not risen so much in recent years in the United States as we have been led to suppose, and that wages have risen far more rapidly."

POLITICAL BROILS OF OTHER DAYS.

W. F. GAROELON.

Some people have an idea that these are the most troublous times in politics that the country has ever seen. If they

will refer to the campaign of Andrew Jackson they will see that they are mistaken. In 1824 there was published the "Life of Andrew Jackson," a partisan document with every incident calculated to injure him carefully suppressed. His opponents published a book entitled "Reminiscences; or, an Extract from the Catalogue of General Jackson's Youthful Indiscretions, between the Age of Twenty-three and Sixty," which contained an account of Jackson's fights, brawls, affrays and duels numbered from one to fourteen.

Jackson received 178 electoral votes against 83 cast for John Quincy Adams. When Jackson went to Washington he deliberately insulted President Adams by calling on his friends in the War Department frequently and not going to the White House. This angered the President, who on the morning of March 3d removed to the suburbs. While the inauguration ceremonies were going on, Mr. Adams was taking a horseback ride and was notified that he was again a private citizen by the thunder of the cannon proclaiming a new President.

As we glance back over the campaigns of the past we see that the bitterness exhibited was fully as intense as is the feeling of today. The country is not going to "rack and ruin" next year if either one of the present aspirants is elected. We believe that a sounder policy will be pursued if the Republicans are retained in power.

THE CLOTH MANUFACTURERS' PROFIT.

From Fibre and Fabric.

It sounds big to read of a ten or twenty per cent advance in the price of cloth and the usual cry of "robber" is directed toward the cloth manufacturers. But let us see where the mills come in. We will take blue serge as a standard, as there is more yardage of serge than of any other men's wear fabric, and we will take the \$20 and \$25 suit made from this serge. The average for a suit of clothes is three and a quarter yards, and the price paid for this

cloth is anywhere from 90 cents a yard for the \$20 suit to \$1.80 a yard for the \$25 suit. About \$1.50 a yard is a fair average for the \$25 suit and the three and a quarter yards cost the suit manufacturer \$4.87½. The mill profit on these three and a quarter yards would be less than 35 cents. The suit manufacturer sells to the retailer for anywhere from \$17.50 to \$18.50, or an average of \$18, allowing the manufacturer of the suits \$13.12½ for trimmings, labor and profit. The retailer gets \$7 profit to pay for handling the suit to the consumer. Assuming that high priced wool and increased labor costs, compelled the mills to advance the price per yard of this cloth, twenty per cent, which is more than the average advance this summer, the suit manufacturer would pay 97½ cents more for the cloth going into the \$25 serge suit. With 35 cents as the mill's profit on the cloth in this suit, and an allowance of \$13.12½ to the suit makers and \$7 to the retailer, there is no fairness in marking up a \$25 suit to \$27.50 and putting the additional tax on the consumer. The 97½ cents extra cost for the cloth could reasonably be divided between suit maker and retailer, and the consumer would get standard value for his money.

We have no particular interest in what the suit maker or retailer gets as profit. That is entirely their own affair. But when it is generously exploited, that owing to the "robber" manufacturers advancing the price of cloth so that the consumer will have to pay \$2.50 to \$5 more for his clothes, it is time to enter a protest. This "robber" manufacturer will run his mill night and day on

orders that will give a profit of 35 cents on ¾ yards of cloth, enough for the average suit of clothes, and it is unfair to the cloth manufacturing industry to permit such gross misrepresentation, without a protest.

The cloth for the 1913 \$25 serge suit will not cost \$1.50 as an average. Suit makers will buy a cheaper grade and one of the leading makers of high-class ready-to-wear \$25 suits never pays more than \$1.25 a yard for the cloth and sells the suit to the retailer for \$16.50, allowing the retailer \$8.50 profit. The cloth manufacturer gets the small end on profits and the long end on blame for the cost of clothing, but fairminded people cannot begrudge the mill 35 cents profit on cloth that makes a suit that costs the wearer \$25.

BENEFITS OF PROTECTION.

The bulletin of the Bureau of Labor for July, 1908, presents an article showing the gradual increase in wages in the United States and the gradual reduction of hours of labor from the average rate paid in the decade between 1890 and 1899, and the year 1907. These were all protection years and it will be noted in the table presented herewith that so-called nonprotected trades shared proportionately with the so-called protected trades, thus demonstrating the general benefits and advantages of protection:

Per cent of increase or decrease in wages per hour and in hours of labor per week in 1907 as compared with the average for 1890-1899, by industries.

Industries.		Hrs. per wk.
Wgs. per hr.		% decrease.
% increase.		
30.9	Agricultural implements	3.7
28.9	Bakery, bread	8.4

26.4	Blacksmithing and horse-shoeing	5.9
24.3	Boots and shoes	4.0
22.7	Brick	1.5
44.6	Building trades	9.4
24.4	Candy	*
17.1	Carpets	1.4
18.3	Carriages and wagons	4.0
24.4	Cars, steam railroad	4.1
15.8	Clothing, factory product	3.3
57.5	Cotton goods	3.2
	Dyeing, finishing and printing textiles	.7
11.3		
22.6	Electrical apparatus and supplies	6.7
16.0	Flour	3.3
21.4	Foundry and machine shop	5.4
27.1	Furniture	4.3
7.7	Gas	3.9
29.4	Glass	1.4
23.5	Harness	4.1
26.4	Hats, fur	8.4
33.4	Hosiery and knit goods	2.3
40.4	Iron and steel bar	2.1
	Iron and steel, Bessemer converting	9.5
32.6		.0
19.8	Iron and steel, blast furnace	.1
11.8	Leather	
32.9	Liquors, malt	13.0
27.6	Lumber	3.1
25.7	Marble and stone work	6.4
33.3	Paper and wood pulp	10.2
24.6	Planing mill	3.6
13.8	Pottery	.2
	Printing and binding, book and job	9.9
31.0		
22.6	Printing, newspaper	5.2
20.9	Shipbuilding	4.3
16.9	Silk goods	2.4
16.0	Slaughtering and meat packing	**
	Streets and sewers, contract work	7.3
45.7		
	Streets and sewers, municipal work	9.5
21.6		
32.4	Tobacco, cigars	.5
31.9	Woolen and worsted goods	2.0
28.8	All industries	5.0

*No change.

**Not reported.

All industries.

Congressional Record, Aug. 5, p. 3760.

This is a long list of the various employments which have been beneficiaries of these improved labor conditions in the United States, whether due to the influence of the

the consideration of the lawmaking bodies, or whether it is due to the tolerance and the consideration of the employer of labor, but the average increase in wages in all these labor union or whether it is due to trades during this period of years was 28.8 and the average reduction in hours was just 5 hours per week. Is there such a condition prevailing in any country in the world as prevails in the labor field in the United States? And these conditions are the product of protective-tariff years.

THE WOOL TARIFF BILL VETOED.

On August 9, President Taft returned the wool bill to the House with his veto, and in conclusion urged that Congress do not adjourn without making such reductions in existing duties as will not destroy any established industry or throw any wage-earners out of employment. We give the main portions of the message:

Despite the efforts which have been made to discredit the work of the Tariff Board, their report on this schedule has been accepted, with scarcely a dissenting voice, by all those familiar with the problems discussed, including active representatives of organizations formed in the interest of the public and the consumer. Importers and merchants, as well as producers and manufacturers, have testified to the accuracy and impartiality of these findings of fact. For the first time in the history of American tariffs the opportunity has been afforded of securing a revision based on established facts, independent both of the ex parte statements of interested persons and the guesswork of political theorists.

My position has been made perfectly plain. I shall stand by my pledges to

maintain a degree of protection necessary to offset the difference in cost of production here and abroad, and will heartily approve of any bill reducing duties to this level. Bills have been introduced into Congress, carefully framed and based on the findings of the Tariff Board, which, while maintaining the principle of protection, have provided for sweeping reductions. Such a bill was presented by the minority members of the Ways and Means Committee, which, while providing protection to the woolgrower, reduces the duty on most wools 20 per cent, and the duties on manufactures by from 20 to more than 50 per cent., and gives in many instances less net protection to the manufacturer than was granted by the Gorman-Wilson free-wool act of 1894.

Instead of such a measure of thorough and genuine revision, based on full information of the facts, and with rates properly adjusted to all the different stages of the industry, there is now presented for my approval H. R. 22195, "An act to reduce the duties on wool and the manufactures of wool," a bill identical with the one which I vetoed in August, 1911, before the report of the Tariff Board had been made. The Tariff Board's report fully and completely justifies my veto of that date. The amount of ad valorem duty necessary to offset the difference in the cost of production of raw wool here and abroad varies with every grade of wool. Consequently, an ad valorem rate of duty adjusted to meet the difference in the cost of production of high-priced wools is not protective to low-priced wools. In any case, the report of the Tariff Board shows that the ad valorem duty of 29 per cent on raw wool, imposed in the bill now submitted to me, is inadequate to meet this difference in cost in the case of four-fifths of our total wool clip. The disastrous effect upon the business of our farmers engaged in wool raising can not be more clearly stated. To maintain the status quo in the wool-growing industry, the minimum ad valorem rate necessary, even for high-grade wool in years of high-prices, would be 35 per cent.

The rate provided in this bill on cloths of all kinds is 49 per cent. The amount of net protection given by this rate, in addition to proper compensation for the

duty on wool, depends on the ratio between the cost of the raw material and the cost of making the cloth. The cost of the raw material in woolen and worsted fabrics varies in general from 50 per cent to 70 per cent of the total value of the fabric. Consequently, the net protective duty, with wool at 29 per cent, would vary from 28.7 per cent to 34.5 per cent. In the great majority of cases these rates are inadequate to equalize the difference in the cost of manufacture here and abroad. This is especially true of the finest goods involving a high proportion of labor cost. One of the striking developments of the last few years has been the growth in this country of a fine goods industry. The rates provided in this bill, inadequate as they are for most of the cloths produced in this country, would make the continuance here of the manufacture of fine goods an impossibility.

Even more dangerous in their effects are the rates proposed on tops and yarns. Tops are the result of the first stage in the making of raw wool into cloth. Yarn is the result of the second stage. Taken in connection with a rate of 29 per cent on wool, and 49 per cent on cloths, the rates of 32 per cent on tops and 35 per cent on yarn, fixed in this bill, seem impossible of justification. They would disrupt, and to no purpose, the existing adjustment, within the industry, of all its different branches. It is improbable in the highest degree that raw wool would be imported in great quantities when the cloth maker can import his tops at a duty of 32 per cent and yarns at a duty of 35 per cent. The report of the Tariff Board shows the difference in relative costs to be uniformly greater than the amount of protection on yarns given by this bill. In a year of low prices, the net protection granted by the proposed rates would not be more than half the difference in costs. The free-wool act of 1894 gave a protective rate of 40 per cent on all yarns over 40 cents a pound in value, with free raw material. The present bill gives only 35 per cent on such yarns with a duty of 29 per cent on the raw material. The great increase in the imports of tops and yarns which would result from the rates in the bill now submitted to me, would destroy the effect of the protection to raw wool and at the same time would

be at the cost of widespread disaster to the wool-combing and spinning branches of the industry. The last 15 years has witnessed a great growth of top making and worsted spinning in this country, and the capacity of the plants is now equal to domestic requirements. Under the rates proposed such plants could be continued, if at all, only by writing off most of the investment as a net loss and by a reduction of wages. To sum up, then, most of the rates in the submitted bill are so low in themselves that if enacted into law the inevitable result would be the irretrievable injury to the wool-growing industry, the enforced idleness of much of our wool-combing and spinning machinery, and of thousands of looms, and the consequent throwing out of employment of thousands of workmen. In view of these facts, in view of the platform upon which I was elected, in view of my promise to follow and maintain the protective policy, no course is open to me but to withhold my approval from this bill.

INTERNAL FREE TRADE.

From the Philadelphia Telegraph.

Of all arguments against protection that which cites the advantages of free trade between the several States is, perhaps, the most unsound and the most unscientific, and yet no less an authority than Dr. Woodrow Wilson, sometime a Princeton professor, now a candidate for President, once advanced it as quite conclusive proof that customs houses were at best a necessary evil.

"It seems to me very absurd," he said, "to maintain that we should have free trade between different portions of this country, and at the same time shut ourselves out from free communication with other producing countries of the world. If it is necessary to impose restrictive duties on goods brought from abroad it would seem to me, as a

matter of logic, necessary to impose similar restrictions on goods taken from one State of this Union to another. That follows as a necessary consequence; there is no escape from it."

This is exactly on all fours with an argument to the effect that two partners in a profitably going enterprise would find it to their advantage to encourage competition in their particular field by a concern of equal capacity, which, because of the lower cost of production, could readily undersell them.

The professor seemed to overlook the fact when he gave utterance to the foregoing, that the same standard of wages and the same standard of living, approximately obtains in all of the States, and that free trade among them amounts to an exchange of commodities produced under practically similar conditions.

In this connection it is well also to remember that 95 per cent of the \$21,000,000,000 of annual industrial production in this country is distributed at home.

BURTON ON COST OF LIVING.

In a speech in the United States Senate, July 30, Senator Burton of Ohio gave the following three reasons for the high cost of living:

1. The phenomenal progress of recent years.
2. The striking inequality of this progress in different branches of human endeavor.
3. The inevitable tendencies in every progressive era to extravagance and waste in expenditure and to the diminished productive energy of a large share of the population.

In brief, his speech centred upon the theory that the world has been so busy accumulating wealth that it has not

given sufficient attention to the question of distributing it properly, and that those who have succeeded in accumulating a part of it have been too much engaged in buying diamonds, automobiles, paintings and other works of art. But the world's extravagance is not confined to luxuries of this character, he asserted. The high cost of government, the burden of militarism and other manifestations of extravagance were cited to show the necessity of an economic adjustment before the clamor against high prices could be stilled.

Senator Burton exonerated the tariff and the trusts of the responsibility. He admitted that certain artificial conditions, such as price fixing agreements, were in a measure to blame for the present conditions in the United States, but contended that the general situation was due to an economic development of which the large industrial combinations were but a single phase.

CONTRACT LABOR.

From the Tattle Manufacturers' Journal.

The fact that a certain percentage of skilled laborers, and highly desirable immigrants, may in some such manner be legally stimulated to come to this country, will not render the immigration and contract labor laws any more equitable and desirable. They would be a serious reflection upon any civilized nation, and form one of the most alarming menaces to the future character of our citizenship. The contract labor law was conceived and designed by the labor unions to restrict the supply of skilled labor. It has worked admirably. During the last dozen years some six million of the most undesirable types of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe have been admitted to this country, and during the same period the number of emigrants from Great Britain, Germany and France, from whence come skilled artisans, has been less than that of Italians alone. Not only have these laws stimulated the immigration to this country of a class of people difficult to assimilate, but a class that has been satisfied to work for comparatively low

wages, and a class that has gradually built up a style of labor unionism that threatens to undermine the old American Federation of Labor that was largely responsible for the law. This class of immigration has made possible the rapid growth of the I. W. W., and, if continued, will eventually wipe out the old type of trade unionism.

FREE TRADE PROPHECIES CONFOUNDED.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

There are so many articles produced on a large scale in the United States which we were formerly assured by free traders could not be manufactured with profit in the United States that it is not surprising that the Cobdenites have become coy about making definite assertions and confine their assaults on protection to generalizations and talk about trusts. When Cleveland was running for office we were told that Americans lacked the skill to manufacture tin plate in competition with the British; now we supply all of the domestic demand and are exporting on a large scale. Cement is another article we were told there was really no use for us to try our hand at, but we refused to believe the free trader when he pooh-pooed our attempts and now we have the laugh on those who said we couldn't. In 1890 we produced 8,000,000 barrels and in 1910 78,000,000, the value increasing from \$6,000,000 in the first-named year to \$69,000,000 in the last-mentioned. As the industry gives employment to 26,775 wage earners, who receive \$15,320,000 in wages, it may be fairly claimed that it is worth while to make our own cement.

The cost of living ought to be somewhat reduced this coming winter by the big harvest. Food at least should be cheaper. Wheat and flour have declined at first hands; so, too, have coffee and sugar. Fruits are plentiful, and a big potato crop is assured. As fodder is abundant and cheap, meat should later on decline from present high level.

PROTECTION AS A NATIONAL POLICY.

By J. W. Allfree.

From the beginning of this representative government there were some men like John Taylor and W. B. Giles who were determinedly opposed to protection for different reasons, but mostly because protection made us too independent of England, and English interests; but our history of 123 years goes to show that protection is a necessity for the best interests of our people and our general prosperity, and especially for the maintenance for the American worker of the advantages established by the wise founders of our government.

For 35 years the opposition to protection, though maintained by doctors of law and university magnates, had no real backing or influence with legislation; but a different class of labor that had been with us all the time, but without influence, suddenly became an almost resistless power and arrayed the slave holder under the banners of free trade, because the promoters of that system of labor were greatly benefited thereby; and in the struggle for that compromise free trade law of 1833, Calhoun, having abandoned protection for free trade, so effectually engrafted the principle of free trade into the Democratic party that it has stood pat thereby up to the recent Baltimore Convention; and always denouncing and condemning protection, though its protege, slavery, had to be exterminated that our nation might live; while at this time protec-

tion, the essential element of general American prosperity, has no national political organization to espouse its cause, or defend its real claims and merits.

Professional protectionists of today fail to treat and defend protection as it deserves. Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson contended that protection, when applied to our own producing interests, invariably encouraged and cheapened such productions. Without an adequate rate to protect our home producers, foreigners would control our markets, break down home producers and then claim exorbitant prices, while tariff rates high enough to protect our home producers from such destructive competition was sure to be accompanied by reduction in prices to the home consumer; sometimes even for less than the tariff rate thereon; showing that high protective tariff rates are not added to the cost of the protected articles to the consumer.

These original protective tariff views were adhered to and advocated by our Republican leaders from Lincoln to McKinley, and were never more concisely and definitely set out than in the Republican National platform of 1904. Our Lincoln said of a protective tariff, "By this system the whole revenue is paid by the consumers of foreign goods, and those chiefly luxuries and not the necessities of life. By this system the man who contents himself to live

upon the products of his own country pays nothing at all. And surely this country is extensive enough and its products abundant enough to answer all the real wants of its people."

Blaine said, "Protection is based on that controlling principle that competition at home will always prevent monopoly on the part of capitalists, assure good wages for the laborer, and defend the consumer against the evils of extortion."

McKinley said, "Free Trade results in giving our money, our manufactures and our markets to other nations; protection keeps money, manufactures and markets at home." When Mr. Cleveland in accepting the Democratic nomination in 1888 on the same tariff declaration as the Roosevelt platforms of 1904 and 1908, he set up the claim that all tariff taxes were added to the price of all home as well as imported products, and paid by the American consumer; Mr. McKinley said of Mr. Cleveland, "He ignored the well known fact that not a few articles of home production were then selling in our markets for less than the tariff tax thereon."

We thus have from the great leaders of the Republican party the true sentiment of the party on the tariff question; and as expressed in the party platform of 1900, thus.

"Protection. We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market, competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has

been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better condition of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self government and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the world.

"We favor the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets."

This was genuine Republicanism up to that time, acknowledged and believed in, and contended for by all true Republicans during McKinley's administration; but when McKinley, in his last address at Buffalo, advocated and emphasized these great and essential Republican principles, progressive Republicanism, then in the shade under the arm of his successor, set up the claim that McKinley therein repudiated his platform declarations on protection and reciprocity.

So in 1904 Roosevelt had the Democratic free trade tariff notion of 1888 made the tariff policy of the Republican party, and it was repeated in 1908. This complete reversal of party policy has been accomplished without objection or protest from influential Republican workers or press, although protectionists had all the advantage of arguments and experience on the question. Some Republicans appear to be converts to the Cleveland-Roose-

velt theory that the tariff is a tax on home products as well as imports and is paid by our people on all we consume. This fallacy has kept free trade alive in the Democratic party ever since Calhoun planted it there 80 years ago, and for a time became a feature of Republican platforms, though it has not a single act in all our history to sustain it.

How is it possible for a man to believe that he pays more tariff tax on an article than the article costs, which would be the case about every day of one's life; even under the present low tariff law. Again; we manufactured over \$20,000,000,000 worth last year, and the average ad-valorem rate of duty is some 43 per cent. on dutiable imports, or 5 per cent. lower than under the Dingley law. This would give us a tariff tax on what we ourselves produce of over \$8,600,000,000. This would be about \$250 for each man, woman and child, but did we pay it? This is just like paying more tariff tax on an article than it costs; yet these are the theories and assumptions that have knocked the Republican party into a cocked hat and the hat into the Democratic ring.

So it goes along the whole line. There is nothing substantial in evidence or argument against the truly American principle of protection. A thousand great doctors of science may theorize until doomsday, but it all will not outweigh the simple fact as expressed by our Lincoln, that no man ever paid one dollar of tariff tax on any American product so protected.

But does it not cost more to live under a high than a low tariff? Certainly. Under the Wilson law com-

pared with the McKinley and Dingley law times our wheat crops were very short and the price very low; but our people could only use about half as much as under protection with big crops and high prices; because there was so little doing by which they could make money to buy wheat or anything else freely.

But just look at the monopolies and trusts under protection. It is a wonder how free-traders fought protection before trusts were invented. But look again. About all the real robber trusts are on free list articles, showing that protection has nothing to do with it, unless it is to furnish our trust robbed people with money to patronize the trusts. And so it goes along the whole line of charges against protection. The principle as an American policy is impregnable. Its myriads of assailants have no ground to stand on for betterment of conditions. It never antagonized but one American interest and that an enemy of true Americanism.

But wonderful to relate, protection with all its advantages for every truly American interest; its sure accompaniment of general prosperity, is an outcast by our people.

Democrats are born free-traders and cannot help it; even the distress and hardships resulting from party legislation thereon do not cure them, but nine-tenths of our Republican voters are protectionists, but failed to see that their leaders put them on a free trade platform; and there being room for but one successful free trade party in the United States, will defeat bring them back to their Lincoln, Blaine, McKinley Republican policy of protection; or will they prefer to allow the G. O. P. to go that

ignominious way the old Whig party went for abandoning protection.

Newton, Ia., July, 1912.

THE CONSTITUTION AND PROTECTION.

From the Iron and Steel Bulletin.

The Democratic platform adopted at Baltimore says that "the Federal Government under the Constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue." Section 8 of the Constitution provides that "Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excise: . . . to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." What does this mean?

In the early days of the Republic the principle of protection was fully recognized. All the great men who aided in securing our political independence were protectionists--Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, and others. The first petition presented to the First Congress, in March, 1789, before Washington's inauguration, emanated from over seven hundred mechanics and other citizens of "the town of Baltimore," who prayed that Congress would render the country "independent in fact as well as in name," by imposing protective duties on foreign manufactures. Other petitions of like character were presented from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and other places. Within two days after the presidential vote was counted Mr. Madison introduced in the House of Representatives a bill embodying the

views of the petitioners. That bill became a law; it was our first protective tariff; it was the first act of general legislation passed under the new Constitution. As stated in its preamble, it was enacted "for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures." It became a law on the Fourth day of July, 1789, by the signature of Washington.

The testimony of the framers of the Constitution and of the eminent men who were their cotemporaries should be a sufficient answer to the declaration we have quoted from the Democratic platform. To this we add the opinions of Daniel Webster and Rufus Choate, expounders of the Constitution whose opinions are held in the greatest respect by men of all parties. We quote from "A Short Tariff History of the United States" by David H. Mason.

Among the men with giant faculties who made thorough searches regarding the historical power to protect home industry by means of duties on imports was Daniel Webster. Repeatedly, on public occasions, he gave voice, in words unmistakable and decided, to the conclusions which had grown out of his investigations. In his remarks to the citizens of Buffalo in June, 1833, he expressed his views thus: "The protection of American labor against the injurious competition of foreign labor, so far, at least, as respects general handicraft productions, is known historically to have been one end designed to be obtained by establishing the Constitution, and this object, and the constitutional power to accom-

plish it, ought never in any degree to be surrendered or compromised."

In his address delivered to the citizens of Pittsburgh on July 8, 1833, he outlined another phase of the same subject as follows: "Gentlemen, it is an historical truth, manifested in a thousand ways by the public proceedings and public meetings of the times, that the necessity of a general and uniform impost system, which, while it should provide revenue to pay the public debt and foster the commerce of the country, should also encourage and sustain domestic manufactures, was the leading cause in producing the present National Constitution. No class of persons was more zealous for the new Constitution than the handcraftsmen, artisans, and manufacturers."

Ten years later his views had become still more fixed and emphatic. In his address at the Whig convention held at Andover, November 9, 1843, he made the more pointed and detailed statement given below: "Now the power of Congress is to regulate commerce. And in all English history, and all our own history, down to the Revolution, and to the time of the adoption of the Constitution, importation of some articles was encouraged, and of others discouraged or prohibited, by regulations of trade. The regulation of trade, therefore, was a term of well-known meaning, and did comprehend the duty or object of discriminating, with a view to favor home productions. We find this to have been so, from the time of the Tudors and Stuarts down, and in America the opinion I have stated was held by Otis, Adams, and the other great and eminent men of the Revolution."

In his speech at the mass meeting held at Albany, August 27, 1844, he sketched the nature and extent of the protecting power in these vigorous and decisive terms: "The power of regulating commerce granted to Congress was most assuredly understood to embrace all forms of regulation belonging to those terms under other governments—all the meaning implied in the terms, in the same language, employed in all laws and in the intercourse of modern nations. And I consider it as capable of mathematical demonstration, as capable of demonstration as any proposition in Euclid, that the power of discriminating in custom-house duties for the protection of American labor and industry was understood, not by some, but by all, by high and low, everywhere, as included in the regulation of trade."

These extracts embody only a part of Daniel Webster's published utterances on the subject. Another of the eminent and gifted men who diligently explored the colonial, Revolutionary, and subsequent sources of information in search of the true meaning of the Constitution, was Rufus Choate. In his speech in the United States Senate on March 14, 1842, he said: "I hold it to be susceptible of as rigorous, moral demonstration as any truth of history: 1. That before the Constitution was presented to them, the people of this country, generally, demanded a government which should have power to mould their whole foreign intercourse into the most beneficial form, and, among other things, should have power to mould it into such form as might bring out American labor, agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing, navigating, and commer-

cial, into its completest development, and for that end to make discriminating tariffs. 2. That when, at length, the doors of the convention were thrown open, and the Constitution, the object of so many hopes, of so much solicitude, was presented to their eager view, they believed that they found in it just the power they had looked for so long, and they adopted it in that confidence. 3. That every member of the convention itself supposed it to contain the power; and 4. That the new government, from its first organization, proceeded to execute it vigorously and usefully by a broad policy of protection openly avowed. The power to push this policy to the utmost limit of Congressional discretion was never called in question for more than thirty or certainly more than twenty years."

HOW THE TARIFF HELPS.

From Industrial Canada.

Why does the British capitalist invest his money all over the world; why not put it into manufacturing at home, if the Free Trade Policy is such a great advantage to the industries of the country? The answer is that the British capitalist, in order to overcome the tariff restrictions in, say the United States, puts his capital into manufacturing there, which gives him two free markets instead of only one. He has the United States market because his goods are made in the United States, and he has the British market on just as good terms as if he had built his factory at home. The Free Trade Policy of England is really an inducement to British ma-

nufacturers to put their money into foreign factories. On the other hand, what a good thing the high tariff is for the United States? It is the magnet that draws foreign capital to it. Canada is in exactly the same position, and we are seeing every day how the tariff benefits, not merely the manufacturer, but every one of us. The very pen with which this article is written is an evidence of what the tariff is doing for Canada. It is the product of the L. E. Waterman Company, of Canada, a company that owes its existence to the tariff. The parent company, the L. E. Waterman Company, of New York, found that the only profitable way to supply pens to the Canadian people was to make them in Canada. For three years they had tried to bring them in despite the duty, and while they have built up the largest trade in their line in this country, as it is in every other country, still the item of duty represented such a large margin of the profit, that they concluded that the pen for the Canadian people must be "made in Canada." To-day they are busy erecting, close to Montreal, a modern factory to turn out pens for Canadians, and when it starts operations in the fall, several high class mechanics will be added to our population. This is only one instance of what the tariff does. Another is the Cudahy Packing Company, of Omaha, who are already turning out one of their products from a factory in Toronto, and their Canadian manager, Mr. Dix, told the writer a few days ago that within a comparatively short time they would have an immense soap factory in operation in this country, as it is impos-

sible to import their laundry and toilet soaps, and compete with the excellent lines already made here. The International Harvester Company, of Hamilton, the Westinghouse Company, of the same city, the Quaker Oats factory at Peterboro, and a host of others already here bear witness to what the tariff can and does do. As stated in a former issue of "Industrial Canada," since the first of January more than \$100,000,000 of British money has come to Canada for investment, and it can be demonstrated that the most of it is coming here because of our protective policy. If we had free trade, the United States manufacturer would ship his goods in here from his United States plant, and the British investor would use his money to enlarge his manufacturing plants at home. There is no sentiment in business; it is all a matter of profit and loss figured out in percentages. A 25 per cent. duty does more to establish factories on Canadian soil, furnish employment for Canadian workingmen, and create a market at home for Canadian farmers, than a million tons of sentiment could do in as many years.

The consumer in Canada has a preference for American goods in many instances, only for the reason that he recognizes in them the things that he wants. British goods that have gained a foothold in Canada retain their ground without difficulty against the American importation.

The more the Democratic candidate crowds the Tariff to the front in the coming campaign the more effective opposition he will encounter and the more interesting the fight will become.—Cleveland Leader.

THE ANTI-TRUST BILLS.

From the New York Tribune.

The anti-trust bills of the Stanley investigating committee outdo Bryan. Four years ago Bryan proposed to set a limit of 51 per cent of the total output of a commodity on the business that might lawfully be done in that commodity by a single corporation. The sense of the country was that his idea was half-baked and unworkable. Chairman Stanley makes the limit 30 per cent. The plan is impracticable. How could a corporation be sure that it was keeping within the 30 per cent limit? Its competitors might reduce their output without its knowing of the reduction in time to reduce its own. One or more of them might go out of business. With that limit on production business would be impossible for large concerns without agreements among them with respect to output, such agreements as the law now denounces.

Moreover, possession of more than 30 per cent of a given business is not a proof of improper methods, nor necessarily undesirable. It may have been obtained legitimately by producing a superior commodity at a low price. Is the public to be forbidden to buy what it wants merely because to satisfy its demand would violate the law through making one corporation the producer of more than 30 per cent of the given article? That would be foolish.

So is the provision that the burden of proof in trust cases shall rest upon the trust. That is to say, when accused, not merely by the government but by "any person injured or threatened with injury," the trust

must prove that it does not unreasonably restrain trade. This requirement would encourage strike suits. It is certainly unfair. It is probably unconstitutional. It is totally unnecessary, for with the burden of proof where it is the government finds no insuperable obstacle to getting judgment against trusts in civil actions.

Placing upon the courts the duty of fixing the selling price of any article in which there is a monopoly is burdening them with a task for which they are totally unfitted. There are law's delays enough already without increasing the likelihood of more. Some of the other proposals are better considered, but their value is destroyed so long as they are associated with these impracticable schemes.

OUR RICH MARKET.

From the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle.

The American market, when not Protected by a Tariff, is very large and desirable. Here are 92,000,000 people, the wealthiest in the world, and they buy an immense amount of goods. Moreover, they want dress goods and suitings of the highest grade, and high-grade goods always pay a profit that in percentage to the cost of manufacture is much higher than is possible with cheap goods. It would seem that the American market would be an excellent one for the British manufacturer to cultivate.

While the Wilson bill was in effect in this country British manufacturers learned that the American market under a low Tariff was as good as any on earth. They enlarged their mills in many cases and declined business from other parts of the world in order to supply the American demand. It looked as if they would soon be so rich that

they would have to build new warehouses in which to keep their money.

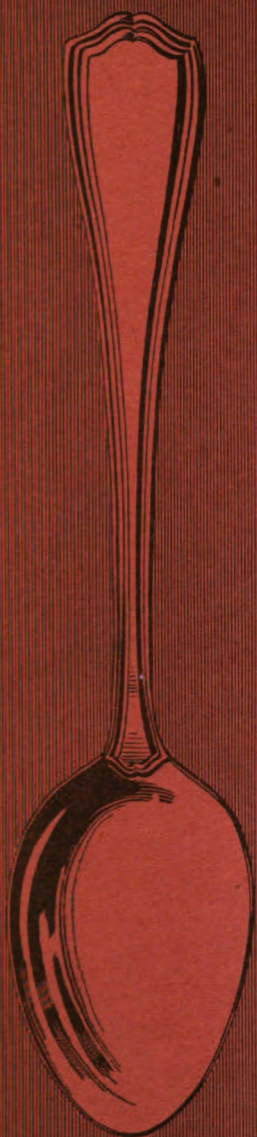
But along came the McKinley bill and it put a quietus on the Wilson bill, with a Protective Tariff on woolen manufactures. The British goods could not pass the high barrier. The result was that the additions to the woolen factories were useless and the manufacturers who had declined other business in order to cater to the American trade were forced to find new business in order to keep their mills running.

NO IDLERS IN SWITZERLAND.

In Switzerland a man may not deliberately join the army of the unemployed and remain indefinitely in the ranks without even making an effort to secure employment and in the interval be constantly deteriorating into an unemployable. There is no resorting to charitable institutions as hotels, no wandering about the country extorting alms from honest people while pretending to be in search of employment. An unemployed person must make a serious effort to find work. If he does not the authorities will find it for him and of a kind that may not be to his liking, and he is compelled to perform the work assigned to him. If he refuses he is placed in the workhouse, where military discipline is maintained and where every inmate is required to work to the full capacity of his strength, for which he receives as compensation his board and lodging, with wages ranging from 3 to 10 cents per day.

Free-Trade brought ruin to all classes in the days of Van Buren, Buchanan and Cleveland and would do so again in our generation, for it would operate now just as it did then.—Point Pleasant (W. Va.) Gazette.

Laboring men do not want Free-Trade. Better think pretty hard for a time if you have an inclination to vote that way.—Mitchellville (Ia.) Index.



The Heppelwhite Pattern

has made an epoch in the history of Silverware. No other pattern has ever attained so much popularity, had so much influence on the designs of its period, or been so widely imitated and copied.

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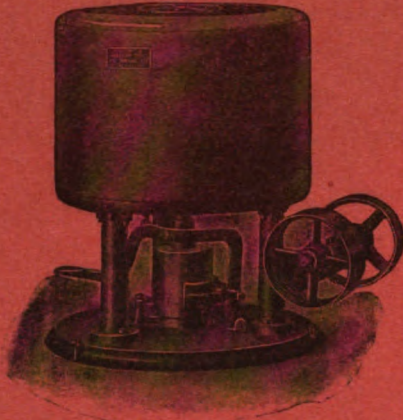


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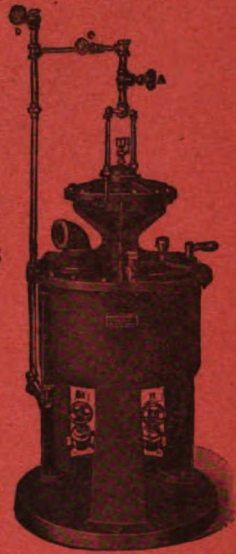
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The Protectionist

OCTOBER, 1912

Wilson's Misstatements

A Warning From Great Britain

Free Trade Fallacies

Protection Which Protects

Wilson and the Farmers

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PUBLISHED BY THE

HOME MARKET CLUB

77 Summer St., Boston, Mass.

Vol. XXIV. No. 6.

10 Cents Each, \$1.00 a Year

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THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress.

Signed articles are not to be understood as expressing
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VOL. XXIV.

OCTOBER, 1912.

No. 282

WOULD MEAN UNTOLD DISASTER.

The Payne Law Was a Downward Revision; But Wilson
Would "Cut to the Heart."

Mr. Wilson seems to think that he can make the people believe a statement that is not true simply by repeating it frequently. He has asserted several times in public speeches that the Republicans promised in 1908 "to revise the tariff downward while they have revised it upward." Champ Clark makes the same statement in nearly every speech he utters. Ex-Judge Parker, temporary president, and Senator-elect Ollie James, permanent president of the Democratic national convention, both repeated that statement. Gov. Marshall, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, makes it a feature of his speeches, and so on with other Free Trade orators. And yet it is absolutely devoid of truth. In fact, it is the opposite of the truth.

The Republicans promised to revise the tariff, to eliminate its inequalities, but they did not say in their platform that they would revise it downward. However, they did revise it downward to a pro-

nounced extent. The average rate of duty on all imports in 1908 was 23.88 per cent., while for the fiscal year of 1912 it was 18.82 per cent. That is a very material reduction instead of an increase as Mr. Wilson and his followers falsely assert. In 1908 the percentage of imports free of duty was 44.43, while for 1912 it was 53.33. The Republicans added materially to the free list, and yet largely reduced the average rate on dutiable articles alone.

The imports free of duty in 1908 were in value \$525,704,745, while in 1912 they reached \$771,684,104, a gain of \$245,979,359. The total of imports in 1908 was valued at \$1,183,120,665 and in 1912 \$1,653,354,934, an increase of \$470,234,269. That is ample proof of the large reduction in rates under the Payne tariff law. And yet Mr. Wilson talks of cutting "to the heart of this business, fearing no man." What that means to workingmen, employers and the public in general is entirely clear from the experience of the na-

tion under the last Democratic administration when 3,000,000 persons were thrown out of employment. Every important nation excepting Great Britain is protected by a tariff. The rates have been steadily increasing. Not a bar will be let down in return for Free Trade in this country. But they will deluge us with their surplus products produced, according to the official utterance of the British Government, by workmen who receive \$1 in England as compared with \$2.40 in the United States, while the difference is much greater in comparison with other countries. Mr. Wilson wants to obliterate that difference in wages by the adoption of Free Trade. That would mean untold disaster to the United States.

PROTECTION FOR THE GENERAL WELFARE.

The protective tariff system favors America and the American producer. It favors the American manufacturer and the American working man. It was for this purpose that the first tariff law was passed. The preamble of this act declared "Whereas it is necessary for the support of Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandise imported: Be it enacted that the several duties hereinafter mentioned shall be laid on the following goods, wares and merchandise imported into the United States from any foreign port or place." That act, signed by George Washington, established the tariff policy of the United States, a

policy designed to favor American products, both of the soil and of the shop, to encourage a diversity of industries and to promote the industrial independence of the country. Most of the tariff bills passed by Congress have expressed this same purpose. The notable exceptions have been the Walker tariff of 1846 and the Gorman-Wilson tariff of 1894.

The Walker tariff was described as "an act reducing the duty on imports and for other purposes." The Gorman-Wilson act was called "an act to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the Government and for other purposes." These tariff laws were not designed as other tariff laws have been to favor American industries, and the result shows that our industries suffered and foreign industries prospered. There has been no doubt whatever that the protective tariff laws were designed to encourage the industries of this country and under the operation of these laws our industries have developed more rapidly than those of any competing country.

It is often claimed that protection bestows special privileges upon favored individuals. It is a claim that is often made by the opponents of the protective policy but it has never been substantiated. The tariff laws of the United States have been laws of a general character, they have not bestowed special privileges upon favored individuals. Any citizen has the opportunity to avail himself of their provisions and they afford equal protection to all sections of the country. Under a protective tariff manufacturing has become established in every state of the

Union and all the people of the country enjoy the same privileges under the law.

The founders of our Government had a choice of two systems, one of dependence upon foreign countries for manufactured products, the other, independence of foreign products by a system of encouragement and protection for domestic industries. They chose the latter and events have proved that it was a wise choice. Today the United States is the leading manufacturing country in the world. The total valuation of manufactured products reported by the census of 1910 was \$20,672,000,000. In the production of these goods 7,678,578 wage earners were employed; over one-quarter of our population were directly supported by the wages earned in these industries which owe their life to the protective tariff; another quarter of our population were supported by the income derived by the transportation and sale of these products and a third quarter by raising agricultural products which were consumed by those engaged directly or indirectly in manufacture. Because of the protective tariff billions of dollars were kept in circulation, a part of which, otherwise, would be sent abroad to purchase foreign products and pay the wages of foreign working men.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "I do not know much about the tariff, but I know this much, when we buy manufactured goods abroad we get the goods and the foreigner gets the money. When we buy the manufactured goods at home we get both the goods and the money." It is this policy of encouraging domestic industries which accounts for the phe-

nomenal growth of the country and which has made the American working man the envy of the world. The "favours" involved have been shared by all the people and the benefits have extended from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf.

The people of this country only once in forty years have listened to Democratic promises and followed Democratic advice and placed that party in power. Then that party revised the tariff; it enacted the Wilson law, and that law withered our prosperity as do the hot winds of the desert the blossoming harvests. That party applied to the land that doctrine they now advocate for the sea. During that Democratic administration our national debt increased a half million dollars each day. Each day we lost a half million dollars in foreign trade. During that administration the value of farm products decreased more than \$500,000,000. The business of this nation in two months after the enactment of the Wilson law decreased 6 per cent. Immediately upon the passage of that law fear, distrust, and panic paralyzed the great industrial system of our country; banks closed their doors; business houses assigned; the balance of trade was against us; bonds were issued; capital withdrew from the fields of legitimate enterprise into secret places; labor was forced into unwilling idleness; we had deserted mills, smokeless factories, silent machinery.

We needed the protective tariff, first, to enable us to build the factory. Now that we have the factory running, we need a protective tariff to protect the American market and the laborer who is working in this American factory; and we will continue to need it until the American laborer is willing to work for the low wages paid the foreign laborer.

Republican protection not only protects, it builds up. It gives employ to American workmen. It secures to Americans the control of the markets of their own country. It affords to American labor a standard of wages far above the wages of any other people under the sun.

WILSON'S MISSTATEMENTS.

Cause Comment in Washington — He Gets Help from Roosevelt and His Followers — British Reports Expose the Free Trade Candidate.

From Our Washington Correspondent.

Washington, September 25.—The hot weather keeps politicians away from this city, though many of them find it necessary to make short visits, and a few Congressmen have been here since Congress adjourned. Senator Heyburn of Idaho was in such bad health at the time of adjournment that he could not get away, though at last accounts he had greatly improved. He did splendid work in behalf of protection in the Senate and never was at a loss for sound arguments to combat the Free Trade aggressiveness of the Democrats, who were assisted by Cummins, La Follette and other "insurgents." Mr. Cummins professes to be in favor of a protective tariff, but he has done much for the last ten years or more indirectly to destroy the Republican party in Iowa and elsewhere. He has now come out in favor of the election of Roosevelt, who, he says, he will support, while opposing the "Progressive" or Roosevelt party. That is characteristic of Mr. Cummins.

Roosevelt Against Republicans.

Roosevelt is openly doing his best to defeat Republican candidates in every State. He attacks the party as much as he does the Democratic organization, and of course Roosevelt's election would mean the end of the Republican party. No one

knows that better than Mr. Cummins. But he also knows that the election of Roosevelt is impossible, hence, while supporting him he "casts an anchor to windward" to retain a hold in the Republican ranks. There are a few other men trying the same impossible thing, with disaster staring them in the face. One of these "hybrids," as a Senator calls them, is ex-Representative Littauer of New York. He is a large glove manufacturer who wanted higher duties on the finer qualities of gloves, when the Payne law was passed. President Taft did not sympathize with that effort, and it was defeated. Hence Mr. Littauer has been supporting Roosevelt, though he is said now to fear Democratic success which would mean lower duties on gloves and the destruction of the industry in the United States. There were \$8,000,000 worth of gloves imported in the last fiscal year. There is not a sign of a reason for importing gloves, excepting that American workmen will not accept the pitiable wages paid in Europe in this industry. The cheaper class of gloves are now largely produced in the United States, and with satisfactory tariff rates there would be no gloves imported. But if the Democrats secure power they will with their "revenue tariff" give the American mar-

ket entirely to the foreign producers. Some large department stores, such as the Marshall Field concern in Chicago, own factories in Europe for the production of gloves and they are anxious to see the tariff "wiped out." If Mr. Roosevelt accomplishes anything in this canvass it will be the election of Wilson. That is entirely clear from what he has done so far in Vermont and Maine. Hence men like Mr. Littaer, who support the Bull Moose candidate, only help in the words of Speaker Champ Clark, "to wipe out every vestige of a protective tariff."

Oscar Straus Always a Free Trader.

It is a different matter with Mr. Oscar Straus, the Bull Moose candidate for Governor in New York: Mr. Straus never was a believer in a protective tariff. He was a Free Trade Democrat, and an importer, in which business he made his money, until Bryan was nominated by the Democrats, when he supported Palmer, and afterwards the Republican candidate. But he has never said a word in favor of a protective tariff, and does not believe in it any more than his brother Nathan, who is a vigorous Free Trade Democrat.

Mr. Roosevelt was at one time a member of the well known Cobden Club of London, which sent considerable sums of money to this country to promote Free Trade. He has never been a strong Protectionist, but he is talking that way now though he knows well enough that the only thing he can accomplish is to help elect a Free Trade Democrat to the White House, and help that party get control of both houses of Congress. He is sup-

ported in that work by men such as "Boss" Flinn of Pennsylvania, George W. Perkins of New York, Crane of Chicago, and others with grievances against President Taft or the Republican party.

Spreckles as an Illustration.

Washington has been favored with a visit recently of one of those men, Rudolph Spreckles. He spent a large sum of money to promote the abolition of the duty on raw sugar for the purpose of helping his cane refinery and the Sugar Trust. He wants to stop the progress of the beet sugar industry in which over \$100,000,000 is invested already and which with continued protection threatens soon to cut off the enormous profits of the cane refiners and cheapen sugar. The Democrats put a bill through the House to carry out Spreckles' plan, but it was changed in the Senate so as to cut off the inexcusable profits of the cane refiners and to reduce the price of sugar. That did not please the Sugar Trust so the Democrats of the House refused assent, notwithstanding the fact that the Democrats in the Senate nearly all voted for the amended bill. Mr. Spreckles does not want any such legislation as that, so he announces that he has left the Republican party and is supporting the Democratic candidate.

The resignation of Mr. Valentine, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to support Roosevelt is another illustration. Mr. Valentine was originally an assistant to Mr. Leupp, when the latter was appointed commissioner by President Roosevelt, and who has been a Roosevelt supporter from the start. Valentine issued an order to prevent teachers in

Indian schools from wearing religious garbs, as was done during all of Mr. Roosevelt's administration and long before. He did not consult his superior, the Secretary of the Interior, and the President "held up" the order. That and some other things made it quite clear that Mr. Valentine would not remain long as head of the Indian office so he "resigns" to support the Bull Moose candidate. Friends of the protective tariff realize that all movements of this kind mean help for the Free Trade Democrats; and it will be found that Mr. Valentine, like Mr. Leupp, long connected with the *New York Evening Post*, was not an advocate of protection.

Wilson's Free Trade Address.

When reading a carefully prepared address to the Tariff Commission at Atlanta, Ga., in 1882, in favor of absolute Free Trade, which he said was certain to be adopted without long delay, Mr. Woodrow Wilson asserted that no duties were imposed on wheat and other farm products. Commissioner Oliver told him that he was wrong, as heavy duties were imposed on such products, and Mr. Wilson was obliged to admit his mistake. But he keeps up the same method of campaigning until this day. He has repeatedly made similar misstatements in this canvass, which has caused much comment in this city. A few days ago speaking in Pennsylvania he said: "The American farmer has never been protected for the very good reason that he has never needed to be protected, and his grains have sold at prices established by the prices which his pro-

duce commanded in foreign markets."

Before the McKinley bill passed some 12,000,000 bushels of barley were imported from Canada in one year. The protective duty imposed by that bill shut it out and practically none has been imported since. Some 300,000 cattle were imported at one time from Mexico. A protective duty excluded them. Under the so-called "reciprocity" arrangement with Canada, which that country rejected, Canadian wheat, oats, barley, etc., would have come into the United States to an enormous extent. The farmers know well enough how they are protected, and that is why northern farmers are almost a unit against that law. Senators McCumber, Heyburn and others showed by official statistics that the farmers repeatedly got more for their wheat—the kind produced in Northwest Canada—and other products than the Liverpool prices. That is almost the regular thing, and such products are now and have been in the past much lower across the border in Alberta and other Canadian provinces than on this side. How absurd then for Prof. Wilson to assert that the opposite is the case.

Wilson Flies in the Face of Facts.

Talking of the increase in prices Prof. Wilson said: "We are told that prices are rising the world over, but if you will look into the matter you will find that it is not so. They are rising in high-tariff countries, but not in low-tariff countries." That statement was so clearly false that it was severely attacked, which led the Professor when at Syracuse

to say: "They tell us prices have risen all the world over. Yes, they have, but nowhere have they risen so fast or so high as in the United States." That illustrates the Professor's methods, largely the result of ignorance of commercial affairs, though that does not excuse mis-statements.

Mr. Wilson asserted twice in the same day in New York recently that the United States has a larger per capita supply of cattle now than a few years ago, but beef had advanced enormously in price, while in England, to which country he said we export large quantities of beef or cattle, the price of meats had been stationary for many years. The Agricultural Department in a recent report states that there has been a decline of several million head in beef cattle in the last year, while the population, as everyone knows, has largely increased. Mr. Wilson's statement as to prices in England is like other statements, without foundation. The London "Economist," a Free Trade journal of recognized authority on prices, etc., in its issue of August 10, states that "inferior" beef in London increased four cents a pound from August 5, 1911, to August 3, 1912, and "prime" beef showed a like advance. Mutton increased in price nearly as much in the same time. Potatoes, rice, coffee and other articles also showed large advances in price. The "Economist" said: "Prices are advancing at an accelerated rate." It then gives the average prices of cereals and meats between 1901 and 1905, and the prices at the end of July, 1912, showing an advance of 29 per cent. That is the advance in food products in England as against Prof.

Wilson's statement of "stationary prices." The "Economist," which has been keeping a table of prices for many years, shows that in food products, textiles and minerals the advance was 25 per cent. in six years. A pretty steep increase for a Free Trade country with the right to import free of duty from all the world.

Wages Do Not Increase in England.

Premier Asquith in a speech on June 21 last said that wages had advanced only one-third of one per cent. from 1900 to 1911. He added: "Workmen are face to face with a very substantial rise in prices of necessities, which has not been met by a corresponding increase in the rate of wages." The Secretary of the British Board of Trade—a cabinet officer—said in the House of Commons on April 26, 1911, that wages could not be increased, because it would increase foreign competition.

Who knows best, Prof. Wilson or the British Premier and government as to the increase in prices with no increase in wages in that Free Trade country?

The British Government sent a number of experts to this country not long ago to investigate wages and cost of living and to make a comparison with wages and cost of living in England. That report is a complete answer to Prof. Wilson's Free-Trade misstatements. The London "Times" commenting on that report said:

"British beef and mutton are actually dearer than American, and pork is much dearer. The workman in America enjoys an enormous advantage over his fellow in England. He earns more than two and a quarter times as much money and

works shorter hours for it, so that his hourly rate of earnings is as 240 to 100, or pretty nearly two and a half times as much. So far as bread and meat are concerned the British housewife has but a small advantage. But that means baker's bread in England, which is little eaten by working-class families in the United States. These results are surprising, but there is no doubt about the care and accuracy with which the data has been collected."

FREE TRADE FALLACIES EXPOSED.

By Our London Correspondent.

London, Aug. 15, 1912.

It is a very common assertion of English Free Traders that there is no need for any alteration in our fiscal system because we have done so well under Free Trade. Well, I don't think anyone who really knows the condition of Britain today would venture to say that before an impartial audience. In this country we know that according to the accurate investigations made by Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Roundtree, there is about thirty per cent. of our population underfed, and on the verge of hunger. Thirty per cent. of forty-one millions comes to something over twelve millions, equal almost to the total population of Britain's colonies.

Speaking at the Colonial Conference in London in 1907, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lloyd George) said: "We have here a poor population that you (the Colonies) know nothing of. Here numbers of our poor people are steeped in poverty and we have to think of

them. It would be cruel of us, it would be wicked of us, if we did not do so." So the British Colonies, practically all of them Protectionist, know nothing of the poverty so terribly apparent in Free Trade Britain! Surely there must be something radically wrong with the system that produces such results. And then further, what does Mr. Keir Hardie, a thorough Free Trader, say on the question: "We have had half a century of free trade and at the end of it what was the condition of the people? Thirty-three per cent. of them, during periods of free trade, were receiving less than would keep them in any reasonable position of efficiency and comfort. Many thought that if those people were in poverty it was because of their drinking and thriftless habits. That was not the case. Independent investigations had produced conclusions which could be neither challenged nor questioned, and which show clearly that poverty was due to low wages and irregular employment and that all that drink did was to aggravate the poverty which those two causes produced."

Let us take another Free Trader, Mr. Chiozza Money, M. P. He says: "At the present time food costs about fifteen per cent. more than it did in 1899. It is to be feared, therefore, that the proportion of people living in poverty has increased since 1899, because although wages have risen, they have not risen as greatly as the cost of living. The rise of money wages since 1899 has been about six per cent., which has only covered part of the increase in the cost of living. A very real decrement has been suffered by all

classes of wage earners, which is to say by the mass of the British people. It is a misfortune, which, because it directly affects so many, is a national misfortune." These are all Free Trade witnesses and their evidence ought to count for something.

Now, what about this question of wages to which so much reference is made? Well, a Government return which affects eight millions of adult workmen supplies some answer to the question:

Per Cent.	Per Week.
4 per cent.	get under 15s
8 per cent.	get from 15s to 20s
20 per cent.	get from 20s to 25s
21 per cent.	get from 25s to 30s
21 per cent.	get from 30s to 35s
13 per cent.	get from 35s to 40s
7 per cent.	get from 40s to 45s
6 per cent.	get over 45s

So we see that over four millions adult workmen get under 30s per week. Putting the question as broadly as possible, are these rates, having regard to the cost of living, sufficient? Do they more than provide an existing wage? Is there a margin that will permit of parents giving their children a reasonably fair start? Can they on such wages marry and bring up families which will be a credit to themselves and to the State? The answer to this question must be either yes or no. We have never had real free trade (free exchange) but only a policy of taxed exports and partial free imports, a policy which is held to be directly responsible for the result described by the above quoted authorities. Free Traders contend that under our present fiscal system the cost of living is kept low, and they urge that this is of essential importance to British wage earners. Now, I have

shown very clearly that Free Trade has not kept down the cost of living. Indeed, such an assertion is particularly brazen in view of the recent rise in the cost of living unaccompanied by a corresponding rise in wages. Protectionists urge, on the contrary, that Free Trade by failing to encourage Imperial food supplies actually raises the cost of living.

Another foolish statement is that a reform of our fiscal system would tend to a development of trusts "so rampant in protectionist countries." Well all that I can say is that the system of trusts is just as rampant in England, and our Free Trade Government does absolutely nothing to check it for fear of offending their great Free Trade monopolists in cotton, chemicals, etc.

F. C. CHAPPELL.

A resolution was adopted advocating minimum wages of 30 shillings for a 48-hour week for government workers in the London district and 36 shillings in the danger buildings of the explosives factory in the arsenal at Woolwich. These two demands, which mark an objective point above what is paid, reach only \$7.50 and \$9 a week. In London the present weekly union scale for men in the binding department in printing offices is 34 shillings for 54 hours, and for cutters 30 shillings, and girl folders 15. In the private shipyards in the Tyne, Clyde, Mersey, Thames, and Barrow districts the wages run on the average: Platers, 38s. 3d.; riveters and calkers, 24s. 9d.; bolders up, 28s. 3d. Government dockyards maximum pay is: Platers, 28 shillings; riveters and calkers, 28 shillings; holders up, 25 shillings. The entire range is \$6 to less than \$9.50. Earnings in England, however, cannot be based on weekly wage scales; unemployment, varying as to the individuals involved, is now so bad as to be spoken of as a settled national feature in industry."

A WARNING FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

The literature of Tariff Reform versus "Free Trade" in Great Britain is sufficient, if only by its extent, to attract the attention of political and social economists far beyond the areas directly affected by the present revolt against Cobdenism. Some of it, it is true, may be charged with the defect of dealing with minor phases of the problem, to the neglect of its far-reaching influence upon the Imperial destiny, but criticism of this nature must be withheld from a collection of tables, under the title "Free Trade Fetters," compiled by Mr. Congreve Jackson. The figures are "drawn from an unbiassed and unimpeachable source, to wit, the Third Fiscal Blue Book issued by the Board of Trade," a British Government department.

The chief interest for Americans is found in the author's introductory contrast between the anticipations and the proved reality of the Cobden doctrine, as applied to the United Kingdom. "Its authors claimed that it would consolidate our already existing commercial supremacy, cheapen the cost of food, and compel other nations to follow our example within a limited period of time. The intervening years have witnessed the establishment and extension of protective tariffs in every commercial nation (our own Dominions included) to an extent undreamed of by the early free traders, and the international free exchange of merchandise which they anticipated is further than ever from being realized. When Free Trade was

inaugurated, Britain had already won for herself the proud title of the "Workshop of the World," and we depended so little on foreign factories that our annual imports of manufactured goods averaged no more than 12s 6d (\$3.00) per head, while at present they have risen to nearly five times that amount."

A particularly disquieting feature of the tables—the growing disproportion between British exports of manufactured goods and raw materials—is referred to as follows:

"Then [before Free Trade] our exports were composed almost entirely of manufactured goods, and we kept our raw materials for home consumption as Providence had intended we should do. But now our exports of raw materials and unfinished goods amount to no less than £80,000,000 yearly, half of which consists of coal (which cannot be replaced)." This aspect of the case is emphasized by one of the tables, showing that while British exports of manufactured goods since 1890 had increased by only 33 per cent., those from Germany had been doubled and from the United States trebled.

The case for British fiscal methods does not improve when the exports of manufactures are dissected and compared with those of protected countries during the same period. British exports to eleven such countries increased by only 2 1/2 per cent. since 1890, while German exports to the remaining ten and to the United Kingdom increased by 90 per cent. and Ameri-

can (United States) by no less than 200 per cent. The case becomes still less favorable to "Free Trade" when it is shown, by another table, that net imports of manufactured goods (retained for home consumption) have increased, in 28 years, to the extent of 95 per cent. in the United Kingdom, against 76 per cent. in Germany and 66 per cent. in the United States. These figures would be even more striking if allowance were made for the relative increase in population. Since 1890 the population of the United Kingdom has increased by 7,000,000, of Germany by 14,000,000 and of the United States by 24,000,000.

The author points out, in connection with these two tables, that a moderate tariff is no hindrance to success in other protected markets, and that import duties do not stop the inflow of manufactured goods into a protected country; they "regulate it, and keep it within bounds, while at the same time contributing substantially to that country's revenue." British revenue, it is shown, derives no benefit from this great influx of foreign goods, a large percentage of which, it must be remembered, is produced under conditions of labor prohibited by British factory legislation. "While the home manufacturer is amenable to factory legislation and trade union rules, the foreigner can defy both, and is made to pay nothing in this country for his freedom."

Some of the results allied with the foregoing figures are enumerated by the author as follows:

"Then (before Free Trade) we were able to feed twenty-four millions of our people with home-grown wheat; now we only grow sufficient wheat to feed nine millions.

During the period in question ten millions of our people have emigrated, the majority to countries outside the empire. Yet in spite of this enormous drain upon our population, so rife has unemployment become that in the last recorded year the trade unions throughout the country distributed no less than £1,000,000 among the unemployed members, and the recently established Labor Exchanges are only able to find work for one-quarter of the applicants on their books."

"This," the author continues, "was not the picture Cobden drew when he persuaded his fellow countrymen to abandon Protection, and, in the words of Bismarck, 'to step unarmed into the arena of commerce, there to challenge the world to Imperial combat.' . . . A few more years of our present leaward drift must bring us within sight of the day when our commercial supremacy will be taken from us, and with it will pass away the peace and security of our nation and empire."

Is the lesson sufficiently plain for Americans to read?

FOREIGN TRUSTS.

Great Combinations in Free Trade as Well as in Protectionist Countries.

Trusts or combinations are a development of modern business and commercial methods and exist in all countries and under free trade as well as protection.

H. W. McCrosty in his book on "The Trust Movement in British Industries," says: "The encroachment on the realm of free competition steadily progresses, though not at the feverish speed of six or seven years ago. We have to reckon with the probability, to use no stronger

term, though one might without exaggeration say with certainty, that we are in the early stages of the evolution of the form which industry will take in the future. . . . The special reason for the formation of an amalgamation is always the existence of destructive competition, the result of a surplus of productive capacity. . . . It is safe to assume that British trusts keep prices, on the whole, somewhat above what they would be under free competition."

Dr. Herman Levy of Heidelberg, Germany, who has spent several years in England studying the trust question there, says in his book published in 1909:

"It was presumed that owing to her free trade policy, as well as her location on the sea, which would tend to prevent high freight charges, the formation of trusts for the purpose of raising prices would be found impossible. . . . But this presumption has been destroyed by the actual development of existing English monopolistic amalgamations."

One of the earliest recorded trusts was formed in England in 1771 to control the output of coal. The object was to keep up the price of coal in London and to prevent competition by sea or canal. In 1785 the Cornish Metal Company was organized by a syndicate of owners of smelters who controlled seven-eighths of the copper output of Cornwall. The Industrial Commission, of which the former secretary of the Home Market Club was chairman, presented a list of 35 British trusts. Among them are the J. & P. Coats, Ltd., The English Sewing Co., Yorkshire Dyeware & Chemical Co., and Linen Thread Co. Mr.

McCrosty's book mentions several trusts not included in the report of the Industrial Commission.

The London "Weekly Dispatch" of March 31, 1912, has a letter from Mr. Victor Fisher, a Socialist writer, calling attention to the number of trusts which flourish in Great Britain under "free trade."

"The trust is now well-nigh ubiquitous in British industry and commerce. In the textile trade J. & P. Coats form one of the most tremendous monopolies in the world, with a capital of nearly £10,000,000."

In the tobacco trade, the British Tobacco Trust has absorbed Ogden's, Wills's, Lambert & Butler, Atkin, Hignett, Franklyn, Davy & Co., Edwards, Ringer & Bigg, Player, William Clark & Sons, Richmond Cavendish Company, Stephen Mitchell, F. & J. Smith, and D. & J. Macdonald. The capital of the combination is £15,000,000.

In engineering, dyeing, shipbuilding, steel, calico, printing and wool, combination has been steadily on the increase. The position is not inadequately summed up in the words of a president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce: "Combinations have been effected in thirteen industries connected with the textile trade. . . . The total number of firms absorbed was 296, and the aggregate capital of the consolidation was nearly £37,000,000."

In a speech delivered August 6, 1912, by Mr. Philip Snowden, M. P., he said:

"Some of their 'Free Trade' friends thought that, so long as Britain maintained a 'Free Trade' policy, trusts would not gain much ground in this country. It might be true that under 'Free Trade' trusts

engaged in industries subject to foreign competition could not exercise such complete control over prices as was the case in protected countries, but that argument was weakened by the fact that when British trusts had found themselves hampered by foreign competition they had made arrangements with their foreign competitors, and the trusts had become international. In such cases there was regulation of prices irrespective of the fiscal policy of the country."

It is noteworthy, in this connection, that Sir Alfred Mond, M. P., one of the honorary treasurers of the British Free Trade Union, is a partner in the large chemical firm of Brunner, Mond & Co., who are notoriously parties to just such an "arrangement with their foreign competitors" as that alluded to by Mr. Snowden.

France, Germany and Austria have business associations which are similar to trusts. In Germany each of the component parts retains its identity, but the selling arrangements are made by a body representing the combination. This movement in Germany prompted Brentano, the German economist, to say in 1904: "Competition belongs to the past. We live in an age of ever broadening monopoly."

A. M. Thackara, American Consul General at Berlin, in an article in the *Daily Consular and Trade Reports* of Jan. 25, 1911, said: "I believe that in no country in the world has there been greater development of trade combinations, existing in one form or another, than in Germany."

There was an interesting interview with Charles Frohman, the well

known theatrical manager, published in the papers recently. Mr. Frohman said in this interview, referring to his present undertakings in London: "While in America they are at work trying to break up combinations, I am at work forming them. I find as far as big combinations are concerned that America is a child. Business combinations in England and Germany are enormous, and both countries are watching and hoping that they will be broken up in America. Another thing that capitalists of the world are praying for is free trade in America, so as to give American products a good, hard smashing."

It is clear, therefore, that free trade offers no hindrance to the establishment or growth of trusts and monopolies even when they deal with the necessaries of life.

A FREE TRADE JUNKET.

A delegation of German workmen recently spent eight days in England under the auspices of the Adult Schools' Union, a body which appears to have been anxious to keep these visitors from the slums which are a feature of Free Trade England. To a certain extent, the effort was successful, the delegates being greatly impressed by the absence of poverty in districts corresponding to Boston's "Back Bay." One of them remarked, indeed, as he admired the natural beauties of a well known London feature, that they had been five days in England without seeing a factory.

Some of the company, however, must have slipped their leash. An

interview with them is reported by the "Free Trade" Manchester Guardian in the following terms, on which comment would be superfluous:

So far as we have been able we have looked around the district in the neighborhood of this house. Its poverty shocks us. Nobody seems to mind it. But the dirt and squalor of the side streets is very dreadful. In our worst industrial towns we do not see such poverty, and we do not see women so untidy, so slatternly, standing about and gossiping.

The men expressed astonishment at the out-of-work men they had seen that morning lying about the grass in Regent's Park. "It could not occur in Frankfort," they said. "If a man fell asleep on the grass in one of our open places the Schutzmann would promptly wake him up and turn him out. But we have not got them in such numbers."

WILSON'S BLUNDERS.

In a tariff address in New York Mr. Wilson said: "A shipbuilder has to pay (tariff) taxes on all the articles which he puts into his ship, therefore if he can sell a ship abroad he is selling it at a disadvantage in competition with the foreign producer. That is marked by the difference between the prices he pays for his raw materials and the prices the foreign manufacturer pays for similar articles. Protective duties are an injury to the country as a whole, to the industry and to workmen." It might be assumed that a Professor who becomes a Presidential candidate would take the trouble to see that he is correct, before making such an assertion. But that is not Mr. Wilson's way of doing things. For many years all articles imported

for use in producing anything for export have been allowed a drawback of 99 per cent. of the duties paid. Hence a shipbuilder constructing a vessel for sale abroad can purchase his raw materials as cheaply as an English builder or one in any other country. He is under no disadvantage in that respect. But he cannot get American workmen at the low wages paid on the Clyde. That is where the trouble arises. Congress recently passed an act to admit all raw materials and everything necessary in the construction and equipment of a vessel free of duty. Mr. Wilson not only appears to be ignorant of these facts, but of the law long on the statute books allowing the drawback of duties paid on materials used in the construction of ships for export.

FREE TRADE NONSENSE.

From the Boston American.

It is important for the people of this country to understand that the tariff, which has been dishonestly manipulated, which has protected trusts and made monopoly possible in some lines, has also a great deal to do with the prosperity of this entire nation. The well-meaning but ignorant newspaper, if it could arouse ignorant prejudice against all tariff, would endanger stability in every line of labor, manufacturing and business and greatly injure the country.

Here is a statement from the newspaper in question. It is a misstatement of facts:

"Eleven yards of fancy wash fabric in this dress cost to manufacture in the United States \$1.06 and in England \$1.11. The eleven yards retail

in England for \$1.87 and in the United States for \$2.75. Why? Because the Payne-Aldrich tariff tax amounts to 66 cents. Under the Dingley law it was 45 cents."

This sounds convincing—if you don't happen to know anything about conditions in England and in America. In this country we can manufacture 11 yards of a certain goods for \$1.06. In England, assuming the statement quoted to be accurate, it costs \$1.11 to manufacture 11 yards of goods. In England the 11 yards are sold at retail for \$1.87, a profit above the manufacturing cost of only 76 cents, and in America the same goods are sold at retail for \$2.75, a profit above the cost of manufacturing of \$1.69. The newspaper which prints these so-called facts and figures absolutely misrepresents conditions, but, of course, without knowing. The trouble with many of our teachers is that they don't understand that which they undertake to teach. It is true that goods are very often sold at retail in this country for a profit twice as great as the profit charged in England or in other countries.

We shall proceed to explain to our foolish newspaper friend some causes of the difference in profit. In the first place, Mr. Editor, the American retail merchant advertises in your newspaper and others, and spends each year at a low estimate a hundred thousand dollars where the retailer in England does not spend fifty thousand dollars, and probably not twenty thousand dollars.

Therefore, to begin with, a very nice slice of the extra profit which you blame on the tariff really goes

into your pocket. Think about that for a little while.

In the second place, the retailer in America, if he is a successful, up-to-date man, has a store that represents an investment and, therefore, fixed charges infinitely greater than the same charges borne by the English retailer. This means that American mechanics have put into their pockets for the building of a fine, new store a large part of the money involved.

All clerks are paid too little in all cases—there is no doubt about that. But the American retailer pays those that work in his store, at the lowest estimate, twice as much as the English retailer pays to his clerks. Therefore, the American clerk in the dry goods store gets part of that larger profit which you are pleased to charge exclusively to the tariff. The American merchant is not content to work all his life for very little. He may become a bankrupt in the keen competition. If not, he gets rich and his fortune quickly made represents part of that larger price which you attribute entirely to the tariff.

It is true that if we had no tariff the retail merchant would be compelled to accept a very much smaller profit, and he would be compelled to cut his advertising space in the newspaper that criticises him, and that newspaper would be compelled to cut its advertising rate. Without a tariff the merchants would not be able to make their fortunes quickly and build the great new stores which dot this country. Without the tariff the English could send their goods, manufactured and unmanufactured, into this country freely, and our men

would have to go out of business or cut the wages of their employes in two. It is true that if we had no tariff many interesting things might happen. The Scotch could send shiploads of potatoes to this country and sell them at very low prices—that would be agreeable for the buyers in the city and put the farmers out of business. And the clothing makers in Germany and Austria and England and China could send their ready-made clothing to this country and sell the clothing for half, which would be very nice for the farmers of America, but which would put tens of thousands of American workers in the city out of business. If we had no tariff the Frenchmen, the Germans, the Greeks could send their champagnes and their other wines in free of duty, which would be pleasant for our saloon keepers and restaurant keepers, but would put the California and other American vineyards out of business.

The tariff compels Americans to buy of Americans. The tariff compels the shirt-waist maker in the city to buy potatoes of the American farmer. The tariff compels the American farmer to buy his wife's shirt-waist of the American shirt-waist maker. If you had a family of ninety millions of boys and girls you would say to them, "I want you boys and girls to live together like brothers. I want you to buy your goods of each other whenever you can, even if you have to pay a little more I want you to keep the money in the family and make the family prosperous." The Government of the United States is a father with a family of ninety millions of sons and daughters. And that Government father says to the great nation of

sons and daughters, "I want you to buy of each other even at a sacrifice. I want you to help your brother build up his business by paying more while it is weak. And I want you to keep him honest and make him deal fairly by you when he becomes strong."

This is the greatest free trade country in the world, for we have free trade from ocean to ocean and from Canada to Mexico. And it is the greatest and most prosperous country in the world, because we have traded among ourselves like brothers and helped each other like brothers, and have not simply tried to buy wherever we could at the cheapest rate regardless of the wages paid.

The New York newspaper moans because goods are manufactured for 106 cents in the United States that cost 111 cents to manufacture in England. Does our contemporary know why the United States is able to manufacture eleven yards of goods for five cents less than England can manufacture the same goods? America can manufacture more cheaply than England and at the same time pay wages much higher than those paid by England because tariff has encouraged and rewarded intensely brilliant manufacturing in this country. The tariff has built prosperity, increased wages, raised the standard of living, and the better conditions have brought the most intelligent, most brilliant men of Europe to our country. And thus the more intelligent men with higher wages protected by the tariff have been able to manufacture more cheaply than Europe can manufacture.

The owner of the newspaper

which we criticise accumulated before he died twenty millions of dollars, and he died a young man, comparatively. He earned and deserved every cent that he got, and many millions more. He rendered services to this country. The country rewarded him well because of the tariff, because when he came here he found himself in a country where merchants and mechanics and all others, including newspaper owners, lived on a high plane of profit. He had his share, and a big share, of the prosperity that wise protection brings. Let his successors strive conservatively and cautiously to eliminate that which is unwise in protection and in the tariff. Let them not foolishly and ignorantly seek to pull down the ladder on which they with this nation have climbed to prosperity.

Our American motto should be, free trade from ocean to ocean and from north to south in our country, and reciprocity with those of our neighbors that want it. Elimination of protection where protection has bred monopoly. But no free trade that means free competition of labor; no free trade that means success for the man who gets the world's markets by paying his workmen least.

Why are gentlemen so confident that they know all things? Why should a party that brought upon us the horrors of the last Democratic administration, that went hysterical over free silver, a party that has learned nothing in forty years, a party that has forgotten nothing in forty years, a party that has not kept a promise in forty years, a party that has not been right in forty years—why should this party assume that with its wisdom shall perish from the earth?—Hon. Wm. E. Humphrey.

AN AMERICAN STORE.

A notable addition to the large department stores of Boston has been made by William Filene's Sons Company. The development of this great business house is due to an able and enterprising management and has been made possible by the prosperity which New England enjoys under the protective tariff system.

It is a pleasure to note that the management of the great Filene store recognizes that the prosperity of such a business is interwoven with the general prosperity of the Commonwealth. As this is a manufacturing community great retail stores cannot prosper unless our mills and factories prosper and the buying power of the people is maintained by regular wages week after week and year by year. Recognizing this inter-dependence of business interests, the Filene store is a large purchaser of American products and rightly claims the proud title of an American store. It has faith in the American producer and takes pride in the American product. It stands for patriotism, for prosperity, for the development of American enterprises. It "would rather hear the busy hum of American mills than the fog-horns of inbound trans-Atlantic steamships."

It is because of this busy hum of New England mills that this section of the country leads the world in progress and in the standard of living. It is because of our great industries which distribute annually in this State wages amounting to over \$300,000,000 that it is possible to build and maintain in our chief city these great emporiums of trade. Cut

the wages in half by an increasing foreign competition and not only will our working men suffer but our prosperous retail stores will feel the enforced curtailment of New England's purchasing power.

So it is not only sound patriotism but also sound business for an American store to encourage the American factory and for American shoppers to purchase American products.

CANNON ON DEMOCRATIC ECONOMY.

In a speech in the House of Representatives, August 24, Ex-Speaker Cannon reviewed the Democratic record on "economy," and after citing several instances of the false economy practiced by Democratic representatives tending to cripple the government departments, continued:

"The policy of the Democratic House has been to decrease the appropriations as much as possible before the November elections, for the purpose of claiming Democratic economy. But the legislation of this Congress, coupled with the growth of the country and the legitimate demands of the public service, will compel the Appropriations Committee, when Congress meets again in December, to report deficiency bills to cover appropriations which should have been made at this session, amounting to at least \$30,000,000 for the public service during the fiscal year—which appropriations have been withheld for the purpose of making fallacious claims of Democratic economy."

In conclusion the ex-Speaker said: "Time does not allow the further specifying of the failure of the Democratic House to appropriate properly for the public service, of which there are many scores of other instances that might properly be made, nor does the condition of the United States warrant the withholding of necessary appropriations. Under Republican revenue laws, enacted by a Republican Congress, the surplus revenues, after the payment of all expenditures for the last fiscal year, were

\$37,224,501.90, and the receipts so far this fiscal year justify me in predicting a surplus of \$50,000,000 for the coming fiscal year. I make this prediction absolutely sure of fulfilment if the present production and prosperity of the country continue until the first day of July, 1913. Mr. Speaker, verily, verily, say I unto you: The Democratic party, whenever given partial or complete power, has heretofore and continues to thunder in the index and does not perform in the text."

MORE MONEY AND LESS WORK HERE.

Not only do American workmen receive much higher wages, the British investigators are obliged to admit that they work shorter hours. The weekly hours of labor on this side were found to be 11 per cent. shorter in the building trades, 7 per cent. shorter in the printing trades, and 6 per cent. longer in the engineering trade, the combined ratio showing up as 96 to 100 in this country's favor.

As regards rent, it was found that the American workman pays a little more than twice as much as the English workman for the same sort of housing. The actual ratio is 207 to 100. The difference between the two countries is much less marked in the retail prices of food, exhibiting a ratio of 138 to 100.

Almost interminable family budget studies lead to the conclusion, which might have been expected a priori, that "the consumption of meat is much larger in the United States, and the consumption of vegetables is also larger. The budgets indicate in general that the dietary of American working-class families is more liberal and more varied than that of corresponding families in the United Kingdom."

Abraham Lincoln made the best tariff speech ever recorded when he said: "I do not know much about the tariff, but I know this much, when we buy manufactured goods abroad we get the goods and the foreigner gets the money. When we buy the manufactured goods at home we get both the goods and the money."

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid

To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

OCTOBER, 1912.

In declaring the crime of the present age to be "frenzied speech," Vice-President Sherman has coined a very appropriate phrase.

The National Prohibition party has been in existence for more than forty years; during that time it has witnessed the birth and demise of twenty-one national parties.

The San Francisco Chronicle suggests that any movement for the extension of the civil service system should not include the idea of retaining incompetents for life.

In his speech at the Minnesota State Fair, Col. Roosevelt said the adoption of the Democratic tariff plan would plunge the country into the worst panic seen in a generation.

It appears that the abandonment of the proposed investigation of the "money trust" by the Democrats in the House, dates from the time that Wilson, in his speech of acceptance, said it was not certain that there was any such thing as a money trust in existence.

The Boston Transcript finds encouragement in the fact that in Boston and New York the so-called "Industrial Workers of the World" were not given a place in the Labor Day parades.

The Boston Herald well says: "No Congress should remain in session during a presidential campaign. The temptation to bend every legislative activity to political advantage is too strong to be resisted."

An American writer who has just visited China notes the fact that workers in a steel plant in that country receive 50 cents a day for services similar to those performed by Americans who receive \$10 a day.

The Third Party received little encouragement in the Michigan primary election. The Republicans polled about 146,000 votes and the Progressives less than 7,000. The Democrats polled about their normal vote.

The New York Journal of Commerce, a free trade paper, hints that the figures of export prices of manufactures prepared by the "Tariff Reform League" to create popular prejudice against the protective tariff, are weakened by "exaggerations or errors in detail."

In a speech at Buffalo, Governor Wilson assailed the minimum wage idea in the Third Party platform, declaring that if it were adopted employers would bring their wage scale as nearly as they could down to the level of the minimum permitted by law.

The New York Commercial says that Senator Clapp's proposal that the expenses of presidential elections be paid by the nation-at-large, would make us the laughing-stock of the world, and would lead to the multiplying of parties for the purpose of getting a share of this "public plunder."

In a speech at New London, Conn., President Taft declared that the Panama Canal bill does not violate the Hay-Pauncefot treaty with Great Britain. He did not deem it advisable to withhold his approval of the bill, though it contained some things that were not germane.

One reason for the higher cost of living, may be found in the fact that nearly 21,000,000 pounds of meats, vegetables, etc., have been condemned in the last eight months by the New York Board of Health, as unfit for use; and in other cities large amounts of food have been destroyed for the same reason.

It must be that the voters of Arkansas are saner than those of Ohio, for in the recent election they rejected all of the proposed radical amendments to the state constitution, including those of the "grandfather clause" (designed to disfranchise a large number of negro voters) and the recall of all elective officers.

The express companies are not much alarmed by the parcels post scheme adopted by Congress, which goes into effect on January 1. They say the parcels post will do most of its business with small packages for short distances, and that this is the

most unprofitable part of the express business which they are more than willing to turn over to the government.

Direct legislation is expensive in California. The San Francisco Chronicle says that the direct legislation upon which the people of the State are to vote at the November election includes constitutional amendments and other propositions which, with the arguments for and against them, will make a pamphlet of thirty-two pages. A million and a half of these documents are to be printed for the "enlightenment" of the voters.

The Democratic candidate for President is making some bad "breaks" in discussing the tariff issue. He has said in one speech that "nothing has done more to increase the number of the unemployed than the tariff;" and on another occasion he is reported as saying that a low tariff would increase employment for workingmen. This will amaze all who remember the disastrous effects of the low tariff of 1894-'97 on the employment and wages of the working classes.

In the New Hampshire primary election, September 3, not more than one-third of the normal vote was cast. The Progressive party made no contest, but will place its candidates on the November ballot by petition. Franklin Worcester, of Hollis, received the Republican nomination for Governor, and S. D. Felker, of Rochester, is the Democratic candidate. Congressmen Sulloway and Currier were renominated, and will be opposed by Eu-

gene L. Reed and R. B. Stevens, Democrats.

The San Francisco Chronicle remarks: "To a man up a tree it looks as if the enemies of 'the money trust' in Congress thought that the best thing for the people would be to make their banks as weak as possible. Most rational men labor under the impression that the stronger a bank is the safer the moneys of those who deposit in them. There is so much tomfoolery talked about the matter that there is reasonable ground for the suspicion that most of those who are afraid of strong banks have precious little to lose and very few hopes of ever having any."

The latest government crop report shows the general condition on September 1 as 16.5 per cent. better than on September 1 last year, and 4.1 per cent. better than the average of recent years. The wheat crop now promises a much greater yield than last year, and if corn is not caught by an early frost the yield will be 464,000,000 bushels larger than in 1911. The oat crop is about 30 per cent. better, and potatoes, hay, rye, barley and apples show a large increase. Of potatoes the increase over last year will be at least 100,000,000 bushels. All of the other vegetable and minor crops show a highly favorable condition.

A correspondent of the Boston Herald calls attention to the abuse of the word "reactionary" in reference to public questions. He says the man who simply opposes proposed changes in our political sys-

tem, and clings to the constitution as it is and the laws as they exist, and to established customs and traditions, is not a reactionary, and cannot properly and ought not to be stigmatized by a term which is used almost as one of reproach. The dictionary supplies us with the correct designation. He is a "conservative"—"one who desires to maintain existing institutions and customs, also one who holds moderate opinions in politics, opposed to revolutionary or radical."

The Trade Record, New York, says: "An example is cited in the market of a fabric sold under a trade mark in the retail stores at from 19 to 25 cents a yard, which is more or less staple cloth and which costs, according to the figures given by the Tariff Board's report, about 7 1/2 cents in the gray and is sold by the converter at around 13 cents a yard. It is stated that the converter, allowing the finishing cost of 1 1/2 cents a yard, makes about 30 per cent. on this fabric, while the retailer makes the difference between 13 cents and 19 to 25 cents, the prices which he secures from the consumer. In other words, the retailer, when he sells this fabric at 25 cents a yard, is making close to 100 per cent. as against the 30 per cent. made by the converter and the much smaller profit made by the gray goods mill."

The result of the primary elections in California, September 4, was to give the Progressive party control of the Republican State convention, which meant that Roosevelt electors could go on the official ballots as the Republican

candidates. However, the Roosevelt chairman of the Republican committee has since announced that no candidates for electors will be allowed to go on the regular ticket, thus forcing, it is said, both Taft and Roosevelt candidates to run under independent designations. The vote on Congressional candidates in the eleven districts resulted in the choice of five Republicans and six Progressives. The vote in the State was generally light. Of a total registration of 117,000 in San Francisco, only 85,000 ballots were cast, and women voters especially were inactive.

Nearly complete returns of the special election held in Ohio, September 3, on the forty-two constitutional amendments submitted to popular vote, show that out of a total registered vote of more than 1,121,000, the total vote on the amendments did not exceed 550,000. This is minority rule of a dangerous sort. Eight of the forty-two amendments were defeated as follows: Equal suffrage; \$50,000,000 good roads bond issue; prohibition of outdoor advertising; regulation of labor injunctions; abolition of the death penalty; use of voting machines; appointment of women to certain offices, and the elimination of the word "white" from the constitution. But many of those adopted make radical changes in the State constitution. The more important ones provide for the initiative and referendum, home rule for cities, license system for saloons, taxation of incomes, and inheritances, minimum wage, eight-hour day on public works, compulsory primary elections, regulating sale of corporation

stock, doubling liability of bank stockholders, abolishing contract labor, jury trials in contempt cases, and inspection of private banks.

SHERMAN'S ACCEPTANCE.

In the presence of 20,000 people, Vice President James S. Sherman, on August 21, was formally notified of his renomination by the Republican party, at his home in Utica, N. Y., by a committee headed by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, who delivered a brief speech of notification.

In his speech of acceptance, Mr. Sherman dwelt upon the work of the Republican party, the fairness of its national convention, the weakness of Woodrow Wilson, the third party's worship of one man, and the need of an untrammelled judiciary as a bulwark of the nation. We have space only for the following extracts:

Fortunate are we, Republicans, in the fact that our opponents are divided into two camps, rivalling each other in their efforts to excel in disturbing the civic and economic order of the country. The new party thrusts itself forward into the vacuum left by the phantoms of other third parties, which have passed into oblivion. Oblivion, too, awaits it. The Democratic party in the nation has many times defeated its Republican rival in August; but only twice has it done so in November.

The political skies are often confused and lowering in midsummer, but the cooling breezes of November render them clear and normal. Astronomers tell us that many shooting stars flash into vision in August, but dazzling though they be in their flight, they disappear in unknown space while the planets roll on in splendor in their regular orbits. So in the political firmament—comets may cross the canopy; they have no fixed place in the solar system. The Democratic rallying cry has always been "a tariff for revenue

only," and the bitterest assault on the policy of protection to American industry. This year seems no innovation.

The Democratic candidate, Mr. Wilson, is Bryan and Parker over again without the oratory of the one or the legal training of the other, but with the free trade prejudices of both seemingly intensified. It is not unkind to discern that Dr. Wilson is a pedagogue, not a statesman, and his mode of thought academic rather than practical. Job appealed: "O, that mine adversary had written a book." Dr. Wilson has written several, and many utterances in them will prove both an embarrassment and a burden in this campaign.

Both of the opposing parties assault with equal vehemence the present tariff under which our country has so markedly prospered. They abuse the Payne-Aldrich law without stint and without reason. That tariff act has closed no factory, has put out the fires in no furnace, has thrown no mechanic or laborer out of employment. It has opened no free soup houses for starving families deprived of the wage of the bread winner; it has formed no bread lines of jaded, disheartened seekers for employment. It has kept wide open the home markets for the product of the farm and the factory; industrious workmen having the highest wage ever known have been enabled to build new houses, to clothe well their children, to provide for their schooling and to give them a generous measure of the comforts and luxuries of life.

The landlord is not embarrassed in the collection of his rent, the grocer in receiving pay for his supplies, the church of his choice in receiving his free gifts from the prosperous citizen. Nearly ten millions of depositors in the savings banks had last year laid away over four thousand millions of dollars (\$4,212,583,000), while every branch of moral, social and educational betterment has received vital impulse and generous support. Wherein can the thoughtful citizen see promise of a betterment in the frantic cry for "a change?"

I have seen in no speech or literature made or issued by a member of either of the opposing parties the fact stated that of the hundred of millions of foreign goods imported last year 52 per

cent. came in duty free. Have any of the rancorous critics of the Payne tariff law cited the fact that under its provisions the duties on all importations were reduced 21 per cent.? And yet this "revision downward" was accomplished without harm to American labor.

Unbridled ambition and long deferred hope have little regard for reason and for truth. Our export trade has mounted marvelously. In the last fiscal year, in manufactures alone, it passed the billion dollar mark (\$1,021,000,000). The annual product of our manufactures surpasses that of any other nation, and besides fully supplying our own people, exceeds all competitors in the value of exports.

The Democratic majority in the House of Representatives is writing in lurid characters the extent to which our opponents are willing to go in their zealous efforts to ruin protection. The several bills reducing various schedules passed by the House and, under the strange conditions existing in the Senate, acquiesced in by that body, exhibit the crudities and destructive aims of the advocates of a tariff for revenue only. The need of a Republican President is clearly proved by the defence of American industry by President Taft in his vetoes of these recent tariff bills, from which he has saved every interest of labor and production. Had he no other title to both gratitude and support (and he has a multitude) these vetoes alone call for the support at the polls of every American citizen who toils with hands or brain, on the farm or in the factory, in the mill or in the shop or in the office, who values present blessings and desires to preserve them.

Every assault upon protection is a summons to preserve their opportunities, to maintain existing conditions, which place the American wage earner in every calling on a higher scale of living and civilization than enjoyed elsewhere in the world. Such protection can be guaranteed only by adequate customs duties, justly and wisely applied to hold our broad and immense home market against the world. Such protection, to be safe and certain, must be based upon a Republican protective tariff.

An untrammelled judiciary is their

strong bulwark. We warn the electorate not to be drowned by a Niagara of denunciation and abuse. Every tirade against the Constitution and the law and the courts is a strident call to the American people to protect their homes and maintain inviolate constitutional government.

The evidence upon which the American electorate will base its verdict in November will be submitted upon the hustings, through the press, and by pleas through the mails. The evidence should be based upon the experience of the past. The jury of American people must weigh it well and sift the false from the true. The verdict will be rendered within a few hours of a single day; its effect will be with us for years. Let no juror reach his conclusion or render his verdict without due care for the welfare of himself, his kinsmen and his fellows.

We ask that the Republican party and its candidate be tried upon the record of service and accomplishments. We are near the end of President Taft's first term of service, with our government at amity with all foreign powers, amid domestic tranquility and with our people blessed by prosperity and abundance; our navy among the foremost of the world, our army in a high degree of excellence, our postal service, for the first time in its history, self-sustaining, the colossal dream of the centuries, an Isthmian Canal, almost a completed reality; our foreign and domestic commerce in a condition of activity, vigor and health, meeting the desires of the most optimistic, and every department of the government rendering proper and efficient aid to law-abiding citizens in every calling.

Confident that the American people are not yet willing to destroy and discard the Constitution which has stood the test of more than a century, which was framed, expounded and upheld by the great men of the past—that they have not yet forgotten the direful result of the mistake of 1892, we calmly await the Ides of November.

By the Wilson bill the farmers were stripped of the protection afforded in the McKinley law—railroads went into the hands of receivers—banks closed their doors—the smoke of industry ceased to cloud the sky—three million laboring people were thrown out of employment.

MARSHALL'S ACCEPTANCE.

Gov. Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana, was formally notified of his nomination for the vice-presidency by the Democratic National Convention, on August 20, at Indianapolis. The notification speech was made by ex-Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York.

The candidate began his speech by saying that he wanted to make some general observations in "homespun language" on the political situation. Good government, he said, has and must ever have in it a great element of morality. Neither constitutions nor laws nor ordinances can completely divorce civil government from religious sentiment. Touching on democracy, he said:

American democracy in its purity was intended to mean, and I believe does mean, something more than voting, something more than selecting officers. American democracy does not depend upon caste or creed or condition, upon race or color, upon wealth or poverty, upon success or failure. But unerringly it does depend upon the inner life of the individual citizen. It is an inspiration and an aspiration.

The historic Democratic party of America had its inspiration in the life and conduct of its great founder. It is time now to have a perfect concept of that Democracy, for in recent years we have divided ourselves into three classes, and the classification has been made not by the heart throbs of men, but by their social condition. We have those who are immeasurably rich and who are looking for more, and we have those who are unutterably poor and who are growing poorer. Between these extremes we have a great middle class, living well and reasonably content, except for the uncertainty of not knowing whether they are to rise into the first class or sink into the third.

At this point Governor Marshall paid his compliments to the rival

Republican candidates for the Presidency, saying that their campaign, so far as the Democrats are concerned, does not call for the bandying of epithets, which he said he would leave to that "senile dementia" which has seized the Republican party, the unfitness of which to rule, he maintained, is disclosed by its inability to keep its temper. Speaking of Republican bosses, he said:

As for the party's bosses, the improper influences in American political life are about equally divided between them. Everywhere "Boss" Barnes is crossing swords with "Boss" Flinn, and their charges and countercharges disclose greatness only when we apply Emerson's statement, "Consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds."

The Governor said it was high time that the thoughtful man in America, whether millionaire or pauper, should cease playing the ostrich. Safety does not consist in hiding one's head in the sands of sentiment or hope. The vastly rich are foolish, he said, to keep on insisting that more and more shall be added to their riches through legislation ostensibly enacted to run the government, but in reality enacted to loot the people.

Whether voting the ticket or not, men everywhere are looking upon the awful injustice of this economic system and are becoming socialistic in theory if not in conduct. But whatever badges men may wear in America this year, whatever ballots they may cast and whatever battle cries they may utter, there are but three grades of citizens.

The first grade is made up of the favored few, their hangers on and their beneficiaries, who think the eagle is upon the dollar not as an emblem of liberty but as an emblem of power and who look upon government as an annex to their business affairs; these are they who in the last years of Republican misrule have turned the temple of constitu-

tional freedom into a money changers' mart and have made of the co-ordinate branches of the government obseisant lackeys of the jingling guinea.

The second grade consists of those whose outlook upon life has been enlarged by the civilization under which we live, who have been taught by the school and the college, by the press and the magazine, who appreciate the good things of life, whose horizon has been enlarged and whose capacity for joy and sorrow has been increased.

The third grade of citizens it pleases me to call old-fashioned constitutional Democrats. These are they who believe that the equality of mankind does not consist in an equality of brain and brawn, but in an equality whereby every man, native and foreign born, have an inalienable right to exercise all of his ability in getting on in the world, just so he realizes that in getting on he owes it to himself, to his family and to the Republic to see to it that he gets on honestly and that he does not prevent any other man from obtaining the reward of his honesty and enterprise.

These old-fashioned Democrats believe in making money, but they believe every dollar made should be so clean that an infant may cut its teeth upon it. And they hold that it is no part of government to boost one man and boot another.

In 1883 there were no wire nails produced in this country. They were then selling at \$6 a keg. We manufactured that year 50,000 kegs, when a tariff of \$4 a keg was placed upon wire nails. In 1884 we manufactured 75,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$5 a keg. In 1885 we manufactured 200,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$4 a keg, which was exactly the tariff duty. In 1886 we manufactured 500,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$3.40 a keg. In 1887 we manufactured 700,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$3.30 a keg. In 1888 we manufactured 2,000,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$2.60 a keg. In 1899 we made over 2,500,000 kegs, and the price dropped to \$2.10 a keg. And all this time the duty was \$4 per keg. The average price in 1902, the last available report, was \$2.15.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN—TARIFF REFORM AND THE LAND.

By a Student of British Politics.

The experiences crowded into the last weeks of the summer session of the British Parliament made the respite from the attacks of the Opposition more than usually welcome to the Government, whose members have not been slow in putting as great a distance as possible between Westminster and themselves. To this circumstance some Canadian and United States cities are indebted for the presence of Mr. James Keir Hardie, M. P., during the last month.

Boston gave the distinguished leader of the Socialist party in the House of Commons a cordial welcome, and may profit in due time from his advice to make the neglected West End "more like Commonwealth Avenue." He is not the kind of man to be affected by the obvious comment that his four days' sojourn in the Hub hardly qualifies him to contribute towards the solution of grave social problems which have vexed the souls of thoughtful residents for a generation at least.

The wider circle of Americans who maintain an active interest in fiscal problems will have found a more congenial field of study in Mr. Hardie's remarks on the political issues with which he is so closely identified. They confirm what has already been noted in these pages as to the widening of the rift between the official Liberals and the

more extreme faction known as Labor-Socialists. Thus, in an interview with a Boston reporter, Mr. Hardie made it plain that there was no alliance with the Government: "We are for ourselves, although we will support measures brought in by the Government of which we approve." He evidently wished to emphasize his own party's discontent with a program generally regarded as going far beyond English needs and ideals, and, minimizing the benefits accruing from Mr. Lloyd George's famous Budget, took occasion to dilate upon those social conditions which appal every American visitor to British shores.

England's Poverty.

"The mass of poverty in England," he said, "is as great as ever. The struggle for existence is very bitter. In the last 15 years the cost of living has gone up 22 1/2 per cent., and wages but 12 1/2 per cent., even though we have Free Trade and no trusts in food supplies."

Even taken alone, this allusion to the futility of expecting "Free Trade," as understood in England, to maintain the working classes on the lowest plane of living above starvation level would be significant enough. It is still more so when one remembers that other members of the Labor party no longer conceal their doubts, to use no stronger

term, on the adaptability of Cobdenism to twentieth century conditions. A recent issue of the "Labor Leader," the official organ of the Labor party, edited by Mr. Hardie himself, goes even farther in denouncing Mr. Lloyd George, characterizing the "rare and refreshing fruit" proffered by that minister as being "for most part unripe, the product of a gardener who has only superficial knowledge of his trade." Writing in regard to new land proposals which Mr. Lloyd George is understood to have in preparation, for raising revenue not forthcoming from his former raid on this class of property, the "Labor Leader" flatly tells the Chancellor of the Exchequer that "the faith of the country has been shaken in his social policy," and urges upon the Labor Party the necessity of at once preparing alternative proposals.

Vexatious Land Question.

It would be among the ironies of politics if this renewed injection of the land question into the arena of British legislation should prove the undoing of a ministry which has set class against class in its assaults upon the landed interest. The connection between a reformed system of land tenure and the coming tariff is peculiarly close in England, which imports under present conditions an immense volume of food whose domestic production should occupy countless dwellers in city slums and pauper institutions. The movement for such an amelioration of social conditions, on an equitable basis, is opportune. Not only is there a growing disposition, among owners of unentailed estates, to dispose of a class of property largely held for

considerations other than commercial return, but the people at large are learning the falsity of many conceptions, long tenaciously entertained, both at home and abroad, in regard to England's landed interest. Some of these are exposed in a valuable series of statistical monographs compiled by the well-known political economist, Mr. W. H. Mallock.

The above noted absence of commercial incentive to the holding of improved agricultural land in the United Kingdom is indicated by the diminution of its rental value to the extent of \$90,000,000 per annum since 1879. It is therefore only from land occupied by buildings that any equitable taxation on increment can be realized, and even in this respect it is easy to pitch anticipations too high. As an instance, the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, supported Mr. Lloyd George's increment taxes on the ground that the land of London alone now increases every year in value by about \$5,000,000, and what was going on in London "was going on all over the Kingdom." It will scarcely be believed that, on the authority of a Government report published in 1910, the annual increase for London, in the value of buildings and land combined, was less by \$570,000 than the increase attributed by Mr. Asquith to the value of lands alone. To put the matter in another form, the average increment derived from land in the United Kingdom as a whole, during the five years ending 1908, has not exceeded \$3,800,000, that is to say, \$1,200,000 less than the Prime Minister's alleged figures for land-rent increment in London alone.

A common statement, which has

naturally found its way to America, ascribes the ownership of the bulk of London's land to eight peers, although an investigation by the London County Council has shown that these do not own more than one-sixteenth of the total area, the remainder falling to the share of more than 34,000 other owners. There is no excuse for the propagation of these errors by ministers and their supporters, for many of the most glaring misconceptions were exposed in the *New Doomsday Book*, issued so long ago as 1875. The origin of this Government publication was largely due to Mr. John Bright and others, who wished it understood that not more than 30,000 people had any direct interest in the land of the United Kingdom. Even at that time, the number was shown to be over a million and the figure is much larger today.

Revenue from Land.

Many erroneous impressions as to the revenue derived from large estates are due to looking at acreage rather than to the average rent per acre. And, as a commentary upon the assumed preponderance of large owners, it may be pointed out that owners of less than an acre represent three times the financial interest of those holding more than 20,000 acres, and practically an equal interest with those owning more than 1,000 acres, each of these absorbing \$190,000,000 by way of rent value. These figures antedate the *New Doomsday Book*, and it is notorious that the rental value of the larger estates has seriously diminished in the interval, while that of the smaller properties has risen, mainly owing to their more general proximity to urban areas.

A drop of 40 per cent. in British land rentals in the 28 years since the promulgation of Mr. Henry George's theories is a severe blow to his root proposition, according to which the rental of land necessarily increases as a whole, in any progressive country, in a greater ratio than the national income as a whole, thus year by year constituting an ever larger proportion of it.

The reported intention of the Labor party to contest a large number of Liberal seats at the next general election will damage the Government not only by loss of prestige but by allowing Conservative candidates to profit by the split between members of the present coalition. The Conservatives will enter upon that contest with a clear declaration in favor of Tariff Reform, as being directly or indirectly essential to the realization of social schemes to which the party is pledged. In so doing, they will avoid the results of the policy adopted by the present ministerialists at the general election in December, 1910, in failing to place their intentions squarely before the electorate. English constitutional usage demands that this be done in the addresses issued by the candidates and especially by the ministers, and it is now being recalled, in repudiation of the "mandate" claimed by Mr. Asquith and his followers, that this course was flagrantly evaded. Out of thirteen cabinet ministers, only seven mentioned Irish Home Rule, two Welsh Church Disestablishment and one adult suffrage—all measures which the coming autumn session is specially devised to force through the lower chamber. Among the other 25 ministers, the respective mentions were

six, one and one. The case in regard to 292 unofficial Liberals is on the same footing, the figures in this case being 124, 19 and 46 respectively. It is daily becoming more clear that the one purpose of the second 1910 election was to secure a Liberal majority independent of the Irish vote and that the failure to do this has left the ministry at the mercy of extremist factions, with potential results bluntly foreshadowed, to American auditors, by Mr. Keir Hardie.

COTTON MANUFACTURERS' MEETING.

The semi-annual meeting (No. 93) of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers was held at New London, Conn., Sept. 9-11, with the usual large attendance. On the first day, addresses of welcome were made by Gov. Baldwin and the mayor of New London. President Greene delivered his address. He said in part:

We have for the past few years been considering the attitude of the public toward the corporations, until now we are forced to consider more than ever before the attitude of the corporations toward their own employes. Fortunately or unfortunately, the public have had and will have a good deal to say even on this subject, as has been clearly shown in a recent strike in Boston, and the attitude of the public will have an increasing influence, in my judgment.

The fundamental conditions of our industry have not changed radically in the past few years except in the largely increased proportion of foreign-born operatives, and I venture to assert that conditions are not at all as serious as many of the present-day magazine writers would have us believe.

We have heard much of late to the effect that the wage system is becoming

obsolete and that the employes should own the tools and machinery with which they work. I personally believe that for practical purposes it is useless to consider any other system than the wage system. The program of the radical Socialists may some day commend itself to thinking people, but this is too remote for practical consideration. While a small group of employes are advocating the abolition of the wage system, we are obliged to run our mills on the existing system, and it seems more profitable to consider means of improving it to the mutual benefit of employers and employes.

I do not believe that the employers as a whole are opposed to organizations which are working for the real good of the operatives and the community, but in this country of ambitious and liberty-loving men, limitation of wages or earnings or of the hours of work (in the case of adult men), the limitation of apprentices and the closed shop should not be tolerated. In some instances more sympathy and cordial co-operation are needed between the foremen and the operatives, but one of the essential principles in which we all believe is that the strictest discipline is as necessary in the factory as it is in the school, home or the army.

We are facing an inevitable tariff revision which, if done wisely, can only help the stockholders and operatives alike. On the other hand, any radical reduction which would seriously disturb the present conditions would, I sincerely believe, be most disastrous to our industry and the country at large. While there appears to be some difference of opinion as to the fairness of the Tariff Board in its investigation of the cotton manufacturing industry, undoubtedly the work, so far as it went, was done conscientiously and fairly. The time afforded the Tariff Board for this investigation was extremely limited and it is perhaps fair to say that the investigation was not as complete as it might have been if more time had been allowed. Therefore, those of us who are inclined to take exceptions to some of their statements should seek to secure information that will extend their investigation and be prepared to present to Con-

gress, at the proper time, a statement of all the facts relating to all branches of the industry.

Addresses on subjects of trade interest and the transaction of necessary business occupied the attention today of the delegates. The addresses were by George W. Neville, president of the New York Cotton Exchange, on "Spinning Values of Different Grades of Cotton;" by S. W. Flesheim of Cleveland, O., on "Dust-proof and Waterproof Mill Flooring"; and by J. A. Jefferson Hayes of Letchworth, Eng., on "Lithographic Process in Cotton Printing."

At the evening session, W. H. Smith, of Pawtucket, R. I., spoke on "The Importation of Skilled Labor," and Arthur H. Gulliver of Norwich, Conn., spoke on "Present Day Relations Between Foreign-born Operatives and the Mill Management." "Workmen's Compensation Laws in the United States" was the topic of discussion of Charles E. Hodges of Boston, and S. G. McLendon of Atlanta, Ga., discussed "International Tariff Relations."

Skilled Labor.

In his paper, Mr. Smith discussed the contract labor laws and the matter of skilled labor. He said "the reason why there is not a proper supply of skilled labor available, is that the intention of the legislators is thwarted most effectively, not by the heads of the Department of Commerce and Labor, but by the commissioners and members of the Board of Immigration, who appear to consider it their duty to exclude all the skilled help they possibly can, using any means to do so. The weapon which they are able to use for this purpose is the presumptive evidence clause. With that instrument they can do almost as they choose. Moreover, until some provision has been added to the present rules regulating this instrument, the existing outrageous conditions will remain with us, actually preventing the application of the particular feature of the law intended to meet the need which the legislators had in mind. Several forces act

in concert with these officials to keep skilled help for our shores. The important ones are the foreign manufacturers, and the labor unions—both domestic and foreign. These influences combined present a very formidable front. The foreign unions and manufacturers are waging a war that we can all condone, for our gain is their loss. The American union holds blindly to the one idea of keeping out labor competition, and by this very action is stunting its own development; but that representatives of the Government should form a part of such a combination, and thus prevent the development of new industries, is an anomaly that should need only to be exposed to cease."

Mill Owners and Operatives.

Mr. Gulliver, in his paper, said among other things: "At the basis of all successful work in any industry is the condition of absolute fairness between workmen and manager, a mutual understanding of the relations that each hold to one another. This can only be obtained by a change in the consideration of the human element which must enter into successful manufacture. It is absolutely necessary that the individual should understand exactly the conditions under which he works. Not a few of our most unfortunate strikes have occurred from the fact that the interpretation of the language of our country is not properly conveyed to the foreigner with his different brain power and different language. It is necessary that we employ in positions of sufficient trust and responsibility men and women who consider that the amount that they receive and the duties that they perform are sufficiently valuable to continue in our service, and who are able to interpret without misunderstanding all orders and directions given by the management that have to be carried out to the letter by each operative to insure the success of the plant. We also require continuous employment of the same working force to meet on a fair basis the competition of our foreign competitors."

Workmen's Compensation.

Mr. Hodges said in his paper: "Workmen's compensation laws, so-called, have now been passed in thirteen States in

the Union and others will undoubtedly adopt similar laws in rapid succession. The change, though unwelcome on account of the present increase in the cost of accidents to workmen, is a relief from the almost intolerable state of affairs to which the former system had reduced us. Under the new system of workmen's compensation there will remain ample opportunity for deception, but I believe the temptation is greatly reduced. It is a fair statement, I think, that the great majority of employers in the States where a compensation law has been passed, have taken advantage of its provisions. In regard to the cost of accidents to employes under the new laws. I believe that the employer may reasonably hope that ultimately it will not be as great as the current rates of insurance against the compensation make it appear. I think the insurance companies have acted wisely, in fact could hardly have adopted any other course, in making the rates as high as they have done. The system is an untried one in this country and no one can foresee with certainty what the ratio will be between the cost of accidents and the wages paid to employes, which is the basis used in determining the premium for insurance."

International Tariff Relations.

S. G. McLendon's paper upon "International Tariff Relations" was in part as follows:

"Every progressive country in the world is almost daily making its tariff regulations more and more protective, and more and more scientifically protective, keeping in view the subject of revenue to be derived from those articles which it cannot produce, and applying protection both on raw commodities and to the manufactured article, according as the country had the one or both to protect. The dead and non-progressive countries of the world, on the other hand, adhere to the principle of a tariff for revenue only. In China the maximum tariff is 5 per cent. In Egypt it is eight. In British India it is 5 per cent., and in Siam 3 per cent. ad valorem.

"Turn to the other countries of the world, and their tariffs are constantly increasing in the number of articles made dutiable, and constantly increasing the application of accurate and scientific knowledge in working out tariff sched-

ules. It is often said, and almost universally believed, that the tariff is the father of the trust. This is not true. The trust is the direct offspring of unrestricted competition. It is the power of combination on the one hand and the defencelessness and unprotected position of the individual on the other, and not the tariff, which are destroying the small and adding power to the strong. The remedy is to protect both agriculturist and manufacturer against the foreigner by intelligently and wisely constructed protective tariffs, and to disarm the trust by legislation that will re-establish fair trade. Under laws that would provide for fair trade neither the big trust nor the little trust could thrive by extermination and subsequent extortion. Such laws could be enacted as would insure fair trade, and only by such laws can the power of the trust be destroyed."

On the last two days, several technical papers were read, H. S. Reed, of California, discussed cotton raising in that State, and Wm. W. Wheeler, of Meriden, Conn., spoke on the "Canto Cotton of Cuba." Other papers were on selection of suitable sites for cotton mills, wastes in cotton manufacture, and cotton growing in India.

Resolutions were adopted favoring a reasonable workmen's compensation law, and protesting against defective ginning and baling of cotton. There was not much tariff discussion during the meeting.

A duty high enough to equalize the difference between foreign and domestic labor has therefore created, fostered, and developed home industries, and by virtue of domestic competition prices have been reduced in many cases below the duty levied, while the wages of American labor have been sustained.

The English workman in America gets wages 130 per cent. better than he receives in England.

VERMONT AND MAINE STATE
ELECTIONS.

The full report of the voting on the State ticket in the Vermont state election, held on September 3, has been unofficially compiled, without materially altering the earlier returns. The total vote reached 65,033, the largest cast in a State election since 1904. There was no election by the people, but the Republicans claim a safe majority on joint ballot in the Legislature, which insures the election of Allen M. Fletcher in October, as well as the remainder of the State ticket. The total vote for all five candidates for Governor was as follows:

Allen M. Fletcher, of Cavendish (Republican), 26,259.

Harland B. Howe, of St. Johnsbury (Democrat), 20,350.

Fraser Metzger, of Randolph (Progressive), 15,800.

Clement F. Smith, of Morrisville (Prohibition), 1,443.

Fred W. Sutor, of Barre (Socialist), 1,181.

In 1910 the total vote for Governor was:

John A. Mead (Republican), 35,263.

Charles D. Watson (Democrat), 17,425.

Edwin R. Towle (Prohibition), 1,044.

Chester E. Ordway (Socialist), 1,055.

The reported "Democratic gains" appear only in the election of a larger number of representatives in the Legislature, mostly the result of local contests and where "Progressive" candidates were in evidence. In only one year since the civil war has the total Democratic vote ex-

ceeded 21,000, and that was in 1880 when it was 21,245. They cast 20,908 votes in 1876, and 20,350 votes this year. The Republicans re-elected both of their Congressmen by reduced pluralities.

Various unofficial and unauthentic lists of Senators and Representatives-elect have been published since the election. It is agreed that the Senate stands 27 Republicans and 3 Democrats. Of the 246 Representatives, the Republican leaders figure 125 Republicans, 62 Democrats and 52 Progressives. Three towns failed to elect and three are in doubt. The Third Party leaders claim that Fletcher will fall 14 short of a majority in the Legislature, but give no reliable figures.

Maine emerged from the State election of September 9, in which the Republicans were victorious except in one Congressional district, to find herself in the throes of another political contest, with five parties in the field for the six electoral votes. Revised returns on the vote for Governor, with five small towns missing, give Haines, Republican, 70,880; Plaisted, Democrat, 67,848. Haines's plurality, 3,032. The plurality for Plaisted, Democrat, in 1910 was 8,660.

There is a Republican majority in the Legislature on joint ballot of 17. The Senate stands 21 Republicans to 10 Democrats and the House 77 Republicans to 72 Democrats. Former Congressman Edwin C. Burleigh, who received the Republican preferential vote in the recent primaries, will succeed Obadiah Gardner, Democrat, in the United States Senate.

In the first and fourth Congressional districts, Asher C. Hinds and Frank E. Guernsey, Republicans,

were re-elected. In the third district Forest Goodwin, Republican, was elected by a good majority over Samuel W. Gould, the present Democratic representative. In the second district, Congressman D. J. McGillicuddy, Democrat, was re-elected by a reduced plurality over Wm. B. Skelton, Republican.

On referendum questions not more than half the voters took the trouble to declare themselves. The most important of these questions, authorizing a State appropriation of \$2,000,000 for good roads, was adopted by a vote of four to one.

COMPARISON OF WEEKLY WAGES IN A COTTON MILL FOR THE YEARS 1896 AND 1912.

The following figures from the books of a Maine cotton mill show the large increase in wages from 1896 to 1912. When two amounts are given the low figures represent the pay of unskilled operatives. Some of the highest figures are only obtained by a very few of exceptional skill.

WEAVE ROOM.	
1896	1912
Weavers.	
\$4.48 to \$6.92	\$12.00 to \$13.00
Room Hands.	
\$5.40 to \$6.00	\$6.95 to \$11.00
Overseer.	
\$9.00	\$18.80
SPOOL ROOM.	
Room Hands.	
\$6.00	\$9.90
Warpers.	
\$5.40	\$6.00 to \$10.75
Spoolers.	
\$4.00 to \$7.00	\$5.75 to \$10.00
SPINNING ROOM.	
Overseer	
\$18.00	\$37.80
Second Hands.	
\$6.00 to \$7.50	\$16.50
Doffers and Cleaners.	
\$2.40 to \$5.40	\$4.95 to \$7.25

Spinners.	
\$4.20 to \$5.40	\$4.95 to \$10.30
CARD ROOM.	
Overseers.	
\$21.00	\$46.00
Second Hand.	
\$10.50	\$19.80
Picker Foreman.	
\$9.00	\$13.20
Picker Hands.	
\$6.90	\$9.90
Grinders.	
\$9.00	\$13.00 to \$14.00
Room Hands.	
\$2.10 to \$6.60	\$6.60 to \$9.90
Roving Hands.	
\$6.00 to \$6.60	\$6.00 to \$12.00
Slasher Tenders.	
\$7.50 to \$12.00	\$9.90 to \$16.50
Beamers.	
\$7.50 to \$12.00	\$10.00 to \$18.00
Dye House.	
\$7.50 to \$8.10	\$9.25 to \$10.25
Yard Hands.	
\$7.50	\$10.55
Watchmen.	
\$10.50 (12 hrs.)	(8 hrs.) \$13.47

The New York Journal of Commerce, a Free Trade organ, is not pleased with Prof. Wilson's silence on many important questions. It says that his coldness toward the banking questions, as shown in his letter of acceptance, and his subsequent silence on the subject in what he has had to say on public questions, is proving infinitely discouraging to the advocates of sound legislation. But Mr. Wilson wants to extinguish every vestige of a protective tariff. He has not time to consider banking and other such questions.

The business of the country rests on a protective tariff basis.—Pres. Taft.

If a thing is made at home, home labor is employed.

The Democratic party always goes into partnership with calamity.

THE RECORD OF CONGRESS.

Some of the Things Done and Some That Were Left Undone.

In one respect at least the Sixty-second Congress has made a "record"—its second session having lasted 267 days. This has been exceeded only by the first session of the Fifty-third Congress, which lasted 268 days. It has also excelled all previous records except one in the magnitude of the appropriations, which amount to \$1,019,336,143, to which should be added those of the extra session, \$301,052, making the total thus far \$1,019,637,195, while the total for the last session of the Sixty-first Congress was \$1,026,582,881—this difference being accounted for by the smaller appropriation required from this Congress for the Panama canal. It is claimed by the Republican critics of the Democratic majority, that its failure to make certain needful appropriations will leave a deficit of \$30,000,000 to be provided for at the next session.

The final adjournment came at 4:30 p. m., on Monday, August 26. The last two days were consumed in "fillibustering" in the Senate over two measures—Senator La Follette demanding action on the Penrose campaign fund resolution, which was finally adopted; and Senators Chamberlin, Martine, Swanson and Culberson fighting for a provision in the general deficiency bill for the payment of certain old claims, aggregating \$600,000, demanded by Virginia, Maryland, Oregon and Texas, to reimburse the states for money expended by them for military and defensive purposes. Finally, these Senators abandoned the

"fillibuster" on the promise that the claims should have further consideration at the next session. In the deficiency bill, as passed, is an appropriation of \$150,000 for the Gettysburg Memorial celebration next year, and \$350,000 for extension of customs' work. An item for extra pay for Congressional employes was defeated.

Of the total appropriations made at this session, \$223,225,510.84 are for military and naval purposes. The appropriation for pensions is \$153,582,000. Early in the second session an age and service pension law, providing for an increase of about \$25,000,000 in pensions, was substituted for a dollar-a-day pension bill passed by the House which provided for an increase of \$75,000,000 and would have necessitated a bond issue. After a long contest between the two houses, a provision was inserted in the pension appropriation bill abolishing the 18 pension agencies in the country, and paying pensioners direct from Washington.

In the matter of economy, the only "savings" effected were in cutting down the force of government employes; curtailment of the naval building program; reduction of the army by five regiments; the saving of about \$7,000,000 in providing for one battle-ship instead of two; and the postponement of a large appropriation for public buildings to the next session.

Fate of Tariff Bills.

The tariff agitation of the session may be summed up in the following

results: Two bills, the wool bill and the steel bill, were vetoed by President Taft. The chemical bill was defeated in the Senate. The cotton bill died in conference. The sugar bill, a Republican measure, passed by the Senate, which would have been approved by the President, was blocked in conference by the House because it was feared President Taft would gain the credit; and an excise tax bill, the Democrats refusing to accept the Senate amendment repealing the Canadian reciprocity act.

More than \$100,000 were actually expended, and much more was appropriated by the House, in the investigations undertaken by numerous committees, mostly for political reasons. They achieved little of importance, and several were quietly dropped. The result of the Steel Trust investigation was five conflicting reports, and a variety of recommendations on which no action was taken.

The vicious practice of attaching "riders" to appropriation bills was very prevalent at this session. Some zealous "reformer" got a provision inserted in the postoffice appropriation bill shutting off all mail facilities from the public on Sunday; but the Postmaster General has perfected a plan by which holders of lock boxes at first and second-class postoffices will have access to them on Sunday, and mail may be assorted in railway cars before it reaches its destination. A section was incorporated in the same bill, near the close of the session, requiring publishers of newspapers and periodicals to file with the Postmaster General semi-annually and to print in their own publications the

names of their owners, stockholders, editors, and figures of circulation, etc. This "publicity" provision will arouse considerable opposition from publishers when its full character is understood.

Parcels Post.

A parcels-post section was also inserted in the post office appropriation bill in a form which indicates that it is regarded as an experiment; for the President is authorized to appoint a joint commission of three Senators and three Representatives to make further inquiry into the subject. Under this legislation it is provided that hereafter fourth-class mail matter shall embrace all other matter, including farm and factory products, not now embraced by law in either the first, second or third class, not exceeding eleven pounds in weight nor greater in size than seventy-two inches in length and girth combined, nor in form likely to injure the person of any postal employe or damage the mail equipment or other mail matter, and not of a character perishable within a period reasonably required for transportation and delivery. For parcels post purposes the United States and its Territories, including Alaska, but excepting the Philippines, are to be divided into units of area thirty minutes square, identical with a quarter of the area formed by the intersecting parallel of latitude and meridians of longitude, represented on appropriate postal maps, and these units of area are to be the basis of eight postal zones. The Postmaster General is required to provide such special equipmenmt, maps, stamps, directories, and printed instructions as are necessary to administer the par-

cels post, and to hire teams and drivers. He will be allowed to draw on a special appropriation of \$750,000 made in the post office appropriation act.

Most of the objectionable "riders" attached to appropriation bills were eliminated on the insistence of the President or modified by the Senate, but not until it had become necessary to extend the appropriations for the last fiscal year three times by special resolution. One of the "riders" provided for a seven-year tenure for employes in the government departments, and another abolished the Commerce Court. Other "riders" adopted in one House and rejected in the other, provided for the repeal of the Canadian Reciprocity act and the continuance of the Tariff Board.

Several measures "in the supposed interests of Labor" failed of passage, either in the Senate or House. Among them were bills to create a Department of Labor, and the employers' liability and workmen's compensation bill. No action was taken on the immigration bill. The bills modifying laws relating to injunctions, and prohibiting corporations from making campaign contributions and limiting contributions of individuals, go over to the next session. The proposed amendment to the Constitution limiting the tenure of office of the President to a single term of six years, was blocked by the insurgent Republicans in both Houses. A bill was passed creating an Industrial Commission.

In the Senate the Democrats emasculated the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France to such an extent as to prevent their ratification by those countries. The

President finally signed the Panama Canal bill, which provides for free passage of American coast-wise vessels, exclusion of railroad-owned ships, admission of foreign-built ships not in coastwise trade to American registry, and the free admission of foreign ship-building material to the canal zone. His request that Congress pass a resolution declaring that the canal bill was not designed to abrogate treaty obligations, was not complied with.

The only other matters of much importance that need be mentioned, are the adoption of a joint resolution proposing a constitutional amendment for popular election of United States Senators; and a measure to encourage the settlement of Americans on Western lands, which is intended to discourage emigration of Western farmers to Canada.

TARIFF BILLS SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

Second Session, 1912.

Below is a record of the tariff bills of the 2nd Session of the 62nd Congress (1912):

January 24	The Metals Bill
February 22	The Chemical Bill
March 16	The Sugar Bill
March 20	The Excise Bill
July 27	The Wool Bill
August 3	The Cotton Bill

The Metals Bill

Passed the House January 29th, by a vote of 216 to 100. On May 31 the Senate adopted by a vote of 37 to 27 an amendment providing for the repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act, and a duty of \$2 a ton on print paper. May 28, Senator Cummins' substitute was rejected by a vote of 12 to 60. August 3 the

Senate receded from its Canadian reciprocity amendment, which left the bill approved by both Houses. Vetoed by Taft August 3. Passed over veto, 173 to 83. Veto sustained in Senate August 16.

It reduced the average duties from 34.51 to 22.42 per cent. Estimated that the imports would increase nearly \$20,000,000. Articles now dutiable placed on the free list were iron, ore, hoop and bored iron and steel, wire and wire fencing, nails, horseshoes, zincore, cash registers, linotype machines, printing presses, sewing machines and typewriters.

The Chemical Bill

Passed the House February 21st, by a vote of 178 to 127, defeated in the Senate. This bill reduced the average duties about 31 per cent.

The Sugar Bill

Passed the House March 16th, by a vote of 198 to 103. On July 27th the Republicans of the Senate, aided by two Louisiana Senators, passed the Lodge Sugar Bill, as a substitute for the House Bill, by a vote of 37 to 25. Not agreed to in conference.

The House Bill put sugar on the free list, and abolished \$53,000,000 in annual customs revenue. The Lodge Bill reduced the duty on sugar from \$1.90 to \$1.60 a hundred pounds, and abolished the differential. The revenue loss entailed would be about \$5,000,000. July 30th, the House rejected the Senate amendment, and the measure was dropped.

The Excise Bill

Passed the House March 19th, by a vote of 250 to 40. Eighty Republi-

cans voted with the Democrats. The Finance Committee reported adversely on this bill. July 26th the House Excise Bill passed the Senate by a vote of 37 to 18. It carried a provision for the repeal of the Canadian Reciprocity Act, and for a permanent tariff commission. July 30th the House rejected the Senate amendment.

This bill was designed to replace the revenue from sugar duties. It was intended to produce anywhere from \$20,000,000 to \$60,000,000 a year. This bill extended the present corporation tax to include individuals and co-partnerships having an income of \$5,000 or over per year. The Senate changed the bill to exempt labor organizations, agricultural associations and fraternal organizations of an insurance character.

The Wool Bill

Passed the House April 1st, by a vote of 189 to 92. Twenty insurgent Republicans voted with the Democrats. The Republican majority of the Senate Finance Committee reported unfavorably on the bill. The Democrats submitted a minority report. July 25th, the La Follette substitute for the House Bill passed the Senate 39 to 27. The conference reported practically the same as last year's Wool Bill. The President vetoed this bill, and on August 13th, the House passed the bill over the President's veto, by a vote of 174 to 80. The veto was sustained in the Senate on August 16th.

The Cotton Bill.

This bill passed the House, and on August 14th passed the Senate by a vote of 36 to 19. Died in conference.

BOOK REVIEW.

The Industrial Development of Nations
—An Able and Exhaustive Treat-
ment of an Important Subject.

"The Industrial Development of Nations" from the pen of George B. Curtiss of Binghamton, N. Y., is the title of the most comprehensive and important treatise on the historical and economic phase of the tariff question and those political controversies which have been associated with that question in the United States that has appeared. Mr. Curtiss has devoted about thirty years of his life to the subject of the industrial and commercial history of the world's great nations, and is the author of a standard work published in 1896, under the title of "Protection and Prosperity."

The student who appreciates thoroughness in any economic or historical study, whether he be a member of a learned profession, a politician, manufacturer, business man, college professor, or of any other occupation, ought to be well pleased with this great work. It has not size alone to commend it, although it consists of three volumes, the first of 672 pages devoted to the history of the industries of the nations of antiquity and the Middle Ages, and the tariff policies of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia and other Continental countries. The history of the industrial progress of the United States and of those great political controversies and events which have been intimately connected with our material progress from the beginning of the Colonial period to 1860, is treated in volume 2 of 560 pages. Volume 3, of 704 pages, including a general index

and about thirty tables of miscellaneous statistics, treats of the history of the United States from 1860 to February, 1912. In all the little details of book-making, which are so essential and so frequently neglected in books of reference, Mr. Curtiss has been wisely prodigal of pains. The pages are provided with marginal headings and printed in admirably clear type. Besides the general index there is a list of 141 principal statistical tables compiled from reliable official sources, representing a vast amount of labor. The work evinces a wonderful amount of patient research and untiring industry. In the preparation of tables and grouping of data it establishes the reputation of the author as a clear thinker and logician and stamps him as one of the most terse and vigorous as well as interesting economic writers of his day.

The work is illustrated by the portraits of thirty-two of the world's greatest constructive statesmen who have been champions of the protective system and exerted a potent influence in the up-building of nations. Among them are Lord Bacon, Joseph Chamberlain, Prince Bismarck, Count Colbert, Napoleon, Matthew Carey, Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Horace Greeley, Henry C. Carey, Lincoln, Blaine, Conkling, William D. Kelley, Samuel J. Randall, Harrison, McKinley, Reed, Dingley and James M. Swank. A novel and interesting feature in connection with each illustration is an important quotation from the sayings of the subject, printed under the portrait.

Within the covers of this work we

find not only a history of the tariff policies of nations, a discussion and exposition of the principles of political economy involved, but it treats of finance, banking, wealth, periods of panics and depression in business, of manufacturing, agriculture, mining, and in fact of the whole field of the industrial arts, of navigation, shipping, and foreign and domestic trade, of inventions and discoveries, of educational and governmental institutions, commercial wars and conquests, of slavery, nullification, secession and the great political controversies of the United States which have been associated with the tariff controversies. It gives a history of every tariff law passed by Congress from 1789 to the present time from which the reader will learn when the bill was introduced, when passed, when signed by the President and became a law, the political party responsible for it, its general scope and effect, in fact the author has gone back to the very foundation and inception of the protective sentiment in the United States, giving the history of Great Britain colonial policy, the industrial life of the colonists, the commercial and industrial phases of the War of the Revolution, the States under the Federation, the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the industrial revolution in England, the war of 1812, the great Civil War, the growth of industries. We find also an ample discussion and exposition of the subject of reciprocity in general and the Canadian Agreement in particular; the trusts and the tariff and the high cost of living; the history of the Tariff Board and a most complete and instructive analysis of President Taft's plan for a

downward revision of the tariff. The doctrine of Free Trade is analyzed in all of its aspects as is the policy of a tariff-for-revenue only. Not a single phase of our industrial and commercial life has been neglected. It contains the most ample, useful, and instructive exposition and treatise of what an American citizen should know pertaining to industrial and commercial subjects to be found in any work.

Copies of this work may be obtained from the author at Binghamton, N. Y. Price \$15.

WILSON AND THE FARMERS.

Robert Ellis Thompson in the Irish World.

Mr. Wilson re-echoes the objection of the Baltimore platform to sudden and revolutionary alterations of the tariff. He also perceives this to be a live wire; but he has not taken the advice of *The World* to fight shy of the question. His talk to the farmers of New Jersey furnishes the comment to his professions of concern for our manufactures. It shows the animus with which he approaches the subject, which is that of a doctrinaire of the Manchester (England) school. He tells the farmers that Protection has been set up and maintained at their expense, that they never have had their say in national politics, and that the time has come for them to "break into their own house" and take care of themselves.

Governor Wilson has written some not very successful books on American history, but he seems to have missed the fact that Protection was established in this country when 97 per cent. of our people were farm-

ers, and that it was established because they had found it intolerable and impoverishing to carry on farming when there was nothing but farming going on. We do not have a protective tariff because we have manufacturers to protect. We have manufacturers because we have had a protective tariff, which was set up because the American farmer wanted customers as well as competitors.

Like all the rest of his school, Gov. Wilson fastens the attention of his hearers upon the prices of what they buy to the exclusion of those of what they have to sell. This betrays the academic mind, as the professor only buys, and does not realize easily or ordinarily that the amount of his salary depends on the number of tall chimneys that are smoking. But even a New Jersey farmer must know that there was a time when his father sold his eggs to the professor at twelve cents a dozen; and may have heard from his grandfather of a time when they were worth three cents a dozen, and other things in proportion. Would he like to go back to those cheap times, under the guidance of the learned governor?

From the New York Tribune.

The farmer who is told by Governor Wilson that the tariff is to blame for high prices and that he is the chief sufferer therefrom has only to turn to a recent census bulletin on crops to see the fallacy of both teachings.

The bulletin will show him, in the first place, that in the ten years from 1899 to 1909 the value of the crops of the country grew from \$2,999,-

000,000 to \$5,487,000,000, or 83 per cent., while the quantity of those crops, as measured by acreage, increased only 9.9 per cent. Thus, the agricultural interests, while extending their operations only about 10 per cent., have seen the value of their produce almost doubled. The increase in the production of cereals was only 1.7 per cent., while the increase in value of those cereals which the farmer has to sell was 79.8 per cent. Cotton tells the same story, increasing in quantity only 11.7 per cent., but in value 117.3 per cent. That does not look as if the farmer were the sufferer from high prices, whatever their cause.

Turning to the cause, it is clear that the small increase in crops to meet the growing demand will account for it to a large extent; primarily so far as agricultural products are concerned, and secondarily as to everything else; for if food and clothing go up, labor costs must, and the price of manufactured articles. In the ten years covered by the figures the population increased 21 per cent., with only a 10 per cent. increase in the crops demanded by it for consumption. Of course, prices rose out of proportion to the growth of population, for when five men are bidding for what met the needs of four, each wants his full supply enough to pay more than a 20 per cent. increase. Moreover, the standard of living has gone up, and people have felt able and been willing to pay high prices for what suited them, and so have made prices jump far beyond those naturally fixed by the increased number of consumers.

In the face of the demonstrated failure of agriculture to keep up with

the domestic demand and of the necessarily great reduction in our exports of produce in order to meet the increasing consumption of our own people, there is no need of seeking in the tariff the reason for rising prices.

From the New York Press.

The farmer cannot be fooled. He knows what a very small fraction of our agricultural products sells abroad. He knows that the bulk of our agricultural products is sold at home. He knows that if American wage-earners are prosperous there are good prices for farm products; that if American wage-earners are not prosperous there are poor prices for farm products. He knows that American wage-earners can be prosperous only by our continuing to maintain American industries employing them against the competition of cheap foreign industries.

Mr. Wilson on the stump tells the farmer he could get \$30 a year off the cost of his implements. Mr. Wilson naturally does not like to tell the farmer that the price of his butter is too high, the price of his poultry too high, the price of his eggs too high, the price of his grain too high, the price of his mutton too high, the price of his vegetables too high, and so on. So he goes in for the price of the farmer's implements—\$30 a year. The farmer will tell Mr. Wilson at the polls that he doesn't care to save \$30 a year on implements at the cost of fifty cents a bushel, say, on a thousand bushels of wheat a year.

From the Albany Journal.

It is true that the population of this country is dependent for the

necessaries of life upon the direct and indirect products of the farms. But in turn, the farmers' prosperity is dependent upon the purchasing capacity of all the people. The farmers, no less than the wage-workers of the cities, remember how they fared when the Democratic Wilson law of 1893 was in effect. That was the time when the prices received for crops and other farm products barely paid for the cost of production, when mortgages upon the farms were the rule. Under the protective tariff restored the farmers have paid off their mortgages, equipped their farms, acquired automobiles and accumulated bank accounts. They are more prosperous than they ever were before in the history of this country.

Governor Wilson's declaration for free trade cannot have other effect than to warn them of the danger which lies in the way in which the Democratic party is headed.

From the Spokane Spokesman-Review.

Does not the farmer produce cereals, fruits, live stock, vegetables, tobacco, sugar, rice and cotton? Are not all of these protected against the competition of the products raised by cheap labor in foreign countries? Does not the farmer receive material benefit in these items from the tariff? Of course he does, as the prosperity of the American farmer and the facts of the case show. The governor's assertion has no solid basis.

The breaking down of the tariff that Governor Wilson misnames the restrictive tariff, but that the majority of Americans have repeatedly indorsed as the protective tariff, would result in the breaking down of American prosperity. The farmer

would feel the effects as speedily as any other American producer.

The tariff lessens the importation of goods produced abroad at less cost than here. The removal of the tariff or even the reduction of it below the protective point would permit the importation of such goods. American producers could compete with foreigners only by lowering the wages of laborers. These men constitute far the larger part of the market of the American farmer. The diminution of their purchasing power would deprive the farmer of his largest and most profitable market.

THAT FARMERS' FREE LIST BILL.

From the New York Tribune.

It is impossible to make an omelet without breaking eggs. But Governor Wilson thinks that he can safely tell one part of the public that he is going to make the omelet and the other part that he is not going to break the eggs. The indirection and evasiveness of his method of argument were strikingly illustrated in what he said at Williams Grove about the Farmers' Free List bill, of unfortunate memory. He criticised President Taft for vetoing that bill and suggested that the veto demonstrated the President's lack of sympathy with the farmer. But he lacked the courage to say that he himself approved the Farmers' Free List measure or would, if elected President, work for its enactment in the next Congress.

The free list bill was the freakiest of all the bluff tariff measures which the Democratic-Insurgent combination in Congress rushed through for

political purposes. It violated every principle of tariff legislation ever enunciated or employed by an American party. It was inconsistent with the protective theory, the theory of tariff for revenue only, the theory of free raw materials and the theory of revenue with incidental protection. It laid down for the first time in our history the grotesque proposition that a duty should be levied or remitted on an imported article in accordance with the vocation of the person for whose use the article was intended. If a farmer wanted to use a knife it should come in free, but if a butcher wanted to use a knife it should come in taxed.

The Farmers' Free List bill was laughed out of court. Most of the serious Democratic newspapers admitted its absurdity, and the Democrats in the House and Senate felt relieved when it was killed by President Taft's veto. Mr. Underwood was willing this year to revive the vetoed woolen and cotton bills of 1911, but he drew the line at the farcical Farmers' Free List bill. Even its authors wanted to see that measure shelved and forgotten.

THE COST OF LIVING.

The cost of New York's food supply at the terminals is \$350,000,000 per year: carried to the kitchens the final cost is \$500,000,000. Here is \$150,000,000 (or 45 per cent. of the cost of the same food at the cities' gates) used up in carrying it to the consumer. So says the report of the New York State Food Investigation Commission.

And this \$150,000,000 does not go mainly to the middlemen. It is the

cost largely of distribution by a haphazard system, with facilities that are outgrown and inadequate. The Commission estimates that with proper modern agencies for distribution, \$60,000,000 a year could be saved to the city's consumers.

Here is where the trusts, when they have come in, have met the great problem of increasing volume of business with concentrated efficiency. Imagine what a business organization like the Standard Oil Company could do with its systematic, modernized methods, if this problem of enormous food distribution were in its hands.

What applies to New York also affects every city of any size in the United States, and some of the rising cost of living in the last twenty years is thus accounted for.

Way back of this, too, is the fact that farm prices for most of the things we produce are permanently higher than they used to be. Some theorists explain this by the rise in farm land value. It is worth twice now what it was, and the farmer is compelled to double his price.

The rush to the cities is another explanation, fewer people on the farms to raise wheat and things—no competition to grow the most and sell the cheapest. All the farm land taken up, by a limited number of people, not hands enough to work the land, lack of efficiency and half the land comparatively wasted. The editor of "Farm and Fireside," in his plain talks to the farmers, does not spare them.

He tells them of Arnold Martin, who lives in Nebraska, and on twenty-one acres makes money besides supporting his family. In Ne-

braska there are great farms owned by single individuals, farms of 60,000 to 70,000 acres, and on these great tracts only a thousand or fifteen hundred people working them. If the land were owned by Arnold Martins, on these great 70,000-acre tracts there would be 3,500 families, or a population of 15,000 on each. He says:

"What would be the effect on the cost of living if every tenant-farmer in these United States were all at once changed into an owner of his farm? Would it not change most of them into better farmers? It surely would. They would manure more heavily, establish better rotations, buy fertilizers, cease skinning the land, begin trying to make the place adequate to the support not only of the old folks, but of the children.

"And now we are getting close to the relation between high prices of land and high cost of living. We, as a nation, are land monopolists as a regular thing, and farmers on the side. We make our money on the increase in our farm values instead of by raising things for the world to eat, drink and wear. Every man gets as much land as he can spread over and relies on the lapse of time rather than the growth of crops to make him rich. He gets hold of as much as possible of a thing which everybody must use—land—and while not more than half using it himself, he refuses to let anyone else use it on terms which stimulate good farming.

"We shall not have a generation of Arnold Martins, making money on twenty-acre farms, so long as we allow land to be made merchandise of, and cornered, engrossed, kept

out of use, half farmed, managed by dogs-in-mangers. But if the whole, beautiful, rich nation were inhabited by Arnold Martins, if there were fifteen of such little farms for every half-section tenant-farm, dividing with a landlord, do you think there would be any food question in this country? Why, there would have to be built five billion dollars' worth of railway tracks to carry the surplus to market! The backs of all the railways in the country would be broken trying to handle the enormous crops. Prices would adjust themselves to other prices and to wages, and the cost of living would no longer be high in the sense of being unjust and oppressive."

A CANADIAN VIEW.

An editorial in the Halifax Herald of August 30th directs attention to the advantages derivable from an extension of intensive cultivation, on small holdings in the United Kingdom, with special reference to a concurrent reform of Great Britain's fiscal system. "The surplus money thus gathered together by a population of industrious small farmers must, in turn, be productively employed. As the United Kingdom is a great manufacturing country, it would seem that its town industries would absorb all the foodstuffs and all the surplus capital produced by the farmers. Such a state of balance would be ideal. But no approach to it can be made so long as the United Kingdom adheres to Free Trade."

And further: "If its rural population is to have a chance to contribute largely and profitably to the urban demand for foodstuffs, the

government will have to change its policy, its fiscal policy and its land policy. Its present fiscal policy is not, as Mr. Lloyd George promised, transferring the land of England and Scotland to small holders. It is causing the break up of great estates, with results that are disastrous both to owners and tenants, one consequence being increased emigration from the rural districts."

Nothing could be more to the purpose at a time when, at last, the advent of a too long delayed measure of Tariff Reform seems assured. It is a strange type of political economy which allows an importation of butter, cheese, eggs and poultry to the annual value of \$190,000,000—to say nothing of other items—into a country combining all the features so concisely enumerated by our Canadian contemporary.

MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE TARIFF.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

A free trade publication recently commenting upon the tariff which superseded the so-called McKinley bill declared that the duties were purposely made high so that it would be possible to make reciprocity treaties. There is no more truth in this assertion than there was in the prediction made by the free traders at the time the Dingley bill was turned out of the committee of the whole. Its author was derided as incapable and the assertion was freely made that the new tariff act would be a failure as a revenue producer.

Although Dingley and other Republicans refuted these predictions with unanswerable figures which

showed conclusively that the authors of the new measure knew what they were about the free traders persisted in croaking and predicting a deficit. They hardly ceased even after the revenues began piling up, threatening the country with another of those calamities which gave Cleveland so much apprehension, but the people managed to survive the shock of an overflowing treasury because they were well assured that it was produced by a tariff which gave the American manufacturer a chance to build up industries which would successfully compete with the established foreigner.

The reciprocity idea was an afterthought. Dingley's sole object was to frame a tariff bill which would protect and at the same time produce sufficient revenues to meet the requirements of the Government. He did not attempt to make rates prohibitory, a fact well attested by his statement published at the time, which shows that he reckoned on large sums being derived from classes of articles which the critics said would necessarily be excluded by the new rates. Dingley knew they would not and plainly said so, and the result justified his judgment.

If the tariff which was recently enacted had been drawn on the same lines as that which Dingley framed, the country would be in a different case today. Dingley's plan was to keep in mind the producer. He was conscious of the fact that in this country the masses are producers, and that therefore whatever inures to the benefit of the producing class necessarily helps the majority. Reason, experience and everything else told him and the men who helped him to frame the Dingley bill

that when the producing classes flourish the non-consuming classes are not injured. The latter only suffer when the former are deprived of the opportunity to expand. There can be no prosperity in this country unless manufacturing is given that opportunity. Whenever it is curtailed there is trouble for the producer as well as the consumer.

A DISCREDITED IDOL.

Americans who have made themselves familiar with English Free Trade arguments cannot fail to have been impressed with the extent to which the idea of "necessary cheapness" pervades the economic atmosphere. The following extract from a recently published book on "Land Values Taxation" is one of many signs that this doctrine is losing ground as a fetish. It is especially significant in view of the fact that Mr. R. L. Outhwaite, M. P., one of the joint authors of the book, is a supporter of the present Free Trade ministry.

"Free Trade must preach a more inspiring gospel than the virtue of cheapness if it is to retain its hold upon the people, and, as a matter of fact, even Free Traders are forced in practice to admit that cheapness, under present conditions, may be sometimes rather a curse than a blessing. It would, for instance, greatly reduce the price of many articles if all the prison labor of the country was energetically applied to their manufacture. Yet who does advocate such a course? It would increase the wealth of the community, and increased social wealth under a sane economic system would be unadulterated good; yet set prison labor

effectively to work, let us say in making boots, and the cry would go up with perfect justice that a cruel wrong was being done in taking the bread out of honest workers' mouths. It is a monstrous thing that an increase of wealth, of good things, within a country, can injure its people, but it is true. Orthodox Free Trade maintains the contrary, yet does not act up to its principles."

WAGES FAR EXCEED PROFITS.

BY WALTER J. BALLARD.

It is a common error with wage-earners to believe that the profits distributed by the various industries are larger than the wages paid. In other words, they persistently persuade themselves, or are persuaded by labor trouble-breeders, that as compared with wages, capital is getting a far better income out of labor than is labor itself. That belief is absolutely wrong. The fact is, labor is getting 50 per cent. more out of the industries in which it works than is capital, as proven by the following 1910 census figures:

	Years' wages and salaries	Profits. Distributed in year.
Manufacturing.....	\$4,365,613,000	\$2,219,412,000
Wages excess over profits.....		2,145,141,000
Railroads.....	1,170,432,000	744,775,000
Wages excess over profits.....		425,657,000
Merchandising.....	1,191,464,000	921,366,000
Wages excess over profits.....		270,098,000
Mining.....	574,720,000	338,626,000
Wages excess over profits.....		236,094,000
Banking.....	430,569,000	215,285,000
Wages excess over profits.....		215,284,000
Other occupations:.....	5,329,000,000	3,627,000,000
Wages excess over profits.....		1,702,000,000
The only exception is:		
Agriculture.....	2,300,993,000	3,412,855,000
Profit excess over wages.....	111,862,000	
Totals for 1910.....	\$15,363,641,000	\$10,470,519,000
Excess of wages over profits.....		5,093,122,000

Equal to nearly \$100,000,000 a week more wages than profits for each of the 52 weeks of 1910.

The average yearly salaries and wages are:

Officials and clerks in factories...\$1,118

Wage earners therein, including	
boys and girls	518
Railroad employes	704
Mining employes	675
Clerks and salespeople, male and female	575
Agricultural laborers (and other privileges)	374
General average per worker	728

About 38.6 per cent. of our population is engaged in gainful occupations, and, as stated, the average yearly earning is \$728.

The average size of the family in this country is 4.6 persons, which means an average income, including wages, dividends, interest and profits, of about \$1,292 per family. No other country in the world can show so large an average family income.

The domestic corporation is a combination of American capital and American labor receiving and disposing of its wealth on American soil, which we may now regulate to some extent, and which we hope to regulate more, while the foreign combination would enrich itself at our expense, would carry its wealth beyond seas, and would be beyond our control.

If a thing is made at home, home labor is employed; if abroad foreign labor is employed. Wages are lower abroad than at home. If a thing can be made cheaper because labor is cheaper, then it can be sold cheaper.

PROTECTION WHICH PROTECTS.

Extracts from Speeches of Hon. Weldon B. Heyburn, of Idaho,
in the United States Senate, May 25 to 30, 1912.

The Mistake of 1892.

In 1892 the Republican party in convention made a cowardly platform. They confessed themselves scared by the noise that was being made by the Democrats, and the country said, "If you are not brave enough to have a principle and stand up to it we will have none of you," and they turned the Republican party out of power and turned into power a party that professed what they would do rather than recited what they had done. Just think of a platform of a national party going before the people, situated as our people are, making this declaration:

"We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty—"

The Democrats had said that before and we had repudiated it.

"And that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home."

They deserved defeat, and they got it. They not only defeated the political organization but they defeated the American people in their homes. They took away from them their prosperity by substituting the pretentious pretensions of the other party. It was my fate to be a member of the committee that made this platform. Those words were not written in it with my consent.

What does it say? Let us look at it. That there should be duties levied equal to the difference between wages at home and abroad. I want to make a reference to that. That was equivalent to saying that in this country those who sustain it in war and in peace should have no better standing than the people of other countries who contend with it in both war and peace. A more unreasonable declaration never was made in a platform. The men who made it—a number of them were my friends and still are my friends—forgot that they

lived in the United States of America. They did not know in that hour of un-wisdom that an American citizen is entitled to more, in or out of the United States, than any foreigner is entitled to.

Favoring the Foreigner.

They talk about putting us upon an equal footing with Germany, France, and England without making any provision for the fact that we support this Government and the foreigners contribute nothing to it; that we maintain the institutions and pay the taxes and they do not; that we pay taxes upon the very goods which they send here under the doctrine of free trade. If a cargo comes in from England or Germany and lands in New York, upon landing it becomes the property of an American citizen, and he has to pay taxes on the very thing that destroys his market. The people with whom they are seeking to put us on an equal footing pay no taxes upon the articles of manufacture either there or here.

And then again this cheese-separating has fretted me from the beginning of this discussion—to see Senators stand here and shave down to the very quick in estimating how much torture the American producer can stand; upon how low a basis he can live; with how little he can get along without starving. That has been the spirit of too much of the discussion on the tariff question.

I look at it from just the opposite standpoint. The question with me is how prosperous can we make the American citizen; how can we improve the conditions that surround him; how easy can we make it for him to compete in the markets or abroad? That is the point of reason from which the tariff should be considered by Americans, and not how tolerable it might be for him were conditions changed.

Republicans and Protection.

How can a man be a Republican and not be in favor of a protective tariff that

protects? How can a man be a Republican and come here and engage in cheeseparing down to the very quick to determine whether or not the people of the country can barely live rather than how they can be certainly prosperous?

The Republican party has stood for prosperity in the past when it was sane. I will pass from that platform of 1892, which was the Waterloo of the Republican party, and, in my judgment, forfeited all claim that the party might have upon the people, and I will go to 1896, after the earthquake, and the volcanoes, and the nightmares, and the distress, and the poverty of four years, and I find new leaders at the head of the columns. I find constructive statesmen in the place of the shivering time servers of four years before. I find men who knew what they wanted and dared to proclaim it in the great convention of 1896. They knew how to take the rank and file of American industry and organize it so that its march would be to the certain goal of prosperity. They did it with as true a hand as ever guided a purpose to a destiny.

The Menace to Prosperity.

Mr. President, we have heard nothing in the consideration of this bill on behalf of the real merchants and the people who deal with them. The large manufacturing establishments could not reach the people except through lesser establishments that constitute the means of distribution of what the larger concerns produce. They have not been heard. They were not heard before the committee that prepared this bill for consideration. Yet it depends upon those people as to whether the products of the large mills will ever reach the people at all. They are the medium of distribution. Their prosperity tells infinitely more for the welfare of the people than does the prosperity of the large manufacturing plants. They are the people who are looking most anxiously to Congress awaiting its action. You strike down their prosperity and the climax is close at hand.

You may take away all the profits of the large plants that have been discussed so much, and the owners probably would go down to the Waldorf-Astoria or to the seashore or to Europe and live the rest of their lives

without any suffering, while these industrial enterprises that depend upon them would suffer all the agony that belongs to poverty, disappointment and distress. It would change the lives and the destiny of millions of people who never saw the United States Steel or any of these large enterprises that have been discussed as though they were all there was to be considered. You strike down the prosperity of the country for a day and you change the destiny of millions of people any day and change their course of life from that time to the end. You shut down the mills in a village or any one of these manufacturing centers for six months and thousands and thousands of people will have been compelled to change their residence, to change their plans of life, both in regard to the adult members who toil and in regard to the children who depend upon them. The possibilities of the education of the hundreds of thousands of children in this country are vitally affected by every shutdown or strike from whatever source it may originate.

Changing the Destiny of the People.

You bring about a condition such as we had in 1893, 1894 and 1895, and you have changed the destiny of the American people; millions of them, who with that four years of standing ground would have attained their cherished ambition, never again can reinstate themselves. The period of education passed for many during those four years of financial distress. The period that was selected by their parents in which they were to be educated passed, and their opportunity was lost because of the inability of the parent to carry out the purpose. Instead of being well-equipped citizens, they were forced to this shuffling industry of opportunity.

Who was responsible? The Democratic party as a party and the people they were able to deceive into supporting or believing in the doctrine of comparative free trade. How many millions of people in this country were so affected by that period of stagnation that they never can recover from it? Industry closed, the door of opportunity to the apprentice is closed. The boy who would have entered without difficulty to learn his trade or occupation in the mills and industries of the country was

deprived, because the mills and industry had no opportunity to afford him, and instead of being on the way to prosperity, he was a victim of conditions and circumstances over which he could exercise no control.

This question of the prosperity of the people is a very serious thing; and when we are dealing with those questions that will affect it one way or the other we cannot be too serious. We cannot grow impatient—we dare not—with the consideration. We read it on three pages, the United States that passed the first tariff bill spent three months in its consideration. We read it on three pages, and we are apt to think they did it over night. They gave serious consideration to those questions, realizing that they were laying the foundation of the prosperity of the people of that age. Well, we lay the foundation of the prosperity of the people every two years or four years in this country, or every time we take up the question whether our people shall be classed as the people of other countries, on an equal footing, as was laid down in that foolish platform. I have never yet forgiven the unwisdom of that hour, notwithstanding that I participated in the making of the platform; but I did not agree to the provisions that lost us the election.

Our Own People First.

I am not envious of those who grow rich; I am not envious of the men of millions, about whom we have heard so much. There is one solution to all ambition, and that is that we all die. It has solved many a question in this world among men. There are not 2 per cent. of the fortunes today in the hands of men whose fathers had them. The field of opportunity has opened the door of fortune to those whose fathers knew only labor. What is the use in bothering ourselves because some man is rich? If he is rich within the law, it is his right. If the law is wrong that enables him to be rich, change the law as to the man affected, but do not repeal and amend laws affecting a hundred thousand other people in order to get at the one man. Go after the man himself.

These are pertinent considerations in dealing with this great business question of the country, because it is the Government itself. The issues that have

been headlined in the papers for the last few weeks and months, and which have been discussed and wired over the world, are of no consequence to the people; they do not affect the prosperity of the people nor their happiness or comfort; they represent only the rivalries among men, the strife of men to attain not something for the benefit of their generation and their country, but something that will add to their physical or mental comfort as individuals. I am not interested in that question. They can have what they gain under the law and keep it without making me envious or jealous. We have been dealing with the wrong end of the question; and I do not suppose, from the conditions that surround this discussion now, that we are going to get back into the right track until the people put us there. It may be in this generation, or it may be in the next. I merely call attention now to the fact.

Producers and Consumers.

We have heard a great deal about the consumers here. Speeches have been made covering days in talking about the rights of the consumer. There would be nothing to consume if it were not for these producers. People could not live in the country as consumers except that the producing element is protected and sustained that it might produce; and I am talking about producers.

I am talking about sections of this country and interests and enterprises of this country that produce that which the consumer must have, and if we are let alone, if we are protected in the right that comes from settlement and the building up of government, we shall produce all that the people need in this country, and we shall produce a great deal more. Is not that a better presentation of the question under consideration than was the presentation based upon the consumer? That based upon the consumer is like the cat and the cook. The cat thinks the cook is of much more importance than the master of the house. Senators are not hungry, but they conjure up in their minds a condition of starvation and hunger, and then plead for it. It is basing your argument upon a dream; and when you wake up the dream and the argument have both passed away. My idea is to

build up production, to encourage it so that the consumer will never lose a moment's sleep as to whether or not he is going to have enough to eat tomorrow. That is the ideal condition of government. The idea of discussing this question from the standpoint that we are at the mercy of the world and must have its products does not appeal to me. We are not. We can build a wall higher than the imaginary tariff wall around this country and multiply it many times, and we shall have within that wall the raw material for government and prosperity and greatness and happiness. If in the division of the water and the land there had been only this country above the water, it would have been a world equal to every opportunity and every demand of mankind; we would have been as prosperous and as happy had we never known of any other country than this. If between now and tomorrow morning you would cut the cables and sink the ships that connect us with other countries, we would be sufficient unto ourselves. We lose sight of that and assume that we must of necessity have the help of some other country and some other people in order that we may exist at all.

Revision by Schedule.

It is the schedules in the aggregate that count and that are important. There is no possible opportunity to balance them one against the other. There is no single schedule in our tariff law that does not bear directly a responsible and dependent relation to every other schedule. The men who work in the mines are the market for the men who work on the farms. The men who work in the foundries are the market for the men who till the land, who make the shoes, who weld the iron, who mine in the ground. How can you intelligently establish a schedule involving a class of articles without considering at the same time the effect that it will have upon every other schedule? I have stood here for years contending against this fragmentary way of dealing with the tariff law. The Republican party has denounced it as impracticable and impossible. Of what avail is it to make rules that would insure prosperity to the iron and steel schedule unless we at the same time take into consideration the

rates and duties that affect the men who are engaged in the enterprises that foster and support and make a market for the products? What matters it if the Steel Trust can produce a thousand tons or a million dollars' worth of an article or commodity if it has no market for it? How can it have a market unless the people to whom it would sell have prosperity and money enough to buy their product? How can those people have prosperity and money enough unless they too in their turn are protected against the encroachment of foreign competition in what they produce and what they use? Of what avail is it if we protect the farmer if the farmer has no market? How can the farmer have a market among unpaid and unemployed people? How can he have a market among those who have nothing wherewith to buy? I am simply illustrating the fallacy of this idea of revising a tariff by schedules.

The True Republican Principle.

There is not a Democrat on the other side who will change his views on the tariff question because of anything said on this side, and while I am pleased to give them the benefit of what I may say, I am not hoping to obtain any converts. But I do hope and I do pray that those who could resist the Republican principle of protection, which is protection which protects, will see the error of their way, come into the Republican party, and stay there; and if you do not get what you think you are entitled to just as soon as you arrive, wait and labor and fight within your own party.

The situation is like a man who, belonging to one army in struggle with another, goes out between the lines and jumps up and down and hollers, denouncing both, one at one time and another at another time, and lands nowhere, while he is liable to fall between both fires. Stay by the army that you enlisted with. If your cause is just, you are more apt to win in the Republican party than anywhere else, and if it is unjust you ought not to win anywhere. There is no place in the world that will more nearly convince a man of his errors than in the party; but he does not want side conferences.

When a tree is growing, in its early stages or at almost any stage, we often

see sprouts that go up from the roots—suckers they call them—and if you leave them on the tree they draw from the life of the tree. When you go out to look for fruit, you do not look on the sprouts for it; you expect the fruit to be on the tree. There is no hope for the sprout. There never comes a time when the sprout accomplishes or amounts to anything. You have to depend upon the tree, and that is all that this movement means.

TARIFF AND REVENUE.

From the Boston Transcript.

Of the receipts of the Government for the last fiscal year about \$310,000,000 came from the customs and \$292,000,000 from internal revenue. On the basis of population the great commercial countries of the world all collect a large part of their receipts from customs. England, though a free trade country, exacted about \$167,000,000 from its people through the custom houses last year, while its excise tax, which is equivalent to our internal revenue, turned in in round figures \$201,000,000. To these items of British imperial taxation, if we are to call it taxation, must be added several from which we are happily exempt as Federal charges. Thus \$130,000,000 was collected under the heading of estate duties, etc., which went into the coffers of the crown. Stamp duties turned in about \$50,000,000 more. Property and income taxes nearly \$320,000,000. Therefore our people are not suffering exceptionally from the demands of the coffers of the nation, and their number, be it remembered, is twice that of the population of the United Kingdom.

A cooling dip into statistics might result beneficially to Governor Wilson. He would, for instance, learn that in the last fiscal year the value of imports which came into the United States free of duty exceeded the value of those on which custom houses levied. For the twelve months ending June the aggregate of duty-free imports was nearly \$882,000,000, whereas those dutiable were valued at \$771,000,000 in round figures. These are facts pretty readily accessible to any who will take the trouble to look them up, but they must be novel

to the Democratic candidate for the presidency, since they have not impressed his scholarly mind to the extent of inducing him to give them consideration.

WHAT DO TARIFF REVISIONISTS WANT?

From the Fall River Herald.

What would interest a good many people in this campaign would be to learn just what the tariff revisionists want. A lot has been said to the effect that the system now prevailing and that included in the general policy of the Republicans is wrong. We are told that the wage-earner is being robbed, that certain privileged classes are sharing unearned profits and that the tariff is responsible for the high cost of living. Granting that all this is so—although it is not so—what do the revisionists propose to do? The only proof of their intent lately shown has been in the nature of the Underwood bills, which were slapped together in a hurry to meet the demands of the pressing national campaigns and about which the Democrats themselves were uneasy for fear they might ultimately become the law, and the effect upon the industries concerned would prove disastrous to their political aspirations. Voters who have been impressed with the charges laid up to the score of the tariff should demand of the revisionists a statement of something definite in regard to their intentions. "Revising the tariff downward" is a generality which cloaks an uncertainty about the problem that it would be well to clear away before voters indorse it as a battle slogan. "Revision downward" means much or little. So far as industries of this

city and vicinity are concerned, it is very essential to know how far downward the revision is going before it stops. The voter interested in those industries should ask himself whether he prefers that the revision be made by the party which is pledged to protect the industry while revising the tariff, or by the party pledged to levy duties only to the amount of the expenses of the Government and to let them fall haphazard, mainly as chance directs. The latter was the way the revision started by the Democrats tended. The Republican policy on the tariff is a safe one. Revision should be conservative and scientific.

SKILLED WORKERS WANTED.

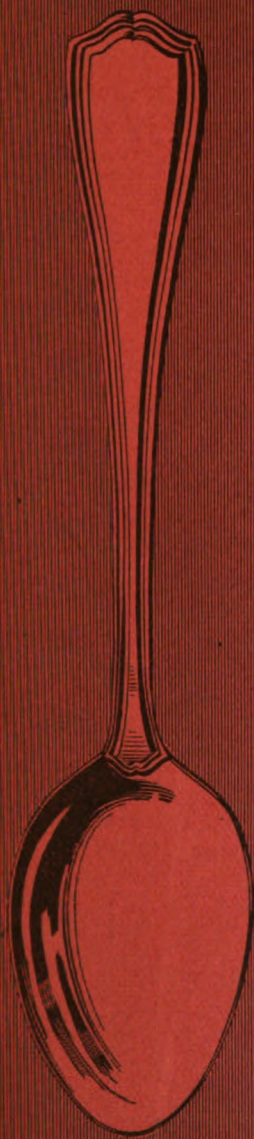
From Fibre and Fabric.

The textile industry at the present time needs 25,000 families of mill workers from England, Germany, France and Belgium and the 25,000 families could be found easily enough, if American manufacturers could hire them under a definite agreement as to wages and employment. Skilled workers to fill every vacancy in the mills would come here within 30 days if they knew where they were going and what wage they would receive. But the law prevents such an arrangement and at the same time opens our country to the worst element on the face of the earth. Recent experiences have substantiated that fact, and every ship from across the water brings more of the undesirables and fewer of the skilled hands our industry is in so much need of.

There is no serious question before the country that has an easier

solution. The simple modification of the immigration laws, empowering states through a responsible commissioner, to make contracts for wages and length of employment with skilled operatives in England, Germany and France would settle the question. If half a dozen Massachusetts mills wanted 1,500 weavers, 500 spinners and 200 carders with a certain number of boys and girls for different positions, a definite contract could be made out and families selected so that all vacancies could be filled. This order would be given the commissioner and he would go abroad and bring back the help. There would be no surplus, and within three to five years America would not be the dumping ground, but would have in her manufacturing towns and cities a body of men and women who would be skilled producers and consumers on the American plan, because they would come here to stay, rather than coming over here for a raid and to take out all the plunder possible. If the immigration laws are to be kept in force a few years longer, the growing generation and unborn generations will have a slim chance in this country. It will require the voice of the people to bring our national law-makers to a realizing sense of the danger and as the textile industry is the hardest hit, it would not be out of place for the captains of the industry to speak out on the question.

What has the Democratic party done to command confidence that gives it the right to assume to advise the American people? The Democratic party asks always to be judged by the future and not by the past. It always asks to be judged by its promises and not by its performances.



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The Protectionist

NOVEMBER, 1912

A Tariff For Revenue Only

Why Tamper With Prosperity

Inviting a Cataclysm

Labor's Investment in Industrial Prosperity

The American Workingman

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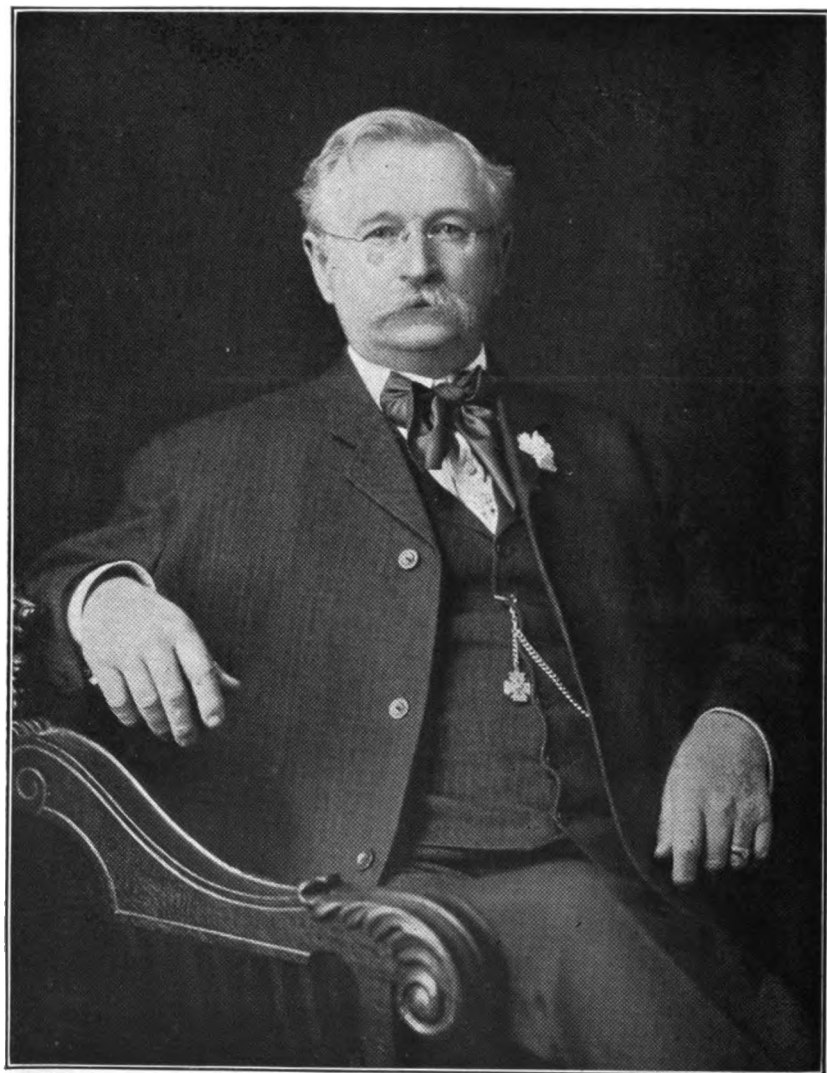
77 Summer St., Boston, Mass.

Vol. XXIV. No. 7.

10 Cents Each, \$1.00 a Year

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GEORGE W. WELLS.

THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress

Signed articles are not to be understood as expressing
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VOL. XXIV.

NOVEMBER, 1912.

No. 283

A TARIFF FOR REVENUE ONLY.

What It Means "To Wipe Out Every Vestige of Protection."

When the presidential campaign opened the Democrats made as sharp and savage attacks upon the protective tariff system as they possibly could. They declared protection unconstitutional and appealed to the country to aid them in establishing a tariff-for-revenue-only policy.

In his speech of acceptance, Governor Wilson indorsed this view when he said, "Our own clear conviction as Democrats is, that in the last analysis the only safe and legitimate object of tariff duties is to raise revenue for the support of the Government." He denounced the Payne-Aldrich bill, one of the lowest tariff bills the country has ever had, and declared that our present tariff schedules establish monopoly and foster trusts. "The economic freedom of our people, our prosperity in trade, our untrammelled energy in manufacture, depend upon their reconsideration from top to bottom in an entirely different spirit."

The dominating spirit of the

Payne-Aldrich revision was a readjustment of schedules in accordance with present economic conditions and without sacrificing the principle of protection.

Reconsidering the tariff from top to bottom "in an entirely different spirit," can mean only one thing, the abandonment of protection. In this purpose Woodrow Wilson is in accord with his party leaders in Congress who have declared again and again that it is their intention "to wipe out every vestige of protection."

Champ Clark, Oscar W. Underwood and the Southern Democrats who dominate the party have repeatedly declared their hostility to protection and have shown by the tariff legislation of the 62nd Congress what is to be expected if they are placed in control of the government.

The Democratic tariff legislation of the recent sessions of Congress placed upon the free list over \$5,000,000,000 worth of the products of American labor. New England

manufacturers should mark well that nearly one billion of this amount was made up of leather manufactures and boots and shoes, from which Democratic legislation would strip every vestige of protection.

Manufacturers of chemicals, paints, iron and steel and cotton and woolen goods would have to adjust their business to a tariff for revenue only, and paper manufacturers, lumbermen and farmers would face free trade not with Canada only but all the world. The total value of the products which the last Democratic Congress attempted to place on a free trade or a revenue basis was over \$13,500,000,000 and the wages which were hazarded by this legislation amounted to over \$2,000,000,000.

A tariff-for-revenue-only policy imperils over \$18,000,000,000 invested in manufacturing and the welfare of six and a half million of wage-earners who, under a protective tariff, earn annual wages amounting to over \$3,000,000,000.

No wonder that the leaders of the low tariff party are striving to allay the alarm which their tariff agitation has aroused. No wonder Mr. Wilson solemnly protests that "We don't want to disturb the industry of the country," and that "When we act we should act with caution and prudence."

Thus does the surgeon gravely assure his patient, "Be brave, it won't hurt;" but he proceeds to cut out the malignant growth. Governor Wilson believes that protection is "a malignant growth," and he has promised to cut it out. "We shall not act with timidity," he says, "for

we are certain of our ground and our object."

If parties are to be judged by their platforms and candidates by their promises, then the possibility of Democratic success can be viewed only with alarm.

"The business of the country rests upon a protective tariff basis," says President Taft.

Protection is unconstitutional, says the Democratic platform.

"Our clear conviction as Democrats is," says Governor Wilson, "that the only safe and legitimate object of tariff duties is to raise revenue for the support of the government." "The Democratic theory of tariff for revenue is the only defensible theory," says Governor Marshall.

"The protective tariff is so woven into the fabric of our industrial and agricultural life that to substitute for it a tariff for revenue only would destroy many industries and throw millions out of employment," is the declaration of the Republican platform.

"If Mr. Wilson and the Democratic party do not mean what they say, then they cannot be trusted anyhow. If they do mean what they say, if a protective tariff is really unconstitutional, as the Democratic platform says, if a protective tariff is really 'a malignant growth,' as Mr. Wilson says, and if he keeps his promise to be a surgeon and cut it out, then there will be an industrial crash in this country which will make even the crash of 1893—the last time that Mr. Wilson's proposed policy was actually tried—small by comparison."

WHY TAMPER WITH PROSPERITY?

In 1892, when Grover Cleveland was elected President, the nation was in a highly prosperous condition. There was a demand for more workmen from all parts of the country; the tin plate and many other important industries were in the early stages of development, with promise of great success. But the announcement of the election of an anti-protectionist for President, with a tariff-for-revenue-only House of Representatives, had a very depressing effect. Still, hope clung to the Republican Senate. That was regarded as a check to the tide of disaster. When, in 1893, it finally became evident that even the Senate was lost, the ominous roar of the Free Trade tide increased, until the nation was engulfed in distress. Foreign workmen left for home in large numbers, but still 3,000,000 unemployed lived by means of soup-houses and other charitable means, until the election of McKinley, the protectionist leader, brought relief.

Do the people want a repetition of that frightful experience? A similar prosperous condition exists today. Our foreign trade is the greatest in the history of the nation, and is growing rapidly. Domestic trade has recovered from the baleful effect of threatened Democratic tariff legislation. The crops are the most bountiful in our history, and the tide of prosperity is bringing joy to all. If left alone an era of great abundance, with work for all at good wages, is certain. According to the British Government, which investigated the facts, the average of wages

in this country is about two and one-half times greater than the average in Great Britain, and several times larger than the average elsewhere in Europe, while the cost of living varies little. Samuel Gompers, after a personal investigation, wrote that if American workmen were content to live as European workmen live, the cost would be no more in the United States than in Europe. That is a fact appreciated by every fair-minded man, who has investigated the question.

Why should this desirable situation be changed? We have a President admitted by all to be an honest man, and a thorough patriot, as was Benjamin Harrison in 1892. To elect in his place a college professor, without any experience at Washington, and with extreme low tariff views, means even greater disaster than followed under Cleveland. The Democrats in Congress are dominated by Southern men, the traditional enemies of protection. Many of them are actuated by the sentiment expressed by a North Carolina representative in the existing House of Representatives, who in debate said: "We in the South intend to make New England men come and put their mills in the South or else go out of business." That sentiment was given effect in the cotton bill when unnecessarily high duties were imposed on plain woven low-grade products, the principal output of the southern mills, and low duties on high-grade cloths and knit goods made in the North.

John Wanamaker, in his 75th year,

is vigorously engaged in appealing to his countrymen, not to make the terrible mistake of repeating the disastrous course of 1892. "Let well enough alone," he says. "No new government ought to be permitted to check existing prosperity or to begin new policies that jeopardize the nation's future." S. J. Bloomingdale, a prominent merchant in New York says: "Peace and plenty with Taft. Why chance dearth and danger with another?" No sensible reason can be given for inviting another such disaster as prevailed under Grover Cleveland when bonds had to be sold to meet the running expenses of the government.

"A GREAT POVERTY."

Woodrow Wilson declares "There should be an immediate revision, and it should be downward, unhesitatingly and steadily downward."

Woodrow Wilson in his "History of the American People" (Vol. V. p. 265) describing conditions in 1893-'97 when the tariff had been reduced "unhesitatingly and steadily downward," said: "A great poverty had come upon the . . . agricultural regions of the West and South. Prices had fallen. Men of the poorer sort were idle everywhere, and filled with a sort of despair. All the large manufacturing towns teemed with unemployed workingmen who were with the utmost difficulty kept from starvation."

Samuel Gompers, describing conditions during the last tariff-for-revenue-only administration and the recovery under protection, said:

1893.

Since August of this year we have been in the greatest industrial depres-

sion this country has ever experienced. It is no exaggeration to say that more than 3,000,000 of our fellow-toilers throughout the country are without employment and have been so since the time named. This lamentable industrial condition is attributed by many to various causes, and it seems to me that the accurate statement of them here is both requisite and appropriate, so that we may be better enabled to so frame our legislation that it may tend to a proper solution of the problem dependent upon the wage-workers for solution. Never in the history of the world has so large a number of people vainly sought for an opportunity to earn a livelihood and contribute to the support of their fellows.

1897.

That terrible period for the wage-earners of this country which began in 1893 and which has left behind it such a record of horror, hunger and misery practically ended with the dawn of the year of 1897. Wages had been steadily forced down from 1893 till toward the end of 1895, and it was variously estimated that between two million and two and a half million wage-earners were unemployed. It is agreed by all that the wage-earners are the principal consumers of American products, and it necessarily follows that a reduction in wages involves a diminution in the power of consumption, and consequently a proportionate decrease in production, and, naturally, also in the force of labor required for the production. A reduction of wages, therefore, results in an increase in the army of the unemployed, and any circumstances or combination of circumstances that will check reductions in wages, and hence the diminution of consumption by the masses, is a humane act, based on the soundest laws of economics and of progress.

1899.

The revival of industry which we have witnessed within the past year is one for general congratulation, and it should be our purpose to endeavor to prolong the era of more general employment and industrial activity. In this effort no power is so potent as organized labor,

if we but follow a right and practical course. It is beyond question that the wages of the organized workers have been increased, and in many instances the hours of labor either reduced or at least maintained.

A Woodrow Wilson bill will be worse than the Gorman-Wilson bill.

THE DEMOCRATIC TARIFF PROGRAM.

The tariff question is, of course, the one to which radical Democrats refer as demanding instant action. It is likewise the one upon which they have more and more been building their campaign. They assert that the necessary changes in schedules must be made and put into effect within the shortest possible time after the election, and that a failure to carry out this duty would mean a rejection of the "mandate" given at the polls. It is a fact that the tariff program to be pursued in the event of a Democratic victory has already been mapped out: It will make a start with the bills on which action has already been had in the past—the Underwood measures on wool, cotton, drugs and chemicals and steel.

There is little or no reason to doubt that these bills will be reported in substantially the original form in which they went through the House and later were repassed there. Some have questioned the likelihood of any such action. The fact remains that Chairman Underwood is committed to them, having seen them through the lower House twice—once after the tariff board's reports had come in—and that he is thoroughly committed to the measures. Not to report them would convict

him of some insincerity, as being ready to pass bills of a certain type when there was little chance of their enactment, but unwilling to put them through when they stood a good chance of becoming laws. As for the other schedules, the present outlook is that work on them, accompanied by hearings at which interested parties will be invited to appear, will be begun at the opening of Congress.

Gov. Wilson has declared that the next President "should be thoroughly willing to work with Congress."

He will interpose no vetoes to save the industries of the country, as President Taft has done.

FOOD PRICES AT HOME AND ABROAD.

BY JOHN S. HODGSON.

The zeal with which domestic and foreign prices of agricultural products are being discussed in the public prints might be accepted as evidence of a "back-to-the-land" trend, but for the reflection that this is election time—a time when nothing is allowed to escape the attentions of the ubiquitous political manager. Recent efforts in this line have reached a point at which a word or two by way of caution may not be out of place.

It is natural enough to contrast a London retail price of 13 cents per pound for "prime roast beef" with a New York price on the same day of 24 cents, and to set London brisket at 11 cents per pound cheek-by-jowl with New York samples ranging from 18 to 25 cents. But it is "going some" to brand, as the malefic cause of these discrepancies, a tariff duty on meat of only 1 1/2 cents per

pound and to offer not even a suggestion as to the factors accountable for the wide gap still open for explanation. The cited quotations are but typical of much that is being disseminated in the same cause, but a brief allusion to these prominent items must serve.

In the first place, it is misleading to describe the products sold in London as "American meats," for it is a matter of common knowledge that "there is no United States beef in the British market at this time. Official statistics show that fact and the trade there knows it." The place of what is known in the trade as "States beef" has been taken by South American, and it is clear that a demand for the latter product could enable it to be landed in New York, duty paid, at a cost little, if any, in excess of 1 1/2 cents per pound above its cost on "Free Trade" British soil. That it is appreciably inferior to English beef—with which United States beef can more fairly be compared—is shown by the wholesale market report in the London Daily Telegraph of October 3. Argentine beef is there quoted at from 2s 4d to 3s 8d per stone of 8 pounds (7 to 11 cents per pound) as against 3s 8d to 5s, or (11 to 15 cents per pound) for English and Scotch beef. It may at least be doubted whether "American sirloin steak at 13 cents," retail in London, is compatible with these prices for sides and shorts and for chilled fore and hind quarters in bulk.

The real test of relative cheapness is furnished, not by comparisons between conditions in which parallelism is practically impossible, but by

the relation between the purchasing powers of the two countries under review. In other words, what are the "real wages" in each case? Beef and other commodities at 15 cents a pound may be "dear," and even hopelessly unattainable, to a workman earning English wages, while the same thing at an increased price of 50 per cent. may be, and is, part of the daily diet of an American, earning as the latter does from two to three times as much as his English cousin. These facts are so well established by unassailable research and official publications that their repetition is but the chopping of chopped straw. No greater absurdity can be imagined than an attempt to draw economic inspiration, for twentieth century American labor, from a country which resorts to a system of national doles in aid of underpaid and, to a deplorable extent, underfed English workmen and their dependents.

The draining of this country of money, which is the case under low-tariff laws, is what makes it poor and weak. The gold and silver of a nation is its lifeblood. Take it away by the million to pay for goods manufactured abroad and you sap our nation's strength, just as you sap an individual's strength if you tap an artery. Under a low Democratic tariff we send away our money—our blood. Under a Republican protective tariff we are getting new blood all the time, because, as a rule, the balance of trade is in our favor. Read the messages of our Presidents back in the fifties and you will see that they tell how, under the low Walker tariff, the millions of gold mined in California went in one ceaseless current abroad to pay for manufactured goods. We are now keeping that gold, the nation's lifeblood, at home, where it belongs.

INVITING A CATAclysm.

What Would Follow If Wilson Should Be Elected—Extra Session of Congress Contemplated For Free Trade Legislation.

From Our Washington Correspondent.

Washington, Oct. 25, 1912.

From this point of view the developments of the political canvass during the last month favor the Republicans, though the Free Trade party leaders who visited this city are apparently confident of success. But as such expression of confidence is a part of their plan of campaign not much faith can be placed in what they say. They all admit that the strength of the Bull Moose party is waning while that of the Republican is increasing. The candidacy of Roosevelt is the one thing that gives hope to the Democrats. He is seeking to divide the Protectionist vote, and that alone will elect Wilson, if anything will accomplish that end.

Wilson's aspersions in his books on the Italian, Hungarian and other European immigrants, who he declared were inferior to the Chinese, will probably hurt him considerably. Expressions of opinion at this time will not outweigh his carefully written views given in his books, so far as the more intelligent voters are concerned, which causes doubt as to what the outcome may be in certain districts, each with a large proportion of foreign-born voters. It is conceded that Wilson will get all of the Southern states with the possible exception of West Virginia. He is a Southern man, born and raised in

that part of the country, and his wife is a Southern woman. His free trade ideas are in harmony with the traditional views of that section.

One Southern State Not for Wilson.

West Virginia is deeply interested in the tariff. Ex-Senator Davis Elkins, while on a visit to this city recently, said: "West Virginia is enjoying unparalleled prosperity. With the question before the voters of deciding whether their industries shall continue to be protected or shall be open to free trade, there is no doubt at all what the result will be. West Virginia is a protection state." But West Virginia went Democratic in 1910.

The Hon. J. Keir Hardie, chairman of the Labor Party in the British House of Commons, who has been on a visit in the West, on his return to the East, said that "the Roosevelt party was on the wane." No well informed person ever thought that Roosevelt had any chance of success further than to elect a Free Trade candidate. Mr. Roosevelt's attacks on Taft as having been supported by "the interests" have recoiled on him amazingly in view of the exposure before the Senate investigating committee to the effect that the largest contributors to Mr. Roosevelt's campaign funds in 1904 were the Standard Oil Company, J. Pierpont Morgan, Geo.

Gould, Frick, Harriman and the very "interests" he is now assailing, while his largest contributors this year have been George W. Perkins of the Harvester trust; Flinn, the Pennsylvania boss; Munsey, and other very rich men.

The So-Called "Interests" Not for Taft.

"The interests" are evidently not with President Taft, as the head of the Harvester trust is one of Wilson's contributors along with Crane, the rich Chicago man who was appointed Ambassador to Japan and then recalled; Rudolph Spreckels, who wants free sugar, and so on. Spreckels has brought Senator Works of California into the Wilson ranks, and even La Follette has been credited with leaning that way. There is no greater illustration of hypocrisy than that exhibited by Spreckels in managing and financing a so-called "Republican" bureau in support of Wilson. Wilson is a Free Trader who has declared that there is no more reason for levying duties on imports from foreign countries than on imports from one state into another state. The protective tariff is one of the foundation stones of the Republican party, and for any man like Spreckels to support Wilson and pretend to be a "Republican" is a contemptible sham that deceives no one. Spreckels is a cane sugar refiner who wants the growing beet sugar industry killed, as it will be with free sugar under Wilson.

Wilson for the Sugar Trust.

"Take the duties off from all of the necessaries of life," is one of Mr. Wilson's declarations. Sugar is a necessary article, and while it is

protected by all of the principal nations, excepting England, even that free trade country levies a duty of 40 cents a hundred pounds. With the duty abolished, as the House Democrats provided for in their bill which Mr. Wilson has approved, the home sugar producing industry will be wiped out, and the 900,000 tons of sugar now produced in the United States will be furnished by the sugar trust, Spreckels and Arbuckle, who will purchase their raw sugar in Java and in other places where half-civilized labor is used to produce it. The trust and its associate refiners would not pay for the higher priced sugar raised by civilized labor, and a vast industry would be lost to America, and the benefits that have followed from the beet sugar industry in Germany and elsewhere in doubling the product from many other crops would also be lost. But the sugar trust and Spreckels et al would control the supply in the United States. That is what the Free Trade party will accomplish to the enormous loss of the American people. Java and such sugar-growing countries consume very little of American products. The nation has already had a sorry experience in trading with such countries.

Wilson's Advantage from the Solid South.

The managers of the Wilson canvass, McAdoo and McCombs, and Underwood of the House Ways and Means Committee, and other leaders, have been in this city of late, and one and all are entirely confident of every Southern state going for Wilson excepting West Virginia, which they claim too. But West Virginia elections are honest and as there are

comparatively few colored voters in that state it is not counted in the solid South, where the Democratic candidate is always sure of the "returns," no matter who the candidate is or what his record may be. Hence Wilson does not have to accomplish much in the North to gain his election. His leaders count confidently on Indiana. With Ex-Senator Beveridge as the Bull Moose candidate, to divide the Republican vote, Wilson's chances in that state are better than they otherwise would be, though Beveridge was "a weak sister" on the tariff and still clings to his position favoring the so-called reciprocity measure to help Canada. That will make his vote small but it may possibly, with Roosevelt's aid, give the state to Wilson. His friends are confident of Nebraska, because of the Bull Moose manipulation in that state, and for the same reason they claim California. California as well as Nebraska and Indiana are dependent on the protective tariff, so that the Democrats may not succeed even in those states as they now expect to do. Men who have been looking into the situation in various states and who have returned here, think that the outcome is more doubtful than is generally thought to be the case.

Extra Session of Congress.

The Democratic leaders while here talked about an extra session of Congress next March. Chairman Underwood, of the House Ways and Means Committee, said that the tariff was the leading issue in the canvass, as Mr. Wilson had stated, and that the party would be recreant to delay a single day longer than absolutely necessary a revision of the tar-

iff. If the Democrats did not get an absolute majority in the Senate they could, at least, pass all of the tariff bills that President Taft vetoed, and in fact could do much more with their own President. Hence he expects, if Wilson is elected, to see the metal, wool, cotton, sugar, excise and other bills on the statute books in a short time; and if the Democrats get control of the Senate he thought every tariff schedule would be revised within a year. It would not be done in a general bill, but schedule by schedule, and they would not wait for reports from "experts" or anybody else. That view of the case seems to meet the approval of all the Democratic leaders, so that if Wilson is elected business men and workmen will know what is in store for them. There will be no "monkey-business" about tariff reform this time as there was under Cleveland, is the way one Democrat stated the case with the approval of the other leaders. "The fate of former Senator Smith, of New Jersey, settles that fact under Wilson," was the way they emphasized their opinion. So when revision is stated under Wilson, if ever, the country may look for a much worse free trade scourge than was suffered under Cleveland.

The Free Trade Flood.

Representative E. J. Hill, of Connecticut, one of the Republican leaders in tariff matters, has made a compilation of the value of the products put on the free list by the Democratic tariff legislation attempted in the Sixty-Second Congress. The total of the products added to the free list, as shown by the census of 1909, was \$5,104,030,647. That did

not include sugar, which would amount to many millions additional. Over five billions of dollars worth of products now protected would be deprived of all protection under the proposed legislation which may be rushed through at an extra session of Congress next spring if Wilson is elected. Leather, boots and shoes, harness, saddles and saddlery, etc., make up \$992,000,000 of the total in Mr. Hill's table. They would all go on the free list. The wages paid in these industries to go on the free list aggregated \$648,552,664 in 1909.

To those industries from which all protection would be removed must be added those on which only revenue duties would be imposed, such as chemicals, oils and paints, metals and manufactures of, cotton manufactures, wool and manufactures of, and sugar and manufactures of. The grand total of the output in 1909 of products on which the tariff would be either abolished or reduced to a revenue basis, as given by Mr. Hill, was \$13,562,310,327. The annual wages paid were \$2,138,371,515.

What would be the effect of even this partial work of Democratic tariff reform can hardly be imagined. It would mean the most disastrous times in the history of the nation. Soup houses could not feed the millions of human beings who would cry for bread under such a calamity. And yet that is the inevitable result of the Democratic tariff policy.

Assuming mechanical facilities here and abroad to be equal, which they are not, and assuming the American workman to be the better man, which he is under our system, still the effect of tariff removal would be to level down instead of up, and after every other re-

duction had been made down to the margin of a living profit labor would probably suffer some reduction in competition with foreign cheap labor.

DR. ELIOT'S TARIFF VIEWS.

T. O. Marvin in Boston Transcript.

As President Eliot's expressions of opinion on public matters will attract a great deal of attention and possibly have considerable influence, it is unfortunate that his discussion of the tariff question rests upon such erroneous assumptions.

His objections to the Republican tariff policy are that it prevents the expansion of American commerce and trade; that it protects manufacturing industries from foreign competition, which would be wholesome of them; that it supports artificial monopolies; that it raises the price of many necessaries of life; and that it keeps the country as a whole exporting the richness of its soil rather than the products of its skilled labor.

Damaging If True; but It Is Not.

This would be a damaging arraignment if it were true, but it is not. From 1870 to 1912, under forty years of a protective tariff, the internal commerce of the country has grown from \$7,000,000,000 to \$33,000,000,000, and our foreign trade has increased from \$1,000,000,000 to \$4,000,000,000. The wealth of the country has increased from \$30,000,000,000 in 1870 to \$130,000,000,000 in 1912; imports from \$435,000,000 to \$1,653,000,000; exports from \$392,000,000 to \$2,204,000,000; the value of farm property has increased from \$9,000,000,000 to \$41,000,000,000 and the value of manufactures from \$4,232,000,000 to \$20,672,000,000.

Nowhere in the annals of any other nation can be found such a remarkable development of domestic and foreign commerce. When Dr. Eliot claims that our tariff system "prevents" the expansion of American commerce and trade, he evidently uses the word in a Pickwickian sense, and certainly overlooks the fact that protectionist countries like the United States and Germany are outstripping "free-trade" England in the percentage of increase in the foreign trade.

Tariff Protects Wage-Earners.

Dr. Eliot says that our existing tariff protects manufacturing industries from foreign competition, and he might have added that it protects our wage-earners from a scale of wages which is as 100 in England to 230 here, and much less in other European and in Asiatic countries; but it does not prohibit imports, as cotton manufactures to the value of \$65,000,000 imported in the fiscal year 1912 testify, and as is demonstrated by total imports of merchandise amounting in value to \$1,653,000,000, much of which might have been raised from our own soil or manufactured in our mills and factories.

But Dr. Eliot thinks that an even larger degree of foreign competition would be "wholesome" for our manufacturers, a view which he shares with another "academic" economist, Woodrow Wilson. There are people who believe that corporal punishment is good for children, but to enforce this theory universally, whether it is deserved or not, would prove an unpopular experiment. Presumably Dr. Eliot believes that unrestricted foreign competition

would be "wholesome" for our wage-earners too. But American wage-earners who receive two or three times as much as is paid abroad for the same kind of work will not take kindly to this suggestion.

Promotes Domestic Production.

Our tariff system unquestionably promotes a great domestic production, but the tariff does not breed monopolies and trusts, for trusts and monopolies exist in low tariff and in "free trade" countries. It cannot be responsible for the Standard Oil Trust, for there are no tariff duties on crude or refined petroleum. By stimulating an enormous domestic production our tariff system reduces instead of increases the price of the necessaries of life. The increase of prices during the past few years has been due to the general prosperity of the country, which has caused a demand for our products which has equalled and in some cases exceeded the supply. Hard times are a sure cure for high prices, and Dr. Eliot and Dr. Wilson both are prescribing this infallible cure.

The most astonishing feature of Dr. Eliot's arraignment of our tariff system is his claim that it "keeps the country as a whole exporting the richness of its soil rather than the products of its skilled labor." This is completely at variance with the facts.

Large Exports of Manufactures.

Ten years ago it was predicted that the proportion between our agricultural and manufactured exports would be sixty-six to thirty-four per cent. Dr. Eliot must be thinking of the prediction, not of the

actual accomplishment, for manufactured commodities now somewhat exceed in value our export of agricultural products. We are exporting each year relatively less of "the richness of our soil" and more of "the product of our skilled labor."

During the last fiscal year our exports of copper ore increased two millions of dollars in value, but our exports of manufactures of copper increased ten millions.

Our exports of cotton increased in quantity one and one-half million pounds, but decreased twenty millions in value while our exports of cotton manufactures increased ten millions.

There was a very slight increase in the export of iron ore, pig iron and scrap iron, while the higher forms of manufacture, the product of our skilled labor, show a most notable increase; wire rods, for ex-

ample, increasing nearly three fold. Billets and ingots increased nearly a million dollars, while sheets and plates increased over twelve millions, and automobiles, certainly the product of skilled labor, increased nine millions, or nearly one hundred per cent. in one year. While iron ore shows hardly any increase, exports of manufactures of iron and steel increased from \$230,000,000 to \$268,000,000.

Under our present tariff system we are consuming relatively more of our raw and crude products and exporting more of the products of skilled labor, exactly the opposite of what Dr. Eliot claims, and the conclusion to be drawn from these facts is necessarily just the reverse of the conclusion which Dr. Eliot draws.

The protective tariff policy should be maintained and the Republican candidates should be re-elected.

LABOR'S INVESTMENT IN INDUSTRIAL PROSPERITY.

By Thomas Chalmers.

There never was a time in the history of this country when there was greater need for patience and intelligence in the effort to find the path of peace and justice for industry than now. The careful observer to-day claims to sense a widespread feeling of unrest if not discontent. This feeling is said to show itself in the disposition to insurgency, the temper to overthrow the established order whether within the ranks of political parties or in government in

general. It now and then bursts forth in grimmer form, defying even the pangs of hunger, the bayonets of the militia and the severing of family ties. We are told that these outbreaks are the signs and rumblings of social and industrial revolution. Those who have been craving for revolution are inflamed to fanatical enthusiasm by such a prospect. There is a rush for the torch, the bomb, the dynamite, for one quick blow may throw the social

order into chaos again, from which the millionaire will emerge a pauper and the pauper a millionaire. The real anarchist, however, is in a hopeless minority. The general public confuses socialism and anarchy, but there is a fundamental difference between them. The destroyer is a vulture. He feeds on social dissolution and death. He hovers about every industrial battlefield.

But the rank and file of American citizens are peaceful, industrious, hopeful. They have ambitions for themselves or their children after them. They have seen the vast possibilities for individual advancement and prosperity in this country even though they may not have shared in them. But they are willing to work and wait. They don't want revolution. The vast majority of the members of the labor organizations are on record against revolution. The effort to overthrow the wage system does not meet with approval from the wage earner. The most effective movements in the interest of labor during the history of the world were those movements which established the wage system, which lifted the laboring man from feudal servitude, dignified his claim to a share in the prosperity he helped create, and gave him a wage for his toil, and the right to the private ownership of property. The sense of security in their rights to their wages and the savings from their industry in the form of private property was the cause of the growth of the big towns, the thriving cities of Europe in the middle ages. "The consciousness that they could not be individually despoiled of their possessions," says Hallam, "inspired an industry and perseverance which all the ra-

capacity of Norman kings and barons was unable to daunt or overcome." The greatest war ever fought on this continent and one of the greatest of all time was fought to establish the wage system and the right to the ownership of private property for four million blacks. To be sure, some of the descendants of the men who were held in wageless villanage by medieval feudal lords have now, by virtue of the victories won by their fathers accumulated vast and superfluous possessions of private property, and have become wage payers instead of wage earners. A few instances of that sort are not sufficient to turn the average intelligent wage earner against a system which was established for his benefit, and which cannot be overthrown without a bigger revolution than any that seems likely at the present time. No industrial revolution is at all probable, if the leaders of industry and of public opinion use ordinary judgment in the discussion and the handling of industrial disputes.

The prosperity of a community must be more or less general. Prosperity is like the air we breathe. It cannot be appropriated by individuals. It cannot be kept under lock and key. Suppose, for instance, there were a community here in New England in which the entire population was poor, with no money in circulation and the people living by barter. Suppose a stranger should move into that community bringing vast amounts of money with him. He could not remain without shelter, so he first buys a house and land. He is hungry, but he cannot eat gold. He must exchange his gold for eggs and milk, potatoes and corn. He must have service, so he

exchanges his gold for labor. He discovers soon that gold is of less real value than many other things, and that a man can live longer on cracked corn than he can on double eagles. He discovers that in the last analysis the man who has food or labor to sell is more independent than he who has only gold to sell. He must exchange his gold for the means of life. Grant that he is rich. So much the better for his neighbors. He must share his riches with them. He must make the advances. The advantage of position really remains with them. They don't need to meet him at the town line and say, "Make an equal distribution of your gold among us, or you cannot settle in our town." The distribution of his wealth will follow in the very nature of things. The same thing is true when wealth pours in to those already living in the community. Now and then a miser hoards his gold, but his satisfaction and rewards are so meagre that rational people don't follow his example. It is sometimes said that the vast industries of the country are in but a comparatively few hands, that the stock of the most prosperous corporations is closely held. That is too true, but let us not despair. Streams of wealth, like streams of water, seek the level. The profits which our looms and spindles bring to New England every year, ultimately reach the laboring man, the merchant, the farmer, and every other trade or profession. We are all interested in the prosperity of every industry and every individual. A high rate of wages paid in any industrial community means good business profits for the merchants and other classes. Large profits and

large dividends are also gratifying assurance of the stability of wages. This is not the place for an argument on protection, but if we may take for granted that certain prosperous industries in New England have been built up and rest upon a protective tariff, then we may also take for granted that the wage earning classes dependent upon those industries will be equally concerned with the stock-holding classes in the maintenance of the system upon which that industrial prosperity rests. Intelligent labor may justly fight for a fair share in industrial prosperity itself. When the relations between labor and capital became strained to the point of either destroying property or deliberately voting to turn aside the inflowing currents of prosperity, they have passed the normal stage. What we want is, not to plead for the protective system, but to establish the fact that the real essential interests of labor, capital and the general public, are common. The larger the profits of industry, the surer and better the wages. The larger the wages to the laboring man, the greater the general prosperity. There should be no working at cross purposes. New England is a great manufacturing region, the most condensed and highly organized industrial section in America, if not in the world. It has higher paid labor, a better cared for population, better advantages, better and more human laws, larger educational facilities and greater freedom and opportunity for individual effort than can be found in any other like industrial territory on earth. I make this as a general claim, and as such it can hardly be disputed. Belgium leads the nations

in Europe in density of population. But our own Rhode Island exceeds her with a population of 508.5 to the square mile, Massachusetts a close rival with 418.8 to the square mile. Belgium has a soil of great fertility, a history reaching back to the days of Caesar, is situated at the centre of European commerce, the meeting point of the greatest nations of the world. The growth and prosperity of New England do not rest on the fertility of her soil, the reach of her history, the glories of her climate or any special commercial advantages in her location, but on her capacity for initiative and enterprise and upon her powers of sustained toil. The maintenance of her industrial ranks as well as her historic heritage is the business of her entire population. But it is the business chiefly of her laboring classes. Labor has the biggest investment at stake in industrial prosperity.

Let us divide the industries of New England into primary and secondary forms. (1) The things we manufacture, not for ourselves exclusively, but for the world, are the sources of our financial prosperity. They are the things that bring in our surplus of gold. They are our means of livelihood. The cotton and woolen goods, the shoes, the watches and jewelry, and a multitude of other things the world buys and pays for—these are our financial staples, by whose profits we grow in wealth. A dairy farmer may have a flourishing vegetable garden for his own domestic use. He may expend much labor on his garden, but it is not his primary form of industry. He makes his money in milk. (2) The things we make for our own use are secondary forms of industry.

The prosperity that flows in to us from abroad enables us to spend more at home. There are houses to build and adorn, estates to improve, food to be produced, stores, banks, schools, churches, libraries to be provided, manned and stocked. These things also call for vast and varied industry, but it is a secondary form, it is dependent upon the primary form. I am emphasizing this point in order to answer the question sometimes raised against the protection or encouragement of certain industries and the neglect of others. In general it is the primary forms of industry that should be safeguarded, promoted, encouraged. The secondary forms of industry will reap the full benefits of the resultant prosperity, though indirectly. Those industries that exist to meet our own immediate wants, physical, mental or spiritual—the carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, food producers, printers, preachers, school teachers—will flourish with the primary forms of industry, I mean those that have brought us our growth in population. The population of Boston in 1840 was a little over ninety-three thousand. It is now 670,000. It owes this immense growth within the memory of men still active, not to agriculture, carpentry or even to the taste for literature and the fine arts. It owes its growth to the humming industries that have flourished in the surrounding communities of New England during that period. Since that time Lowell has grown from 20,000 to more than 106,000; Lynn from 9,000 to 90,000; New Bedford from 12,000 to nearly 100,000; Lawrence and Manchester, each moving towards the 100,000 mark, were scarcely in existence at that time.

The total population of Massachusetts was then but 737,699, hardly more than the one city of Boston now claims. Do we realize the value to the human race of this immense increase in the capacity by which New England civilization has during these years provided a field for the play and development of human life? From the open windows of the attic study in which I write, I can look out upon a wide expanse of homes and mills stretching away to the hills beyond the Merrimac. I can hear the voices of children at play, and hear the beat of passing footsteps. I see men on their way home from work, and hear the rattle of delivery wagons. New homes are going up along the hillside above. Here are all the means of life and civilization for 76,000 human souls. In 1840, it was but a charming site for a thriving city, with a name, a hope and a start, and but little more. If it is a blessing and a joy to be allowed the right and opportunity of life, this increased capacity of human civilization is well worth while. If he is a benefactor to his kind who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before, so is he who enables ten human beings to live where but one could have lived before. The spirit of New England in the middle of the last century, if we may judge by the things we read from those days, was not hopeful of the possibilities of this region. The great possibilities for advancement were in the undeveloped west. The brightest young men were going west. They didn't even go fast enough for Horace Greeley. Yet, against the discouraging advice of her own sons and without the natural advantages of

the west and south, she has gone on with her beneficent mission. She has held her place. Fortunately not all her bright young men went west at the bidding of Horace Greeley. She is entitled to a new lease of confidence. She is getting it. Even her agriculture, supposed to be hopelessly distanced by nature's gifts to the western prairies, is awakening under intelligent leadership, to a sense of its own immense advantages in the possession of this stupendous market which has grown up in its presence within the past two generations.

In conclusion, let me say that New England is a wholesome region to live in. It has a rigorous but invigorating climate. It has splendid educational and religious traditions. It has been distinguished for its political sanity, its social graces of charity and liberality, its intellectual hospitality. Its very atmosphere seems to absorb the poisons of bigotry, political bitterness and social hysteria into a harmless solution. There is vice, there is wretchedness, there is crime in New England, but they are not due to the New England spirit, and we have a feeling that they would be a little worse anywhere else. There are social and industrial wrongs to be righted. But there is the disposition to right them. We have been running into the dangers of a period of mutual suspicion and distrust. There has even been heard the cry of violence and almost the clash of arms. Laboring men have in some cases seemed disposed to conclude that their political and industrial interests must by the nature of the case run counter to those of their employer. The employing classes on

the other hand in some cases seem to doubt the essentially peaceable and law-abiding purposes of their employees. They talk as if they were conscious of living on the heated crust of a crater. At this very time it is the business of thoughtful men, and of no one more than of the

Christian minister to strive to see and exhibit to these classes their common interests. The laboring men and the general public, as well as the stockholding class, have a real investment in the industrial peace and prosperity of New England and America.

BRITISH PROSPERITY NOT DUE TO FREE TRADE.

From Our London Correspondent.

London, October 15, 1912.

There is a fallacy very prevalent in England that British commercial prosperity is due to Free Trade. This idea has been carefully fostered in the public mind by the press and the Cobden Club. Our prosperity has been coincident with the operation of Free Trade; but it does not at all necessarily follow that it is a result of that policy.

If we very carefully examine the facts we shall see that our great leading industries were established and brought to maturity under a policy of strict protection; that in addition to great natural advantages, such as our insular position and an abundant coal supply, Britain was the only country in Europe left undisturbed by invasion during the Napoleonic wars; that we held then, as we still hold, undisputed control of the sea; and that practically all the great inventions which have given such an impetus to commercial development—such as the spinning jenny, the power loom and the steam engine—were originated in Great Britain be-

fore Free Trade came into operation. These causes are quite sufficient to account for the commercial progress made by Great Britain apart altogether from the policy of free imports.

Indeed, this has been the view taken by some of the most eminent Free Trade statesmen. Professor Fawcett, an economist of worldwide fame, said: "We in England are much too prone to overrate the advantages of Free Trade. Scarcely a week elapses without its being said, as if it were a triumphant rejoinder to all that is urged by the American, the Continental and the Colonial Protectionist, English exports and imports have more than quadrupled since Protection was abolished; the income of the country as shown by the yield of income tax has more than doubled; wages have advanced and population has increased. But a moment's consideration would show that other causes have been in operation besides Free Trade to promote this wonderful growth of prosperity." Again, the late Duke of Dev-

onshire, certainly one of the most prominent Free Traders of the 19th century, pointed out the chief cause of our prosperity in a speech made in 1877, when he declared, "It may be said, I think it is no exaggeration to say it, that almost all the progress this country has made in the last half century is mainly due to the development of the railway system."

But if we were to grant the assumption of the Free Traders, it would be no reason why we should be perpetually bound hand and foot to an old system, in view of the vast and far-reaching changes which have taken place in the world since it was introduced.

It is said that an alteration of our fiscal system must necessarily mean a tax on food and that thereby the cost of living would be raised. Well, the answer to that is that we raised £9,940,000 in 1910-1911 by import duties on the following articles:

	Rate of Duty	Amount Raised
Tea	1 d. per lb.	£ 5,939,000
Sugar	1 s. 10 d. per cwt.	2,965,000
Coffee	1-½ d. per lb.	179,000
Chicory	2 d. " "	46,000
Cocoa	1 d. " "	339,000
Figs, plums, prunes & raisins	7 s. per cwt.	124,000
Currants	2 s. per cwt.	124,000
	Total	£9,940,000

It must be remembered that not one of these articles is produced at home, so that the duties are necessarily paid by the consumer. The duties it is proposed to place on wheat, meat and dairy produce would fall, partly at least, on the foreign producer, since these articles compete with home grown produce.

While dealing with the question of taxation of foodstuffs, I may add the

following table which is very interesting and is taken from the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society (England) for June, 1908.

Comparative Taxation on Food, Drink and Tobacco.

The following figures show the amount per head of the population raised by taxes on food in the chief commercial countries in 1905-1906:

	Food		Drink		Tobacco		Total	
	s	d	s	d	s	d	£	s
United Kingdom	6	5	17	5	6	2	1	10
Germany	9	10	4	5	1	5		15
France	8	3	9	5	7	8	1	5
United States	3	5	10	7	3	7		17

It should be added that the tariffs on food, drink and tobacco have since been raised in the United Kingdom, France and Germany, but with probably little if any effect upon the relative proportion of such taxation per head of population.

Another fallacy which is gradually being exploded is that a duty always and necessarily raises the price of the article on which it is imposed. It is generally admitted that the effect of any duty on prices must depend in the case of competitive imports on the extent of the competition between the dutiable and the duty-free supply. The Cobden Club itself in a publication called "Fact and Fiction" states that "The system of Protection has not raised the price of food to the workers in America." There are many more witnesses to the same effect among Free Traders, but the above extract is enough. The facts I have given above are gradually sinking into the minds of the people here, and will inevitably have a decided effect later on.

F. C. CHAPPELL.

ARMAGEDDON.

BY ROLAND RINGWALT.

Conceding that there is no new thing under the sun one is yet occasionally surprised by the reappearance of old things. The bungalow may usher in a long train of Oriental customs; indeed, the roof garden is distinctly Oriental; and Japanese fashions, with the kimono as an *avant-courier* may become popular. Whenever a new or supposedly new step is taken in science the old tongue of Greece invariably furnishes us with a name. In politics, literature and metaphysics a term, an idea, a school of thought may lie dormant only to wake like the princess in the fairy tale.

Roosevelt has precedent for dragging in his pet phrase of standing "at Armageddon." There were many among the early Christians who supposed that the beast in Revelation with the mystical number six hundred sixty and six meant "Nero Caesar," while another rendering made "Lateinos," thus symbolizing the persecuting Roman empire. Both interpretations are rational enough, and today as one thinks of the vast evil power of the throne and the sufferings of the scattered believers it is easy to accept both renderings, one as a broad portrayal of a heathen monarchy, the other as a condensed portrait of a ruler without compassion.

But the fashion of interpreting the visions of the book of Revelation to fit the wars, the controversies, the convulsions of the day went on for centuries. In time, the number 666 was found to apply to the Mahomedan power. At the time of the Reformation, divers enthusiasts ap-

plied it to the Pope, but it also spelled out Martin Luther. The dragon, the beast, the woman clothed with the sun, the mystical portions of Revelation were seized on by every man whose brain gave way under long study of the Scriptures, or who was driven mad by the persecution of religious opponents. It is hardly two generations since a fanatic told Macaulay that Napoleon Bonaparte was the beast because he had found 666 in his name. Macaulay looked doubtful when the expounder demanded "If he was not the beast, who was?" "Sir," replied Macaulay, "the House of Commons is the beast. There are 658 members, and if you add 8 officers of the House you have 666." Macaulay experimented with an Oriental tongue, and learned that his own name, with three letters omitted, would make 666.

Never in the eighteen centuries since the Apostle was in Patmos did the fanatical interpretation of the Apocalypse run so wild as in Cromwell's time. The crazed enthusiasts of that day handled the Scriptures as freely as the Socialists handle the Constitution or the Suffragettes handle anybody who opposes them. Frenzied speakers told how four great monarchies had passed away, and how the Fifth Monarchy of Jesus Christ was about to dawn. If it was hinted by a Cavalier whose house was searched by unmannerly troopers and who saw the old parish church defaced by brute force—if such a man hinted that all this savored of tyranny, the answer was that now the reign of the saints had begun.

Probably "Armageddon" was a phrase that sounded every hour, and

it is an odd coincidence that the man who introduces "Armageddon" into the politics of 1912 should be a biographer of Oliver Cromwell.

Scripture is used every day by editors and speakers. The moral lessons are emphasized, the wisdom of the Proverbs is quoted, the melody of the Psalms, the ecstasies of the prophets, the arguments of St. Paul's Epistles, the parables of Him who spake as never man spake, are part of our daily language. It surprised no one that Scott wove the sacred text into his noblest chapters, or that Lincoln blended it with his speeches and messages. There was no irreverence in Garfield's saying that we work out our material salvation in fear and trembling, or in Senator Jones' picture of the locomotive leading the column of modern progress like a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. Webster said that Hamilton struck the rock of public credit, and streams gushed forth. Mahan's command of Scripture adds new force to his narrative, nor is there in recent biography a passage more striking than his picture of Nelson's domestic life—his affection for his wife decayed, and the house was empty, swept and garnished before the evil spirit entered.

Men will quote Scripture just as they will draw their illustrations from nature. But the fanatical misuse of Revelation, the comparisons between the mysterious language of St. John and the last rout in war or the last overturning in politics brought on a reaction. When about thirty years ago a political agitator found that William E. Gladstone would make 666 the antiquarian part of England was amused, and the

modern part was disgusted. A Presidential candidate who uses the slang of the prize ring may consider himself modern, but the Armageddon in comparison hints at some half-mad sergeant in Cromwell's army.

Armageddon with the mighty voice from the throne, with the thunders, the lightnings and the earthquake, with the fall of Babylon and the crash of the hail on the blasphemers is a grand passage—not a scene to be mixed with a brass band and a campaign song. If Roosevelt believes that, all who do not vote for him are under the curse of Heaven to be smitten by weighty hailstones he is as fanatical as Scott's Habakkuk Mucklewrath, but Mucklewrath was content with his Puritan phraseology and did not confound it with "slugging one over the ropes" or sundry expressions drawn from the prize ring.

The head and tail of the Democratic national ticket do not seem to belong to the same animal, as concerns the tariff question. In a speech at Cleveland, Governor Wilson said we probably should never see the time when the present fiscal policy of this country can be altered in any substantial degree, and therefore there was little danger that the country would have free trade. But the Democratic candidate for Vice President boldly advocates the policy of undoing the work that Protection has accomplished, and putting the country on a free trade basis. He fully endorses the plank in the Democratic platform which declares that under the Constitution the Federal government has no right or power to impose tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue.

STOCK TAKING IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The Operation of "Free Trade."

By a Student of British Politics.

Industrial stock-taking, adapted to concerns of national magnitude and importance, may yield results equally gratifying or disappointing as those derivable from the probing of ordinary business undertakings, a truth which British economists are being given abundant opportunity of realizing. The unsatisfactory revelations of recent official reports are rendered no more acceptable by the circumstance that a Liberal Government, claiming lineal succession from Cobden and his colleagues, is the medium through which much disillusionment is being brought home to British "Free Traders."

Take, for instance, some of the figures to be found in Part IV of "Agricultural Statistics, 1911," recently issued by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. In that year the United Kingdom imported approximately \$750,000,000 worth of agricultural produce, not including sugar, rice and lard, which are otherwise classified in the returns. Meat, the largest item, covered in round numbers \$240,000,000, wheat and flour \$220,000,000, while butter, cheese and eggs accounted for more than \$200,000,000 of the balance. These figures, sufficiently striking in themselves when the natural agricultural capabilities of the United Kingdom are borne in mind, become really startling when contrasted with conditions prevailing half a century ago. Taking the seven-year period 1856-62, the mean annual total of these

imports was less than \$140,000,000, giving a per capita value of \$4.72. In the period 1905-11 the mean annual total had risen to \$740,000,000 and the per capita value to \$16.14. There has therefore been an increase, in fifty years, represented by the difference between 100 and 342 in the annual per capita imports of these essential items of British living.

The decline in native wheat production is a serious factor in these tabulations. The large per capita increase in imports is indicated by a mean annual weight of 114 pounds, valued at \$3.04, for the earlier quinquennial period, as compared with 286 pounds, valued at \$4.93, in the later. The annual domestic production during the later period amounted to only 80 pounds per capita, from which the quantity used for seed must be deducted.

Cobden's Fallacies Refuted.

And how do these conditions compare with the roseate predictions of Richard Cobden on which Britain's adoption of "Free Trade" was largely based? Speaking on October 19, 1843, he said: "Our object is not to diminish the demand for labor in the agricultural districts, but I verily believe, if the principles of Free Trade were fairly carried out they would give just as much stimulus to the demand for labor in the agricultural as in the manufacturing districts."

No wonder, then, that as stated in the "Free Trade" Daily Chronicle (London) of September 17: "For nearly half a century the population of rural England has been steadily declining. During the ten years 1891-1901, 500,654 persons left the villages for industrial districts, for America and the Colonies. . . . One may drive for miles along the lanes and between the fields in the south country without seeing any signs of human life save a solitary road mender or hedge cutter. The emptiness and silence at last become disquieting; it is as if some spell had been laid on the land rendering it mute, nor until the country town comes in sight does the sense that some evil magic is at work disappear." So much for Cobden's prophetic genius!

The Living Wage.

When the results of Cobdenism as affecting British manufacturing pursuits are examined, just as little com-

More than this, Mr. Snowden shows that "Since about 1900 there has been no regular movement upward in wages, but that the tendency, if at all marked, has been rather backward than forward." This, too, during a period in which the prices of necessaries have continuously advanced, until "the real wages of the workers have declined since the beginning of this century by more than 13 per cent."

All this prepares one for the showing made by the half-yearly trade returns just issued by the British Government, at a period hailed by "Free Traders" as affording a triumphant record for British industrial progress. The following tabular comparison not only extinguishes any satisfaction to be found in the contemplation of British figures alone, that is to say, without any reference to the simultaneous and overwhelming advance of other countries, but leads to the presump-

Exports.

	(Six months ending June)		
	1910	1912	Increase
	£	£	per cent.
United Kingdom	204,586,000	225,313,000	10
Germany	174,183,000	205,551,000	18
U. S. America	163,349,000	225,106,000	37

fort is derived from the process. In a recent work on "The Living Wage," Mr. Philip Snowden, the Socialist representative of a Lancashire cotton district in the House of Commons, shows that, in the great textile industries of England, "on the average something like one-half of the adult men, most of whom have a family dependent upon their earnings, do not earn 25 shillings [\$6.10] a week, and that, of this half, a very considerable proportion receive very much less than £1 [\$4.87] a week."

tion that Britain's claim as the greatest exporting nation may soon be yielded to the United States.

London's Sweated Labor.

The foregoing reference to "Free Trade" exultation in regard to British commerce suggests the inquiry whether any legitimate satisfaction can be derived from the conditions under which much labor is employed in swelling the vaunted returns. The Daily News and Leader, a London Liberal organ, of September 7, quotes the following suggestive

prices paid by London firms to home workers employed by them; they appear in a report by Mrs. Catherine Young, sanitary inspector in the borough of Islington, who offers them as "a fair sample of the prevailing rate, as far as the Metropolis is concerned."

"Elaborately trimmed blouses, 36 cents per dozen.

"Camisoles, more than half composed of fine insertion, and lace trimming, 36 cents per dozen.

"Heavy cloth mantles, full length, with smart finish, including buttons and button-holes, 14 cents each.

"Bathing costumes, with braided jackets and knickers, 2 1/2 cents each."

A sorry stock-taking, indeed!

FREE TRADERS' MISSTATEMENTS.

Robert Ellis Thompson in the Irish World.

I am convinced that Gov. Wilson is honest, although prejudiced and ill-informed. But a very different estimate must be formed of Mr. R. K. MacLea, who has been enlightening the readers of *The World* about the injustices of the Cotton Schedule. This gentleman was one of the experts employed by Mr. Taft's Tariff Commission, and took an oath not to disclose any information contained in the schedules, lists or statements obtained for or prepared by the Tariff Board, to any person or persons, except those designated by the Board." But he now announces that a piece of goods described in the Report of the Commission, was made in the mills of U. S. Senator Lippitt of Rhode Island, and that it was sold at a profit of

over fifty per cent. above the cost of making.

If this were true, it could be known to Mr. MacLea only through his access to the figures Senator Lippitt's mills furnished to the Commission confidentially, as was done by 8 firms engaged in this industry. Furthermore this honorable and sworn agent of the government asserts that no less than nine of the samples catalogued by the Commission came from the Senator's mills; that these enjoy a practical monopoly of their production; and that the Senator is not contented with rates of duty ranging from over 51 to over 69 per cent. on these, but asks for increased protection.

Senator Lippitt answers that the sample selected for especial exposure is not made in his mills at all; that the products of which his mills are said to have a monopoly, are shown by the Commission's report to be produced in at least six other establishments out of the 81 which reported, and probably by a much greater number of the two thousand firms in the business; and that the profit on the unbleached article was the difference between six and three-quarter cents and seven and a half cents a yard. Also that he never asked or suggested an increase in the duty on cotton goods, but on the contrary disclaimed any such wish.

Also that Mr. MacLea has nothing to go upon in saying that the American cost of production is less than the English, as the Commission could get no information as to the English cost; that three of the nine articles he specifies were actually selling for less than their English rivals: and that in spite of a fifty per cent. duty, the other six were selling

for less than fifteen cents a yard, while if the duty had been "added to the price," they would have sold for twenty. Mr. MacLea was formerly connected with a firm which imported these goods, and may be so still. But a man may rank as an expert, without being truthful, or observant of his oaths.

Why is every campaign for Free Trade tainted by wilful misstatements, and trickery? In that of 1892 pedlars were sent through some Ohio districts, furnished with tin kettles, which they offered at a dollar each, declaring that this was the selling price under the new duty on imported tinware! Henry Clay exposed similar trickery in the elections of 1840 and 1844. Perhaps it is because the facts are all on the side of Protection, and fictions must be the resort of its enemies.

GROSS MISREPRESENTATION OF TEXTILE MANUFACTURERS.

From Fibre and Fabric.

In recent years it has been the practice to place the blame for everything from tuberculosis to the high cost of living to the textile manufacturers. Through a protective tariff these manufacturers became robber barons and overworked and underpaid labor and in some unexplained manner made the high cost of living. The labor unrest since the first of the year has been blamed upon the mill men, because they, fattening under a protective tariff, would not pay a wage that offered the mass of work people a decent living. The cry has been raised as a result, from Maine to California, "down with the textile

mills" and every politician from Wilson to the ward heelers are telling tales about the mills, and misrepresenting them on the tariff and labor questions, for the purpose of gaining votes.

We are anxious to get more light on this high cost of living. Coal is advancing, meat is unreasonably high, butter and eggs are quite luxuries, and the poor consumer is told that the only reason for it is the tariff on cottons and woolens. Where this schedule K and I applies we cannot imagine. Cotton or wool or any of its standard products would make mighty poor filling for any empty stomach, yet the high costs of modern living are a direct result of the textile tariff if we believe the free trade orators.

The sole cause for the Lawrence disturbances is given by clergymen, college professors, muckrakers and allied interests as lack of a living wage and the fact that the textile mills employ many thousands of workers is excuse for selecting the textile industry as the only industry in America where the operatives do not receive a living wage. But new light is being shed on the subject and it has very direct bearing on the tariff issue. The shoe manufacturing industry gives employment to thousands of men and women of the same undesirable class as have been forced upon the textile mills. Hides, the raw material of the shoe industry, comes in duty free, yet shoes have advanced and now shoe labor is restless because wages are not enough to afford a decent living in the opinion of labor agitators. The shoe industry has no foreign competitors and under the free hides

shoes cost more and labor claims to be underpaid.

Clergymen and college professors, muck-rakers and allied interests fail to discuss the shoe industry, but the textile industry, burdened with restrictive legislation, kept on the rack by home competition, and wrecked to a large extent if not given tariff protection against foreign competitors paying one-half or less than the American wage, is heralded the country over as working its operatives at starvation wages and making the poor consumer pay double for coal, meat, butter, eggs, etc.

For good reasons, there must be a goat. The textile industry, paying out over \$350,000,000 each year in wages, is made the goat, probably because it is a "square deal" industry, undercapitalized rather than overcapitalized, entirely free from trusts and not paying tribute to press or politicians.

A BOOMERANG ARGUMENT.

From the Buffalo Express.

With a view of deriding the Republican policy of Protection of home industries, Democratic leaders have arranged in New York an exposition mistakenly called the "Tariff Chamber of Horrors." But instead of holding the Republican party up to ridicule, or assailing the Protective Tariff, the Democratic managers of the exposition have brought to the attention of the American voters a convincing argument for the continuance of Republican rule.

The exhibit consists chiefly of a model American home—a model in that it represents the furnishings and appointments of the home of the

average American workingman. The various articles of furniture and household use are tagged, supposedly to show the cost added to each by the Protective Tariff. Cardboard signs show what is represented to be the lower cost of these American-made articles in European markets. The amount of duty on the various materials composing the household articles is made the basis of erroneous calculation as to the tax of the Tariff. The whole is mistakenly construed as an argument for Free-Trade.

But the Democrats have erred. The typical American home is the strongest kind of argument for the Protective Tariff. Not even our great industries are as representative of the benefits of Protection as is the American home. Contrast the home of the American workingman with that of the laborer in Free-Trade England. In furnishings and appointments the American home is greatly superior. The higher wage scale of the United States, a consequence of the Protective Tariff, has given the American workingman luxuries as well as necessities for his home. The wage scale of England will not permit the laboring classes to furnish their homes so completely and conveniently, even though the cost of American products is reduced in English markets.

"INFANT" INDUSTRIES.

From the Camden Post-Telegram.

In our colonial days Parliament sought to crush our manufactures, and in the first years of the republic our workshops were crude affairs. But, under the Embargo, with foreign trade cut off, various industries sprang up, and the War of 1812, suspending in great degree our foreign trade, gave

them a longer lease. These manufactures would probably be admitted by the Governor to rank as our infant industries.

But while twins are occasional arrivals, and triplets not unknown, the normal course of human affairs is one child at a time. The tariff of 1824 helped new industries unknown to Alexander Hamilton, the tariff of 1828 stimulated new outpourings of capital into new channels of industry, the Mexican war brought on further movements. Steam-boat building was once an infant, the ocean steamship was an infant of later birth, the iron steamship came later. Many of our early railroads made shift with wooden rails, the iron rail was an advance, the steel rail a novelty, heavier rails took the place of lighter ones. American glass, American pottery, American silk, American tin plate have all been infants, and all grew to substantial bulk.

Here and there we still find an old house made of English brick, and in many a house we see English cutlery. It is not so long since the plush industry was transplanted here. One after another industry is born, and justifies the care it receives.

Suppose that a new chemical process, a new mineral discovery, or a new mechanical invention is announced, and that it promises to build up a giant industry. Would Governor Wilson favor duties that might shield the infant from British or German rivalry, or would he allow it to be strangled in the cradle? There may be several promising infants within the next ten years.

THE TARIFF VIEWS OF THE CANDIDATES.

From the Michigan Manufacturer.

The public has at last been formally notified of the tariff views held by Dr. Wilson, the Democratic candidate for president. The Republican view had already been expressed both in the platform and Mr. Taft's letter of acceptance. The present president is held to an acceptance of a stiff protective plank in his party

platform, and while his own views appear to be slightly in modification of that plank it is fair to assume that the Congress elected on that platform will be strongly protectionist. The Democratic platform, on the other hand, is pronouncedly in favor of tariff for revenue, and, being such, it is surprising that the candidate of the party presents the views which appear in his speech of acceptance.

Put into the shortest compass, Dr. Wilson's views are, that however desirable it may be from a party standpoint, that protection shall cease to be the economical policy of the government, the fact still remains that American business has been built upon and has adjusted itself to the protective system. Any speedy or radical departure from that system would necessarily result in shock to the commercial organization which has been erected in this country, and, therefore, it is Dr. Wilson's view that the readjustment should come very slowly and very cautiously.

It is worth remarking at this point that the candidate is much saner than the convention which put him into running. It is, however, extremely doubtful that a House of Representatives elected upon the Democratic platform would possibly make such a variation from the party declaration of the subject of revenue reform as has been made by the candidate for the presidency.

It is noteworthy that Professor Wilson, like every theorist on the subject of revenue reform, is anxious that the subject shall be studied and the determinations made by a tariff commission. First of all, a tariff commission cannot possibly make its own work effective. No revenue bill can be passed in any other way than

by being introduced in the house. Once there, it will be referred to an appropriate committee, and so long as we continue to have a representative form of government, that committee will permit citizens of the United States who are interested in the subject to approach its presence and make representations either in favor of or opposed to the proposed measure.

Here we are again up against the hearings which the tariff commission is supposed to avoid, and we must continue to have those hearings so long as this government remains representative. All the study, all the investigation, all the collected wisdom brought together by the tariff commission, can have before the house committee only the same standing that the judgment or experience of any other citizen or set of citizens may have before it; with this added defect in regard to the data furnished by the tariff commission, that it does not express either the experience or the judgment of people actually engaged in trade or industry.

As a matter of fact, tariff commissions and all other special commissions of the government are usually composed of very excellent old gentlemen, who having failed of election to the Senate or House are entitled to the protection of the predominating party in their declining years; and where the commissions are by law required to be representative of both the leading parties, the minority party's of some good old fellows whose fortunes have gone wrong. Special commissions of the government are very generally charity propositions and are rarely com-

posed of men whose experience in actual production of merchandising have qualified them to discuss the topic permitted to them for study.

Dr. Wilson's views, like President Taft's, are not orthodox as to their representative party's platform. The American producer and the American laborer who are looking for the true clue to the policy of whichever party goes into power will have to look at the platform of the party itself, as framed in its national convention, to discover what is to be the political pilot chart of the Congress which will be chosen at the coming national election.

It makes little difference to either the captain of industry or the private engaged in industry which of the two leading candidates for the presidency shall achieve the high honor for which both are striving. It does make a substantial difference what the congressmen chosen by the various districts shall represent in an economic way. Wherefore, we repeat anew the views often given in these columns to manufacturers and employes, that they should not pay nearly so much attention to the presidential campaign so far as it involves candidates as they do to the various congressional campaigns, in each of which there is at least one man who favors a continuance of the protective policy, and opposed to him a candidate who believes in its discontinuance. Each candidate is honest according to his lights and there is no difficulty finding out what each of them favors. Neither goes behind the bush to declare the faith that is in him. Therefore, there is no difficulty in picking out the protectionist.

AS OTHERS SEE US.

The Irish Weekly Mail, in a recent issue, pays a frank tribute to the soundness of American commercial methods and at same time states a fundamental economic principle in words worth quoting and remembering: "All scientific economics are at present dominated by the conception of the supreme importance of the larger market—what economists call the law of increasing returns—viz., that the larger the market you have available for the disposal of your goods the more you can sell; the more you can sell the cheaper you can produce; the cheaper you can produce the greater the profit; and the greater the profit the lower the price you can afford to take, thereby improving your appeal to purchasers and so still further extending your markets, and so on indefinitely. It is to the practical application of these principles to politics and industry, by great up-to-date students of practical economy, that the immense prosperity of the United States at the present time is due."

Free Traders please note and ponder!

REMEMBER THE WILSON
TARIFF.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

The Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter of New York, commenting on the situation, remarked that "Election does not seem to have its customary effect on business, and it is pretty generally disregarded in forecasting the future position of the paint trade. Tariff revision is too remote to exert much influence, so

that no real unfavorable condition can be conjured up to cast a shadow upon the favorable outlook." The Chronicle is reluctant to suggest the possibility of the editor of the Oil and Paint Reporter being too sanguine, but it conceives it to be its duty to remind him—and the others who show a disposition to forget, or who talk in ignorance of recent history—that the conditions in 1912 closely resemble those which existed in the United States in 1892, and that they were followed by the greatest commercial depression ever experienced in the United States.

As late as July 29, 1892, the New York Herald, in its commercial columns, facetiously complained of the weariness occasioned it by the necessity of recording continued and abounding prosperity. There was an undertone of mockery in the comment, which was directed at the protectionists, who sounded a warning note. There was no politics in the article, but there was benevolent derision of the pessimism of Republicans who could be so foolish as to fear trouble while the country was floating on the high tide of industrial progress.

A couple of months later the Cleveland hosts were marching the streets, singing, "Four more years of Grover, and we will all be in clover," and were derisively proclaiming that the American workman was not skillful enough to make tinplate, and that he could never hope to acquire the necessary skill. An infatuated people, disregarding previous experiences or forgetful of their occurrence, voted for Cleveland and free trade, and bang! went the balloon of prosperity. The echoes of the Grover-clover songs

had scarcely died away before Cockey's army was marching on the capital. The fires under the boilers of the factories were drawn and their doors were shut, and those of the public soup houses were opened. The howl for cheapness was answered. Prices were absurdly low, but half of the Nation being out of a job there was no money with which to buy things, and production fell off nearly 40 per cent.

It is a good thing to keep these facts in mind. It is well to recall that it was Wilson, and men like him, who ridiculed the apprehensions of the protectionists, and it is also well to get a firm grip on the fact that the professional man who advocates free trade is not a disinterested adviser. His salary is worth more to him when the wages of labor are low than when they are high and the producer is adequately rewarded for his toil. Wilson and his school of economists were wrong in 1892, and they are no more likely to be right now than they were then. Time may tell. Let us hope that it will not, and that the people will come to their senses before the blunder is made.

PROTECTION CONSTITUTIONAL.

George Washington approved the first tariff act passed by the American Congress in 1789, which contained these words: "It is necessary for the support of the government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandise imported."

In 1912 the Democratic national convention, dominated by Mr.

Bryan, nominated Mr. Wilson on this platform declaration: "The Federal Government, under the Constitution, has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue." Who was right—George Washington, John Adams, Fisher Ames, Roger Sherman, James Monroe, James Madison, Charles Carroll, Rufus King and the other great men who supported the declaration of 1789, or Mr. Bryan and his Democratic followers, including Woodrow Wilson, of 1912? The Constitution of the Confederate states provided that "no duties or taxes shall be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry." Apparently Mr. Wilson and his followers think that the Confederate Constitution must be obeyed instead of the Constitution of the United States.

WILSON'S TARIFF VIEWS.

Woodrow Wilson in 1912—"There should be an immediate revision, and it should be downward, unhesitatingly and steadily downward."

Woodrow Wilson in his "History of the American People" (Vol. V. p. 265) describing conditions in 1893-'97 when the tariff had been reduced "unhesitatingly and steadily downward." "A great poverty had come upon the . . . agricultural regions of the West and South. Prices had fallen. Men of the poorer sort were idle everywhere, and filled with a sort of despair. All the large manufacturing towns teemed with unemployed workmen who were with the utmost difficulty kept from starvation."

With manufacturers Protected from competition with the cheap labor of Europe and Asia, the American workman can buy abundantly from the farmer at good prices.—Norwalk (O.) Reflector.

THE MENACE TO PROSPERITY.

From the Baltimore Sun.

Nobody pretends to deny that the people of the United States are in the midst of a prosperity not paralleled at this time in any other country, and never previously surpassed during any period in the history of this country. Does the national policy under which the affairs of the country are conducted—the tariff framed upon a protection basis—have anything to do with this prosperity? Would a change in the Government which would result in the making of a tariff with the protective principle entirely eliminated cause a change from a condition of prosperity to a condition of business depression and hard times?

If you have not been giving any thought to the foregoing questions, just pause awhile and think them over seriously. If you will search the records for information that might shed light upon the queries, you will find this—that for more than thirty years prior to 1893 the Government of the country had been intrusted to the Republican party. There was a Democratic President elected in 1884, but complete law-making control of the Government did not pass to the Democratic party until 1893. For more than thirty years prior to 1893 the country had been upon a protective tariff basis, and during that period had developed a wonderful prosperity, which placed the American wage earner upon a living level far above the condition of the wage earner in any other country in the world.

And in 1893 there was a change in the Government—it passed com-

pletely under control of the Democratic party, which lost no time in making over the tariff. The four Democratic years that followed were years of business depression. Just look upon the record of these Democratic years. And then ask yourself this question: Will the elimination of the protective principle from the tariff cause a slump in the country's prosperity?

HITTING THE FARMER.

Revision Downward Means Reduced Profits for the Farmers.

Mrs. Borden Harriman's new woman's national Wilson and Marshall organization has a poetess on its official staff, who is to write campaign songs and effusions for posters and fliers. She is Elizabeth Gordon Gross. The first song which appeared will be sung to the air of "My Pretty Maid." Here are the words:

Where are you going, my pretty maid?

To vote for Wilson, sir, she said.

Why for Wilson, my pretty maid?

Because he's for downward revision, she said.

What is downward revision, my pretty maid?

It's cheaper foodstuffs, sir, she said.

How will he revise it, my pretty maid?

Very decidedly, sir, she said.

How will you vote, my pretty maid?

By indirect influence, sir, she said.

How do you do it, my pretty maid?

That's what I'm doing now, she said.

There are not many farmers who believe that they are getting too much for their products. If the consumer is paying too much, it is not the farmers' fault. Only fifty per cent. of the retail price goes to the farmer. The rest pays the cost of distribution and is shared by the middlemen. Downward revision is an attempt to hit the farmer and let the middleman go scot free. How do you like this program, Mr. Farmer? and what are you going to do about it?

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid
To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

NOVEMBER, 1912.

At this stage of the campaign, watch out for political sensations of all kinds, and govern yourself accordingly.

The fact should not be lost sight of, that tariff reduction means a reduction of employment or of wages, or probably both.

Governor Wilson holds on to his \$10,000 salary as Governor of New Jersey, though he has been absent from the state about half of his time since he was inaugurated.

A foreign market is desirable, but is far from being the whole thing. A country cannot grow permanently prosperous by what it exports, but by increasing the consumption of its products at home.

The farmers of the country might find it profitable to compare the prices they are getting for their products under a protective tariff with those they received under the last Democratic tariff.

It may be true that a few industries would not be greatly injured by

a low tariff, but the larger number could not stand against the flood of cheap-labor foreign products that would be poured into this country.

The Binghamton Republican well says that this country should not be left in the position of a suppliant, begging for reciprocity with Canada, when the people of the Dominion have by direct vote emphatically rejected the proposition.

The Topeka State Journal notes that a Kansas farmer is clearing between \$8,000 and \$10,000 a year with alfalfa on an original investment of \$2,000, and remarks that if a big corporation was making profits in like proportion, wouldn't there be a tremendous outcry against the predatory rich.

That the increase in the cost of living is world-wide is again illustrated in a consular report from Jerusalem, where the present scale of wages is very low. It is estimated that the general increase in the cost of living in the "Holy City" in the past ten years has been at least 50 per cent., and there have been no wage increases.

When Governor Wilson was not running for the highest office in the country, he rated the Poles, Italians and Hungarians, permitted to enter our ports, as even less desirable additions to our population than the Chinese; but in a recent speech at Chicago he had only words of praise for the value of these people as components in the American plan of civilization. Evidently, Governor Wilson has seen a new light.

The Spokane Spokesman-Review says it may not be the case that tariffs for revenue only and hard times in the United States have the connection of cause and effect. But it is a fact that when such tariffs have prevailed here business and industry have suffered, and that when protection has ruled they have generally prospered.

The New York Journal of Commerce is sure that the opening of the American market unconditionally to the labor of the rest of the world would not injuriously affect our own work people. If the latter are anxious to try this dangerous experiment we suppose that they will vote for Wilson, as he has taken the same position on this question as the Journal of Commerce.

The election of Allen M. Fletcher as Governor, and of the other candidates on the Republican state ticket, by the Vermont Legislature, on October 2, had been anticipated; though the "Progressives" had a smaller number of representatives by twenty-three than they had claimed, and had proclaimed that Fletcher could be beaten by a combination of Progressive and Democratic members.

The Secretary of State of Oregon has just mailed to the voters of that commonwealth a pamphlet of 260 closely printed pages, describing the thirty-eight measures to be submitted to the people this month under the operations of the initiative and referendum. It may be doubted if more than one voter in fifty will take the time to read this pamphlet; and, fortunately for the voter, the law

provides no penalty for his neglect to do so.

The Albany Journal says: "Woodrow Wilson's vacillation, due to growing recognition of the fact that the American people want adequate protection for their industries and their labor maintained, and manifest in his attempt to make it appear that the Democratic platform doesn't mean what it says, serves only to show up the weakness of his candidacy."

The October crop report of the Department of Agriculture shows that spring wheat, oats, barley, rye and hay have all exceeded the best record productions; also that the crops of vegetables and fruit are from 5 to 32 per cent. larger than last year. Severe storms have caused short crops in Europe, the worst results being in Great Britain. Canada reports a shortage in the wheat crop of 5 per cent., due to unfavorable weather.

The San Francisco Chronicle says: "Keep in mind the fact that in China and other parts of the world where prices are low the opportunity of the people to consume is reduced to a minimum. The relation between the cheap man and the cheap article is very close and in those countries where the one is cheap the other is sure to be. That is an indisputable fact and no free trader is bold enough to controvert it."

Reciprocity was the issue in a bye-election campaign in Manitoba, recently, and the Conservative (anti-

reciprocity) candidate for member of parliament was elected by a majority of 837, as against 161 in the Dominion elections last year. Commenting on this result, the Montreal Star says: "The more our people examine reciprocity the more they fear it. We are realizing more and more that the only sure way to preserve our political independence is to protect our fiscal independence."

Mr. Thomas F. Ryan, the New York speculator and Virginia trust leader, whom Mr. Bryan wanted to exclude from the Democratic national convention, contributed \$112,000 to the expenses of the Democratic canvass for delegates to that convention. Of that sum \$35,000 was expended in behalf of Mr. Underwood, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. That may explain why that committee never proposed tariff legislation affecting tobacco and other things in which Mr. Ryan has large interests. James J. Hill, the railroad magnate, was another large contributor.

In its issue of October 3, the Philadelphia Record grew happy over the fact that Chinese pig iron has been sold in our ports, and pronounces Chinese cheap labor in this form "a boon and a blessing." Growing prophetic, the Record exults in the prospect of Chinese iron pouring through the Panama canal. How iron workers in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, not to speak of those in Alabama, like this forecast is yet to be seen. The Record, however, is jubilant. Not long ago, Roosevelt stated that under a low tariff the competition of the Orient would injure

American labor. The Record is happy because the competition is already upon us. By all means, let the wage earners of the country know that a good revenue tariff authority has declared in favor of Chinese cheap labor.

At the recent international commercial congress in Boston, C. H. Canby, of Chicago, contended that the "high cost of living" was due to higher standards of living rather than to change in prices. The prices on staples fluctuate but little, he said, but it costs more for people to live because they no longer have the thrift and economy of their ancestors. There is much force in this view, but it did not please some of the free traders present, and two of them urged "universal free trade" as a solution of the problem. There is little doubt that universal free trade would, at least for a time, reduce the cost of living for some people, but it would also diminish employment and wages and consumptive demand, lower the standard of living, and impair the value and security of investments. Not many people who have any common sense will endorse the suggested quack remedy.

In the death of United States Senator Weldon B. Heyburn, of Idaho, which occurred in Washington, October 17, the cause of Protection has lost one of its staunchest supporters. He was a consistent advocate of impartial protection for all sections and industries that need it. Being a ready speaker and alert to oppose what he believed to be unsound legislation, he found much occasion for speech-making, and his speeches

were generally very forceful and convincing. He frequently warned the country against the "insidious schemes" of "tariff reformers" and "revisers" to break down the protective system; and he fought steadily all of the radical theories and measures which he believed to be subversive of the fundamental principles of representative government. He was positive and earnest in all things, and on all public questions he had the courage of his convictions. Senator Heyburn was born in Pennsylvania sixty years ago, received an academic education, studied law, and was admitted to the Bar in 1876. He gained wide repute as a lawyer, but did not enter politics until his removal to Idaho in 1883. In 1903 he was elected to the United States Senate, and was re-elected for a second term in 1909.

ALL THEY COULD STAND.

A correspondent, writing about the present outlook, says: "We cannot stand up against the world's competition without a good strong protection. I have been about sixty years at work. I remember the first serious effect of the tariff in '48 and have been through every one since. In '92, Cleveland's second election, with the House and Senate with him, the reduction of the tariff had the following effect upon our business: We do business from Maine to California, and the first of November, just a year from Cleveland's election, we took account of affairs and our sales for the month of October were \$47,000. Our sales for the previous ten years for the month of October would run from \$250,000 to \$300,000, and sometimes more, or

an average of \$275,000 for the month. A drop to \$47,000! It seems as though most everybody could see what the result would be. We didn't do any business because no one else did.

"We purchased XXX Oregon wool in San Francisco in June, July and August as we usually did; we were handling a lot of wool. The price we paid was 53-55 cents landed New York or Boston. In May, following the election of Cleveland in November, we could purchase this wool at 25 cents a pound. It showed a loss of fully \$140 on every bale that we purchased. The result to sheep owners was almost annihilation, and the shrinkage in value on everything was appalling.

"Should the Democrats elect a President, the chances are that they would have Congress and the Senate with them, and the result would be so much more disastrous, as the business of America has increased in such enormous proportions. All the people that were in business at the time of Cleveland's administration and are alive today know it was as bad then as they could possibly stand."

WAGES AND COST OF LIVING.

A Striking Contrast.

Mr. Francis Willey, one of the well-known owners of woolen mills at Bradford, Eng., and South Barre, Mass., criticises statements made by the "Free Trade" Yorkshire Observer in regard to the relative conditions of woolen workers in the two countries. Writing in the Observer of September 27, he has this to say on the economic situation:

"If the operatives of South Barre were content to live in the same way as the Bradford operatives they could live for less there than they could in Bradford. Flour, bread, meat, vegetables and fruit all cost less there than here. In South Barre the operatives live much better than their brothers here—most of their houses have baths and the electric lights, they spend more on food and clothing, and altogether the conditions of life are better. The

wages at Barre are more than double, as a rule, what they are in this country. Many work-people in my employ have saved since they went there more than they ever earned here, and several of them have bought farms in the neighborhood, though they had not a shilling to call their own when they went out. Mechanics and overlookers are getting more than double—in some cases treble—what they got in this country."

IS THE AMERICAN WORKING MAN A MYTH?

Thomas O. Marvin in the National Magazine.

The jealous care with which a small tribe of Indians in the wilds of the Canadian northwest is guarding from complete extinction a herd of three or four hundred buffaloes prompts the inquiry if somewhere in the unexplored regions beyond the Arctic circle an asylum has been found for that "mythical" creature, the American wage-earner?

Hardly a quadrennial campaign passes without some startling discovery which upon close examination proves to be merely the phantasy of a fevered imagination.

Of such a character is the assertion that the American wage-earner is a myth. When great herds of buffaloes roamed the American prairies no one would have had the audacity to assert that the buffalo is a myth. Today when the latest census figures report that there are 6,615,046 wage-earners employed in the manufacturing industries of the United States, the assertion that the American

wage-earner is a myth is as gross an error as could be made by a student of industrial conditions.

In 1900, 86.3 per cent. of our population was native born and 13.7 per cent. foreign born. Of the foreign born a great majority seeks permanent residence here. The immigrant enters our ports to seek a home, employment and educational advantages for his children. To most of them America is the land of their aspirations and American citizenship the goal of their ambition. They enter the ranks of American wage-earners. Some of the most gifted rise to commanding rank in our professions; enter the halls of Congress; are elected governors of their adopted States and sit in the seats of the mighty. Their children and their children's children rise from the ranks of wage-earners to become our captains of industry. To deny to such men the name, American, is the narrowest bigotry and chauvinism

and would exclude from the pale of Americanism men who died at Bunker Hill and Yorktown and men who fought under Meade and Hancock at Gettysburg and under Farragut at Mobile Bay.

What We Owe to Foreigners.

From 1820 to 1905 immigrants to the number of 23,116,501 entered the United States. Our colonies were settled by men of foreign birth, and not until the inauguration of Martin Van Buren was a president elected who was not born a British subject. The country owes its origin and much of its growth to the men and women who abandoned their homes in foreign lands to establish themselves here under kindlier auspices. And still the tides of immigration roll toward our shores, bringing men and women who learn our language, adopt our ways and become incorporated into our national life. The American name is large enough to include them, and they and their children become American workingmen.

It is not to be expected that they will rank in skill and earning power with the workingmen of native birth who have grown up under the advantages of American education and of our industrial and economic conditions. It is because of the superior conditions here that they seek admission at our gates. With eagerness they begin their apprenticeship and gladly accept the wages of unskilled labor.

It is not a reproach upon our industrial conditions that men of native birth find ample opportunities awaiting them in the skilled trades. It is rather to our credit that men of American birth and American training are not compelled to turn to the

unskilled branches of our industries for a livelihood. The report of the Tariff Board on wool manufactures shows that native born operatives predominate in the occupations that demand skill and ability; that in the occupations requiring a less degree of skill the natives of the British Isles and of Germany are found, while Italy and the countries of southern and eastern Europe are represented largely in the occupations requiring little or no experience or skill. Naturally the wages earned by the inexperienced and unskilled are lower than the average wages of skilled workers.

Wages of Immigrants.

Native born operatives, as a rule, do not seek these jobs. Training in the technical schools or in the textile schools fits them for the better paid positions. The immigrants who accept the lower paid positions in the mills count themselves fortunate to obtain the work. It gives them a new start in life and most of them make the best of their opportunity, for the average length of service is about five years. In this time they have acquired sufficient skill to win promotion or they have saved enough from their earnings to start in business for themselves, buy a farm, or return to their native land.

When the foreigners who flock in such large numbers to our shores enter the mills, they are not paid according to the wage scale of Great Britain or of Southern Europe. They are paid the standard American wage for unskilled labor. The workers in the unskilled branches of American textile mills earn more than many of the workers in the skilled branches in Great Britain, and

skilled workers earn twice as much as employes of the same class in British mills.

Wool washers in this country get \$8.21 per week. For the same work in England, they are paid \$4.93; less still in Germany and even less in France and Italy, and soon we shall feel the increasing competition of Japan, where wages in the mills range from six to twenty-two cents for a ten and a half hour working day. Comb tenders are paid here \$7.85; in England, \$4.26, and the gill minders are paid here \$5.84; in England, \$2.83; drawing frame tenders are paid here, \$6.21; in England, \$2.68; female spinners are paid here, \$6.40; in England, \$2.25; weavers earn here, \$10.54; in England, \$3.83, and so the comparison runs right through the different occupations. Our immigrants get the benefit of the higher wages made possible by the American economic system, and this fact accounts for their adoption of America as a home.

Send Their Savings Abroad.

Out of their wages the mill help of Lawrence were able to save enough during the year 1911 to send \$128,000 abroad to friends and relatives. For five years ending 1911, they sent abroad \$727,032.35. From Fall River the sum would be nearly as much; from New Bedford larger; from Holyoke in five years it amounted to \$381,421. The industries of New England cannot be the despotic, grasping and cruel institutions which they are represented as being, when large sums like these can be sent out of the country by the wage-earners of our manufacturing cities, to aid the destitute of other lands. This money is not sent by the

higher paid operatives, for statistics show that they are largely native born and are thoroughly established here. The bulk of this money comes from the earnings of those in the unskilled departments, whose wages are asserted to be below a living standard.

If the possible earnings of operatives even of the lower wage scale of our southern mills seem princely to the native Americans of the mountain regions of the Carolinas and tempt them to flock to the mill towns of the south, is it any wonder that the wages paid in the New England mills tempt the poor people of southern Europe to cross the seas for jobs, which generations ago were gladly accepted and at half the present wages paid, by men and women of New England birth. The policy of protection which has built up the great industries of the United States has made it possible, so far, to give employment at wages far above the world average to American citizens and to nearly a million of annual immigrants, most of whom soon win the right and are proud to bear the name of American workingmen.

The Labor on a Yard of Cloth.

The processes of textile manufacture are intricate and complex. The manufacture of a suit of clothes starts on distant grazing lands where the wool is grown. Labor is involved in shearing, collecting and buying the wool; in transporting it to market, selling it, grading, sorting, scouring, drying, blending and mixing the wool; carding and combing it and then drawing, spinning, reeling, spooling and winding it. All these processes involving labor are necessary before the weaver can

touch the yarn. Then there comes the warp dressing, the drawing in, and the setting of the warp, all essential parts of the process of manufacture. And yet facile critics, for sensational effect and to delude the ill-informed, assert that five cents was the total "rate of payment to the weaver" on a yard of American worsted cloth costing \$1.71 to place on the market, and dramatically compare the five cents with the present tariff duty of \$1.02. Why conceal the fact that the weaver's work is only one of the many processes of manufacturing, the labor in every step of which receives its share of the protective tariff and why so blandly ignore the fact that the raw wool itself represents from fifty to sixty per cent. of the total cost of the finished product and the duty on which accounts for a large part of the duty on the cloth?

Overlooked, too, by these critics of a great American industry are other occupations essential to the production of textile fabrics. They take no account of those keen, skilful men, the loom fixers, whose pay averages higher than that of clergymen; the burlers, the sewers, and the several classes of finishers, the cloth examiners, the shaders, the packers, the warehousemen. All these crafts have their part in the production of that yard of worsted cloth, and the wages of one and all are as fixed and inescapable a charge upon the mill as the wage of the weaver whose apocryphal "five cents" the critic sees as the only offset to the \$1.02 tariff duty.

Engineers, firemen, electricians, elevator men, yardmen, carpenters and mechanics of many kinds—all these, too, are indispensable in a

modern mill organization. It is as just to single out a weaver and assume that he does all the work, as it would be to point a smart private in the front rank as constituting an entire regiment.

An Army of Workers.

The manufacturer who pays the weaver must pay the wages also of all this multitude of men of other trades. And indirectly the manufacturer pays in the price of his buildings and machinery—a price higher by from forty to sixty per cent. than the English cost—the high wages of American masons and machinists. Another army of workers dependent upon the mill is the host employed in the production of three hundred different kinds of supplies which a modern factory requires.

When all these workers have been recompensed, not a great deal remains out of that \$1.71 a yard for the manufacturer. Labor directly or indirectly has secured nearly all of it. Living quietly and unostentatiously in New England towns are many hundred men and women who know something of the textile business as stockholders in American mills. They know how often their dividends shrink below the six or seven per cent. regarded as the minimum for a changeful, hazardous industry, and how seldom they have ever risen above it, and they know something about comparative rates of textile wages in the New World and the Old.

Machinery, the Tariff Board declares, is driven no more rapidly in the United States than in the United Kingdom. Employes of American mills receive substantially twice the

wages paid to employes in British mills for doing the same amount and kind of work. Indeed, the American rate is often more than twice as high, and averages nine times the wages paid in the mills of Japan. "The conversion cost for the same quality and count of yarns," the Tariff Board explicitly states in its summary, "is about twice that in England." "The cost of turning yarn into cloth in the United States compared with England is all the way from sixty per cent. to 170 per cent. higher, according to the character of the fabric."

What this means is that the immigrant from Southern Europe, working in an American mill, receives twice as much money for doing a given amount and kind of work as the most skilled English operative, and from five to ten times as much as the clever and dexterous Japanese. When, in the face of such incontestable facts, the critics contend that the workers have secured no benefit from our protective tariff laws their zeal is more conspicuous than their judgment.

American industries under the American tariff pay the highest wages in the world and they distribute more of the wealth created than do the industries of any other country. To them we owe the unprecedented prosperity of the nation, a prosperity which is passed around in the weekly pay envelopes of over six million American wage-earners.

The business of the country rests on a protective-tariff basis. The public keenly realized that a disturbance of business by a change in the tariff and a threat of injury to the industries of the country ought to be avoided, and that nothing could help so much to minimize

the fear of destructive changes as the known existence of a reliable source of information for legislative action.—Pres. Taft.

THE ATTACK UPON ROOSEVELT.

The nation and the whole civilized world were startled on the morning of October 15, by the news that, on the evening before, Col. Theodore Roosevelt had been shot and dangerously wounded as he was leaving his hotel in Milwaukee for the Auditorium where he was to make a speech. His assailant, who has given some evidence of insanity, is John Schrank, of New York, who was immediately arrested and taken to prison. The shot was fired at close range, and its energy was spent on a manuscript in Col. Roosevelt's pocket. The Colonel insisted on going to the hall, and delivering at least a part of his speech. Subsequently he was taken to a Chicago hospital, where an examination showed that the bullet had lodged above the fourth rib in the major pectoral muscle, and it will be a simple matter to extract it when the surgeons think it prudent to do so. The Colonel was taken in a private car from Chicago to his home at Oyster Bay on October 21st, and stood the journey very well.

It is fortunate that the ex-President escaped more serious injury; and the public generally, without regard to partisan or other distinction, will rejoice in the prospect of his early recovery. It has only admiration for the wonderful self-possession and fortitude displayed by him which is characteristic of the man. The attack on Col. Roosevelt once more emphasizes the danger which

faces public men, and especially those in high official stations, and shows that the need for guarding such persons from possible attack is something which demands constant vigilance.

MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION.

The Massachusetts Republican State Convention was held in Tremont Temple, Oct. 5. In accordance with the results in the primaries, Joseph Walker was nominated for Governor, and the present incumbents of the other state offices were re-nominated. Hon. John L. Bates, of Brookline, and Daniel F. Dillon, of Palmer, were nominated for presidential electors at large, but the former has since declined the honor, as he is disqualified by reason of holding a Federal office. The presidential electors nominated for the districts are as follows:

- 1—William A. Burns of Pittsfield.
- 2—Walter S. Robinson of Springfield.
- 3—George R. Wallace of Fitchburg.
- 4—James Logan of Worcester.
- 5—Harry G. Pollard of Lowell.
- 6—Alfred E. Lyons of Haverhill.
- 7—C. Neal Barney of Lynn.
- 8—Everett C. Benton of Belmont.
- 9—Frank M. Sawtelle of Malden.
- 10—James William H. Myrick of Boston.
- 11—Frank Vogel of Boston.
- 12—Moses S. Lourie of Boston.
- 13—J. Henry Gleason of Marlboro.
- 14—Horace E. Keith of Brockton.
- 15—Alfred B. Williams of Taunton.
- 16—Joseph Walsh of Falmouth.

We have not space to print the platform in full. It contains a strong endorsement of President Taft; declares for protection of American

labor and industries; commends the laws passed for the social welfare of the citizens; favors direct nomination of candidates for public office and the popular election of United State senators; affirms the belief of the Republican party in the Federal Constitution and the integrity and independence of the courts; and opposes a compulsive unrestricted private initiative, but favors a moderate application of the referendum principle. Following is the tariff plank:

We reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff which shall maintain American wages, provide for an adequate standard of living, and equalize conditions of competition between the United States and foreign countries.

The protective tariff has made it possible to provide annual employment in this state for 600,000 wage-earners at wages much higher than are paid in other countries for similar work. We cannot open our markets to the world without subjecting our factories to the competition of the low wages that prevail abroad.

We favor readjustments of schedules to conform to changed conditions and to reduce excessive rates. These readjustments should be based upon exact information and made without injury to American industry. Such information can be ascertained only by an impartial board or commission.

We condemn the Democratic party for its failure either to provide funds for the continuance of the Tariff Board, or to make some other proper provision for securing the information requisite for intelligent tariff legislation.

As sons of industrial Massachusetts we protest against the policy to which the Democratic party is committed of the destruction of the protective system through a tariff for revenue only, a policy which would inevitably produce widespread industrial and commercial disaster.

Speeches were made by Senator Lodge (who was permanent chair-

man of the Convention), Hon. Joseph Walker and Lieut. Gov. Luce.

On the tariff question, Senator Lodge said:

The finest campaign which the Republican party has ever fought, during my life, was that of 1896, for it was waged exclusively upon two great questions of public policy. One was the tariff, an economic question involving the prosperity of the country. The other was the question of free silver, in which not merely the prosperity but the financial honor of the United States was at stake. We won all along the line. We settled the currency question and we put the financial honor of the United States beyond the reach of assault. Again today the question of the tariff is before the American electorate. I do not propose to discuss tariff details or particular schedules here today. That will be done with the greatest amplitude, and so discussed, I hope, that all men will understand it, in the many meetings which will be held before the 5th of November. All I wish to say at this time is that the Republican party stands, as it has always stood, for protection to American industries. It stands for that policy. Rates of duty are details of high importance, but they do not touch the principle involved, except as they accord or do not accord reasonably and properly with that principle. The Democratic party stands for what they call a tariff for revenue only, which differs from free trade as a matter of principle only in being unjust where free trade is at least just, if injurious, to all alike. We should have protection for all or free trade for all, but a tariff for revenue only means inevitably protection to one man and free trade to another. It is based on injustice, upon an economic fallacy which combines the defects of both systems and has the virtues of neither. If we abandon protection and go to a tariff for revenue only or to free trade, then, without reference to the merits of the opposing systems, is it certain that this change means and must mean the destruction of the present industrial equilibrium and the estab-

lishment of a new one. This is economic revolution, and industrial revolution for the establishment of a new equilibrium must bring suffering, disaster and business panic in its train, no matter what the distant and ultimate result may be.

The people of this country are invited to make this tremendous change, which will be felt to the remotest corners of our land, for you cannot affect the protected industries without affecting everything else in greater or lesser degree, at a moment when the country rejoices in an unequalled prosperity. The crops are bountiful almost beyond example; business is sound, active and profitable; labor is employed at high wages, and capital and enterprise meet with a good return. If at such a moment you throw the industries into confusion, if you create doubt and uncertainty as to the conditions upon which those industries rest, the prosperity which you enjoy at this moment will fade and drop away like the leaves now falling in the forest. Instead of being the living colors of the spring which foretell the coming of a glorious summer, the glow of prosperity which now suffuses the land will prove to be only that last brilliant gleam which Nature sends before she spreads over the earth the white silence of winter. Think well before you take such a risk as this by committing the economic policy of the country to a party which is pledged to change it radically and completely.

A sure decline in prosperity is what would follow a change, whether that change meant ultimate benefit after the passage of many years or not; whether it was economically sound, or not, and the burden of suffering would fall most heavily upon those least able to bear it. But we Republicans hold that this change of policy is economically unsound. If you throw our markets open to the competition of the world you must meet that competition on the same conditions as those which obtain in the competing countries. The primary condition of competition in manufactured products is the cost of production. The primary and the chief element in the

cost of production is the labor cost. It begins with the tree that is cut in the forest, with the clay that is dug from the ground, with the coal and iron that are mined from the bowels of the earth, with the stone which is quarried from the ledges, and extends to the last and most complicated manufactured product which the wit of man can produce. If you do not make your labor cost substantially equal to the labor cost of your competitors you cannot stay in the market. When you abandon the principle of protection and remove the protective duties, if your industries are to live, labor costs must come down to a foreign level. You must either close your factories or you must lower your labor costs. There is absolutely no escape from the dilemma. If you close the factories you throw thousands and thousands of men out of employment and compel them to rush into other employments and reduce wages there. If you keep the factories open and force down the labor cost, you force down the American standard of wages and of living at the same time.

That is the choice which lies before us so far as the tariff is concerned. I have stated the question in its broadest form and there today I leave it. There could be no graver issue so far as the material welfare of the people of the United States is concerned and it is for them to decide what they desire. If, in the hopes of benefiting by a change, which will shake our whole industrial fabric to its foundation, they think that they can ultimately improve their condition, it is for them to say so. If they are willing to venture the great prosperity which the country now enjoys, in the hope that an uncertain future, reached after years of painful experiment, will bring them a better prosperity, again it is for them to say so. It is on that issue that the Republican party takes its unchanging position that protection in principle is essential to the maintenance of our rates of wages and our standards of living, which in their turn are essential to the well-being of the whole community in a government where all the people rule.

GEORGE W. WELLS.

George Washington Wells, a prominent manufacturer of New England, and a former President of the Home Market Club, died at his home in Southbridge, Mass., on September 30, after an illness of twenty months, at the age of 68 years, 5 months and 15 days. The immediate cause of his death was attributed to cirrhosis of the liver, which was one of the complications that developed as the result of an attack of neuritis which was contracted by him while at his winter home at Seabreeze, Florida, in February, 1911. By this sad event the Home Market Club has lost a valued and influential member, and his home community a citizen of substantial character and worth.

It is proper that we should fitly recognize the value of a life like his—singularly industrious and honest, successful in its connection with business interests and public concerns, and whose usefulness reached and maintained a high standard. Such a life cannot fail to be helpful in its influence upon other lives which will be made better by its example and inspiration.

Mr. Wells was widely known as an able and successful business man. His whole career exhibits him as a man of remarkable industry and sagacity and of sound and discriminating judgment. He had the capacity to organize and to execute in the most effective way. He was by nature calculated to be a leader among men, and this trait was manifest, not only in his salutary influence over the persons in his employ and in the general conduct of his own business, but in all of his business associations.

The exacting cares of a large business did not prevent Mr. Wells from acquiring useful information on a wide range of subjects, which was enlarged by extensive travel and observation, and he had made a special study of economic questions. Having formed sound and positive opinions on the need and value of the policy of Protection, he was a sturdy and consistent supporter of this principle. He became interested in the work of the Home Market Club many years ago, and thereafter his practical aid and counsel were always at its command. After serving for several years in its board of directors, he was its President for three years, from November, 1905, to November, 1908, and filled this position with marked efficiency and fidelity. When a new tariff was to be framed, Mr. Wells was able to render important service to the optical trade of the country by his advocacy of adequate protection for this industry. It is said that, as the result of his personal investigations abroad, he asked for no more protection for his own industry than would be required to equalize, at least approximately, the cost of home products with those of foreign manufacture. He held, however, the rational view that the true measure of tariff duties for the greater number of our protected industries could not be arbitrarily determined by the mere difference in foreign and domestic costs, as these are subject to ever-varying circumstances, and therefore the rates should be fixed according to the conditions of production and trade and the stress of foreign competition, as indicated by the volume of imports; but in any case they should not go below the line of sufficient protection.

With a living interest in political affairs, Mr. Wells sought none of the personal prizes for himself, but he was always ready to give substantial aid to political associates whom he regarded as worthy of such preferment. In his social relations he was genial and companionable, warm in his attachments and firm in his friendships. As an exemplary citizen he received, as he eminently deserved, a large measure of public respect and confidence, and he bore a conspicuous part in the furtherance of the religious, moral and educational interests of the community. He was ever active in promoting the growth and prosperity of his town and the material welfare of its people. He was happy in his home life; and the devotion of his three sons to business and their efficiency were not the least among the triumphs of his career which he contemplated with particular satisfaction.

As President of the American Optical Company, the leading industry of its kind in the world, and as an active officer and director in many banks and corporations, Mr. Wells had formed a very large business acquaintance. The particular business of which he was the head and one of the founders, is favorably known throughout the world by the wide distribution of its products. The plant where the goods are manufactured is regarded as a model of its kind, being typical of the most modern ideas in building and organization, and it remains an impressive monument to his foresight and genius.

The Funeral Service.

The funeral of George W. Wells was held at his home on Wednesday afternoon, October 2, and was attended by

fully five thousand people, among whom were a large number of employees of the optical works. This exceptionally large concourse attested the high and deserved esteem in which Mr. Wells was held in the community. Not only was there a memorial delegation of Southbridge people present, but there were noteworthy persons from practically every walk in life from many parts of the country and men from foreign countries who happened to be here at this time. The elaborate display of floral tributes surrounding the casket and bier and banked high on either wall and against the balustrade at the rear of the bier, conclusively portrayed the standing of the deceased man in the hearts of his fellow men.

With the opening of the service in scripture reading by Rev. George E. Tomkinson, pastor of the Central Baptist church, the hundreds of men that had gathered about the home immediately removed their hats and in this position remained throughout the service. Verses treasured by Mr. Wells and often read to him during his long illness, were selected by Rev. Mr. Tomkinson in the scripture reading, and included verses from the 46th, 23d and 103d Psalms, chapters 11 and 14, and chapters 7 and 21, Revelation. He then offered prayer, and there was singing by a quartet. The service closed with the recital of a poem by Rev. Charles R. Tenney, pastor of the Universalist church, entitled, "Now the Laborer's Task is O'er."

The active pall bearers were the foremen of the several departments of the optical works. The honorary bearers included Hon. Calvin D. Paige, John M. Cochran, Albert H. Wheeler, Henry C. Cady, George C. Winter, Charles D. Harrington, Charles W. Hill, W. E. Buck, W. D. Luey, Charles F. Choate, Jr., W. H. Campbell and M. J. Whittall.

As a token of the esteem in which Mr. Wells was held by the merchants and manufacturers of Southbridge practically every place of business in the town was closed either all day or for the afternoon.

Biographical Sketch.

George W. Wells was born at Woodstock, Conn., April 15, 1846, and was descended from English stock, his ances-

tors on both sides having come from England less than a score of years after the historic landing of the Mayflower. The boyhood days of Mr. Wells were spent on the farm at the family homestead in Woodstock, where he attended the district schools and Woodstock Academy. His youth was largely spent in farm work, but at the age of seventeen he started from home to earn his own living. In the winter of 1863-1864 he taught school for twelve weeks at Navesink Highlands, N. J. Returning home in the spring of 1864, he offered his services to the Union, but was rejected because he failed to qualify up to the physical requirements.

From early youth he had acquired a decided inclination for mechanical pursuits, which led to his seeking positions where he could obtain experience and develop his ability along those lines. On April 2, 1864, he went to Southbridge and entered the employ of Robert H. Cole & Co., in their optical shop. In this work he developed special fitness in machine designing, to which occupation he applied himself for the next few years.

In 1869 the American Optical Company was incorporated with Mr. Wells as clerk (secretary) of the corporation. Mr. Wells with the growth that the American Optical Company enjoyed, became eventually treasurer in 1879 and president in 1891, holding both of these offices until 1908, when one of his sons was chosen treasurer. Mr. Wells, who was also a director, gave practically all of his time to the upbuilding of the company and met with exceptional success. The interests of the company took Mr. Wells into almost every State in the Union, and these trips, together with frequent visits abroad, gave him a most extensive acquaintance with optical people of both America and Europe. The general offices and factories of the company are located in Southbridge with important branches in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and London.

It will not be amiss to give a few statistics of this industry which has grown from a small beginning to become the leading one of its kind in the world. More than 10,000 people are supported, directly or indirectly, by the concern of which Mr. Wells was at the head. In 1887 there were about 1,000 hands em-

ployed; at the present time there are about 3,700. The total sales of goods in 1897 were 395,172 pairs of spectacles and lenses; in 1908 there were 12,000,000 pairs manufactured. There were 412 tons of lens stock used in 1908, against 140 tons in 1902. In 1897, the pay-roll, exclusive of outside help, was \$425,000; in 1909 this had increased to \$1,250,000.

Mr. Wells took an active interest in affairs of his home town, his county and State. He became a member of the Baptist church of Southbridge on May 1, 1864, and had always been a supporter and leader in church affairs. In the work of the Young Men's Christian Association he acted on the State committee for ten years and was president of the Southbridge Y. M. C. A. during the first eleven years of its existence. He was a member of the lodge of Masons in Southbridge, as well as the Worcester Commandery and Massachusetts Consistory.

Mr. Wells' prominence in business is shown by some of the important offices he has held, as president of the American Optical Company, also of the Harrington Cutlery Company, Central Mills Company, Southbridge National Bank, Southbridge Club, the Worcester South Agricultural Society. Also as director of the Warren Steam Pump Company, Worcester Trust Company, Worcester Manufacturers Mutual Insurance Company, Southbridge Gas & Electric Company, Southbridge Water Supply Company and National Shawmut Bank, Boston, as well as of several of the companies mentioned, of which he had served as president.

He was a member of the investment committee of Southbridge Savings Bank and was a trustee of the Worcester Academy; Worcester Insane Asylum and Southbridge Savings Bank. He belonged to the Squantum Club, in Providence; Grasse River Outing Club, Adirondack Mountains; American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia; Worcester County Republican Club; Worcester Continentals (honorary); Optical Society, London, and Quinabaug Historical Society.

On September 27, 1869, Mr. Wells married Mary E. McGregory of Southbridge. He leaves three sons, Channing M., Albert B. and J. Cheney, and one daughter, Mary E., who married Frank

F. Phinney, Treasurer of the Warren Steam Pump Company, Warren, Mass. He and his three sons, together with his first cousin, Henry C. Cady, formed the Board of Directors of the American Optical Company.

A Well-Merited Tribute.

From the Worcester Telegram.

George W. Wells lived the kind of life that makes men feel proud to be counted as units of the same country and generation. His was the high type of mechanical genius developed on its own resources into the founder and sustainer of a great business. From the honest, earnest farmer's boy who had in early life to carry the burdens of his father's family, he made himself the leader of the largest manufacturing business of its kind in the world. And along every inch of the way upward to the pinnacle of success he was the straight man, the kindly neighbor and the unusually competent citizen. He began in the optical business as an employe, and lifted the small industry to its highest place not only as a producing factory but as an art shop where the best is made to supply the needs of the human family as it has developed in his time with eyes depending on the artificial aid of glasses.

No detail has been neglected, no subject of distorted vision scorned as unworthy, and with that growth also has come to the business a new character of sterling worth in the goods made for sale, which is in strong contrast with the old methods of making fake goods to worm the dollars out of the unwary. In the latter way, as well as his constant industry, Mr. Wells was a typical American. To such men more than to all the natural resources this country owes its high standing in the markets of the world, and its social and political positions of great value as well.

The town of Southbridge owes more to Mr. Wells than to any other citizen in its history. He not only lifted one of its small industries to the leadership of the world, to employ thousands of people instead of half a dozen, but he linked the town's interests with the cities and sections of this country and of all nations so closely that in a measure all the peoples depend upon what is

done in Southbridge. And not only was he the capable leader in the optical business, but in other manufacturing lines, in banking, insurance and general development, and still he found time for social activities that might have been called enough by a less energetic man. And he found time to be a factor in the government policies of this country. He was an all American man as the producer, though he had the ability to sell his products all around the world.

He was the defender of the American principle of tariff protection, and lived up to its full statute limitations by extending to his employes the benefits of the protection. The wage earners who have for years depended upon his ability for the pay on which they lived have never had occasion to find fault with the system under which the profits of capital and labor were divided. Mr. Wells was as true to all others as to himself, and never too tired or autocratic to listen to suggestions. In the factories controlled by his corporate interests there are the facilities for improvements in all lines. In the optical plant there is activity in the perfection of all the parts and related articles which have to do with improving vision and affording the users of glasses artistic taste in the articles they buy.

It should not be the province of any American citizen to so disregard the life of Mr. Wells as to move this year or any other year to put beyond the reach of his industries or others the benefits which have been established under the policies of his choice, and in which he has taken a leading hand in perfecting. It is not the ambition of even an enemy to stop the optical works or any mills sustained by the genius of the dead man, to destroy the plants and other property accumulated by his directing industry, but there still exist political ideas antagonistic to what Mr. Wells and others like him have made right, and men holding such different ideas claim they would destroy the perfect accomplishment by such means for the sake of proving their views. The great masters of conditions die and the weaker fail. This is a wonderful country in its progress because of its capable men who persist.

THE ANARCHY OF THE I. W. W.

From a Boston despatch to the Springfield Sunday Republican.

The Industrial Workers of the World stated their attitude toward the industrial system emphatically at a conference in this city. In the case of the Lawrence strike, or, indeed, any other strike, there is no possibility of arbitration. Their fundamental position is that the present industrial system is based upon war. As combatants in a war, they propose to have nothing to do with arbitration of any sort whatever. The word is not in their vocabulary. They do not arbitrate, they say; they offer terms. They demand unconditional surrender on the part of capital. They assert that what they decree must be done; that their word is law for their followers as truly as the acts of the Legislature are law for the people. If mention is made of the possibility of police and military for the protection of the rights of the public in the case of war of their kind, they look forward to the time when there will be no police and no military. They expect to conquer the world and be absolute masters of all property and capitalistic interests.

It is not the workmen of the United States who take this position. The men who have been here form labor unions and work on their lines of collective action. But the Industrial Workers of the World do not take any such position. They will not admit the right of any union to say what terms it must have. The leaders must dictate everything. They propose to dominate the State and to bring capital to their terms. The situation is one of extreme gravity as far as the revolutionary and anarchistic principles of the Industrial Workers are accepted by the mass of the labor people.

From the Textile Manufacturers' Journal.

It must be apparent to anyone that manufacturers who find large proportions of I. W. W. members among their operatives must, in self-defense, take immediate steps to rid their mills of such menaces. These men and their leaders have no sense of responsibility;

they do not consider an agreement worth the paper it is written upon, and base their every action upon antagonism to present industrial conditions and to the wage system. They will not hesitate to leave mills in a body at a moment's notice, and they consider it perfectly proper to destroy property, and particularly the work upon which they

are engaged. It is an alien and wholly un-American kind of industrial warfare that these people wage, and it has gained sufficient headway in New England textile centers to warrant manufacturers in that section of the country to co-operate in seriously considering ways and means of checking the movement.

IF WE HAD LIVED WITHOUT PROTECTION.

By Roland Ringwalt.

Often we hear it said that this country would have advanced even without Protection; that, tariff or no tariff, our labor would have been better paid and our general condition more prosperous than that of the Old World. Talk of this order is not very profitable, as nobody can be sure as to what might, could or would have happened. All that history can tell us is what has happened.

There are however, a few facts which indicate that, independent of legislation, we would have enjoyed more of life's comforts than any Old World nation. A colonist, if he escaped the savage and the wolf, could be reasonably sure of getting a piece of land. When it was suggested in Parliament that the king would make no more grants of land to the Americans, Burke said that in such a case the Americans would occupy without grants; that they would become "English Tartars" and settle in any wild tracts that pleased them. If the storms of winter, the heat of summer, the wild beasts and the red men on the warpath were so terrible that we still shudder at our forefathers' perils,

the red tape and formalities of England were not serious obstacles in the way of colonial settlement. He who has watched boys shooting birds out of season, while a sleepy old constable took his nap has some idea of the reckless manner in which the eighteenth century American pushed westward. Yes, and long after the Revolution he continued to do this. Louisiana was bought on easy terms, Florida was a good bargain, Texas was admitted, a slice was cut from Mexico. It is a paradox, yet a demonstrable truth to say that our pioneers faced hardships and perils enough to freeze the blood, and still that every man had a good chance of being a landed proprietor. The sons of Revolutionary soldiers with their land warrants were the fathers of men who pushed across the plains to California, the Forty-niners were the fathers of men who knew that Sitting Bull was on the warpath, but who sang "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm." Compare with this the Old World system of land held by nobles, and the superiority of the American's lot is manifest. Burke's remark about the Tartars has not lost

its force, for the enterprising pioneer has cut down government trees, squatted on government land, fed his cattle on government grass, and plunged into the seal fishery without regard to statutes and proclamations.

A republic in which good land was long sold for \$1.25 an acre, in which tracts were given to every settler, in which vast grants were made to railroads, and sold by the railroads for almost nothing to draw population had a vast advantage over England or Germany. The American colonist was like the ancient Hebrew—he might have to fight for his Canaan, but it was a land of vineyards and olive yards, of fat pastures and of noble streams in store for him.

George Cary Eggleston has told how some of the early frontier mechanics prospered, and he laments that Protection ever spoiled that Eden. Of necessity there were many crude workshops that could not by any possibility feel the pressure of Old World competition. A saddler, a blacksmith, a carpenter beyond the Alleghanies had a rude local market wherein "his right there was none to dispute." The cost of bringing goods over the sea plus the duty and plus several times the duty would have been slight compared to the enormous expense of hauling goods from the seaboard. Frontier industries, primitive and crude no doubt, were often sheltered from the competition of the Old World because the settler could not wait six months before his order reached England and six months more before it was filled. Many remember stage coach travel at six and a quarter cents a mile—imagine transportation long before stage coaches!

Here and there some figures can be found, but no returns fully show what an enormous sum our young country made as an ocean carrier. The wars between England and France, while they led to decrees hostile to our shipping, yet began with tendencies favorable to us. Cargoes innumerable were carried in American bottoms; this meant pay for shipwrights and rope makers, money entered into circulation, the farms near the coast and even the backwoods outposts felt the influence of this money. There were men who, long before the tariff of 1824 (our first strong Protective tariff), had made enough in shipping to start their sons as Western landowners, and some of their descendants were doing a little trade now and then in furs.

Be it noted also that our labor has received more or less protection from causes other than duties avowedly levied for Protection. During the Revolution our coast was blockaded, we could not import British goods, and in the hard school of necessity our mechanics learned many lessons. Before a generation rolled by, the Embargo, the non-Inter-course Act, and the war of 1812 all stimulated our workmen to do their best. A high tariff, even if sternly enforced, never does and never will shut off foreign competition as an embargo or a war can. For nearly fourteen years, between Bunker Hill and New Orleans, the stoppage of importations absolutely compelled us to make a number of articles for ourselves.

We truly say that the competition of Great Britain has often menaced us, still we should remember that during the Napoleonic wars a large

part of her energy was absorbed in the continental struggle. Later years brought on the Crimean war and once more the full weight of her energy was broken. Great war contracts diverted some of the enterprises of Great Britain from her plans for seizing our markets.

International patent rights have also been a great help to us. The ingenious American has often, because of new machinery, reduced prices, raised wages and increased his profits. Our gigantic lakes and the mighty Mississippi would of necessity have fostered some local industries, tariff or no tariff. From time to time, short crops in Europe have called for great outpourings of our breadstuffs, the crowded Old World has bought multitudes of our cattle and hogs, the British army has been a liberal purchaser of our mules, and all these purchases, not to mention the cotton and tobacco we have sold, have been sources of revenue to us.

Statistics cannot tell how we have been aided by the comparative weakness of our neighbors. Thinly peopled Canada to the north, feeble Mexico to the South, might be in some lines of industry competitors, but in many competition was impossible. Canada never raised the cotton and the sub-tropical fruits we produce, nor did Mexico swarm with clever patentees threatening our supremacy. England, with Germany's skilled mechanics invading her markets, feels a strain we have never known.

So far as we know we have set forth the advantages, irrespective of a Protective tariff, which the American has over the man in the Old World. He would probably have

been better off than the Englishman, the German or the Belgian, even if no Protective measure had ever been passed. This does not, however, affect the fact that low tariffs have slackened his progress and high tariffs quickened it. A comparison of our wage scales, our savings fund deposits, our general condition under Protection and under revenue tariffs shows this. The speeches of Clay, the reminiscences of Greeley, the message of Buchanan tell us the sad tale of old-time tariff reduction, and the later experiments under Cleveland are not easily forgotten.

Let this be kept in mind. Not one writer or speaker on the Free Trade side ever pretends that our low tariff ventures, as a rule, worked well. They always avoid that. Every speech for tariff reduction hints at some imaginary future benefits or falls back on the tariff of 1846. A food market abroad, a victorious war, an epoch of new railroad building and the gold from California then partly offset a low tariff's logical tendency.

It is false and silly to say that Protectionists undervalue the natural advantages our land possesses—the fertile soil, the rich mines, the giant rivers and the noble trees. Protectionists see all these, and, like Andrew Jackson, hold themselves ungrateful to Providence if they do not use His gifts. But they say and they prove that, with all these advantages, every attempt to deprive us of Protection has been a costly blunder. Their case is supported by a long line of facts.

Remember, a change is dangerous, both to business and private affairs.—Batavia (O.) Courier.

DEATH OF STEPHEN HOLMAN.

Stephen Holman, who was probably the oldest member of the Home Market Club in years, died in Swampscott, Mass., October 13, at the advanced age of 92 years. He had returned from an European trip a few days before, apparently in his usual health, but was attacked by angina pectoris, which soon proved fatal. He died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. William E. Plummer, with whom he had lived during recent years. Besides his daughter he is survived by a son, Charles R. Holman, now engaged in research work in Switzerland.

Mr. Holman was one of about a dozen manufacturers who met in Boston, in July, 1888, to organize the Home Market Club, in response to a call issued by George Draper, Theodore C. Bates and Timothy Merrick. He was elected one of the vice-presidents and was re-elected for several years thereafter. He retained his membership in the Club, and his interest in its work, to the end of his life. He was a man of exceptionally high character, and will be long remembered for his marked integrity and loyalty to principle.

Mr. Holman is said to have been the oldest member of the Massachusetts bar and is supposed to have been the oldest alumnus of Williams College, from which he was graduated in 1840. He was born in Royalston, Dec. 28, 1820, and was graduated from Lynn Academy before entering Williams. He was admitted to the Massachusetts bar from Worcester and practised law for a number of years. Later, he conducted a preparatory school for boys, and then taught languages in

the Fitchburg High School and other institutions. He was an accomplished linguist, and when ninety years old entertained a German society at his Swampscott home by reading selections in German from Schiller. He became interested in the paper industry and later was appointed paymaster of the Lyman Mills in Holyoke. In 1865 he bought the Holyoke Paper Company, and became the first paper manufacturer to introduce a cost system into that business. A few years afterward he organized the Holyoke Machine Company of Holyoke and Worcester, which supplied waterwheels and mill machinery to many plants throughout the country. He was for many years a director in several large cotton manufacturing companies and was prominent in the affairs of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers.

WILSON AS A STATESMAN.

BY HENRY OAREY BAIRD.

Statesmanship, involving as it does, the morals, the well-being, the happiness, the civilization of mankind, the defence, the independence, the grandeur of the State, is beyond all comparison the highest calling among men. So judged, let us bring to judgment Mr. Woodrow Wilson and determine whether there is in him, brought up amidst college surroundings, the making of a statesman, especially in the guidance of a nation, such as ours, with all its critical issues. Recently Mr. Wilson has advanced opinions as follows:

"It seems to me very absurd to maintain that we should have free

trade between different portions of this country, and at the same time shut ourselves out from free communication with other producing countries of the world. If it is necessary to impose restrictive duties on goods brought from abroad, it would seem to me, as a matter of logic, necessary to impose similar restrictions upon goods, taken from one State of this Union to another."

Association—From the first breath to the last, from the cradle to the grave, the child of man is helpless without calling to his or her aid other human beings. Learned men have for centuries discoursed on the freedom of the will, while ignoring the potency of the law of association, and have failed, there being no possibility of such freedom under the domination of such a law.

That Mr. Wilson is absolutely ignorant of the law of association as the ruling factor in human life is manifest, and leads him into a fallacy so fundamental as to be absolutely fatal, and in practice sure to lead to the ruin of the human race.

Let us for a moment consider some of the manifestations of the despotic power of the law of association, and how this power affects the race.

Without association there could be no speech, no knowledge, no literature, no printing, no post office, no schools, no college, no universities, no agriculture, no tools, no steamships, no railroads, no telegraph, no telephone, no armies, no navies, no Governments, indeed, no human life.

That association may be developed to the highest possible degree, Governments have so legislated as to develop the diversification of in-

dustries, thus creating such differences in the education, the capabilities, the wants, the occupations of their people as to make it possible for these people to find a demand for their labor power, the source of all wealth, and the most perishable of all commodities, which if not consumed on the instant of its production is lost and gone forever. Money has most happily been named "The Instrument of Association," and banks and bankers deal in money and credit, and they control association, and thus become the real rulers of the nations, and ever will be.

The effect of diversification of industries is that of bringing the consumer to the side of the producer and thus to direct human effort from transportation to production, and to eliminate the tax of transportation, not to separate producer and consumer by thousands of miles as Mr. Wilson would have it, while both of these would be producers and consumers at home by millions, rotting in idleness, degradation and barbarism.

Protection is really above and beyond all other considerations the safeguarding of the power of association and enabling men and women to find freedom where alone it can be found, compliance with the dominating law of association, to defy which law is to perish or at least to live a miserable life of poverty, degradation and want.

But Mr. Wilson says:

"It seems to me very absurd to maintain that we should have free trade between different portions of this country, and at the same time shut ourselves out from free communication with other producing

countries of the world." And he adds: "If it is necessary to impose restrictive duties on goods brought from abroad, it would seem to be as a matter of logic, necessary to impose similar restrictions upon goods taken from one State of this Union to another."

Recognition of the law of association as the basic fact in the philosophy of statesmanship finally disposes of Wilson's difficulty in seeing how we may have free trade between the different States of the Union, and exact tariff duties on the produce "of other producing countries."

But let us see how the free entry of foreign merchandise and the protection of domestic production respectively will in practice work. Foreign production developing the activity of association in foreign countries and simply killing this activity in the United States while producers and consumers here are in idleness and starve. On the other hand, protecting these industries enables these producers and consumers mutually to take their natural places in compliance with the Law of Association.

Let us now take a glance at the workings of an American industry at present in its infancy, the American tin plate industry. This industry only dates from 1891 with an American production of 552 gross tons, while the imports in 1889 were 331,311 gross tons. The American production as given above had by 1912 swollen to the estimated amount of 800,000 gross tons, while the estimated imports of 1912 are given at 2,000 gross tons.

The estimated saving to the country is \$35,000,000. It gives employ-

ment to 17,000 persons, whose wages amount to \$10,000,000 a year. Let us see what effect these wages have on the country when passed into circulation as they rapidly do. Some portions of them will penetrate to remote parts of the country, while the whole will be so scattered as to create billions of acts of association, and carry prosperity and joy throughout the land; while Mr. Wilson's "logic" is at work figuring out the comparative value of these billions of acts of association whether developed in the United States of America or in the Dominion of John Bull.

The trouble with Mr. Wilson's "logic" is that it proceeds from false premises and the false premises are due to the fact that he is quite ignorant of the value of Analysis, the great instrument that enthusiastic workers are calling to their aid in solving the mystery of nature and find typical illustration of success in the revolution now taking place in the practice of medicine and surgery resulting in the annual saving of millions of lives.

During the years in which the Wilson bill was in force the woolen manufacturers suffered. Many mills were compelled to shut down. These were abnormal years, and it is not necessary to attribute the hard times solely to the tariff act of 1894. But it was at least an addition to other factors operating to injure the woolen business. It is the only experience we have had for a generation of a radical revision of this schedule, and, without exaggerating its importance, one pledged to a moderate protection policy may well hesitate before giving approval without full information to legislation which makes a more radical reduction in the protection actually afforded to manufacturers of wool than did the Wilson Act.—Pres. Taft.

AMERICA'S SILK INDUSTRY.

Developed Under a Protective Policy From Nothing to 900 Factories, Employing 125,000 Workers—The Annual Output Worth \$175,000,000—And Silks Cost 30 to 50 Per Cent. Less Than They Did Thirty Years Ago—A Plain Statement
By a Manufacturer.

Charles Cheney in New York Commercial.

Who can look back over the last half-century and consider the marvellous development of this country, and dispassionately analyze the causes that have been at work in bringing us up into the front rank of the industrial nations, without honestly acknowledging that without the assistance of the protective policy we should have been seriously handicapped in developing the genius of our people and opening to them the field of opportunity which they have seized? Who can believe that without it we should have attained the position that we now hold? Who can imagine that we could have fought the fight for industrial supremacy and independence against the established organization of the old world without this powerful defiance? Nothing is more certain than that the markets will always seek the cheapest source of supply and will continue to buy in its accustomed channels, unless forced to look elsewhere by major force. Without this force we should have continued to get our supplies in the old cheap markets of Europe, and we would not have built up here our great industries. We would have developed of course much more

slowly, but still we would have developed. We would have become a great agricultural nation, although even in this direction the development would have been stunted and restricted by the limitations of being forced to depend upon export almost entirely for a market, and by the absence of capital, of energy and transportation facilities which have come with our general, well rounded growth. The glory of the protective policy has been its power to draw out and strengthen the genius of the people for constructive work and constructive government.

There are innumerable instances which could be cited to illustrate the practical way in which this force has operated, but it seems to me that there is none more striking than that of the silk industry. Look back and consider the situation a little more than a generation ago. There was not a silk mill in the land; there was no one here who understood the process of manufacture; the price of labor, although much less than it is today, was higher than in the silk-producing countries; there was no raw material at hand and there was no capital available for the upbuilding of the industry. Contrasted with

this situation, was that abroad. Silk manufacture had been carried on for centuries. It was, according to the standard of those days, well organized. There were thousands of skilled workers who had been trained in all of its numerous and delicate branches all their lives, and who had inherited the traditions and the cunning of their forefathers for generations. There were master minds with experience and with art, to direct and inspire the work, and above all, theirs was that priceless treasure, reputation.

The fabrics of France and Italy had been renowned throughout the world for centuries, and it was almost an impertinence for any others to presume to compete with them. Add to all this the fact that in an article of such value as silk, the cost of transportation counts for almost nothing in the final price, and you can appreciate the fearful odds against which an intending American silk manufacturer would have had to contend without protection. They would have been more than fearful; they would have been insurmountable. We would never have had any silk industry at all. Here was a case where it might have been said with a good show of reason that there was no silk industry to protect, and that in the nature of things there never could be any and that it was folly to attempt to create one. But, thank Heaven, there was a protective tariff and in due course, and in accordance with economic law, a silk industry was born and through many trials and discouragements struggled on until it became established and succeeded beyond the fairest dreams of its founders. Today the United

States of America can boast that it is by a great deal the most important silk-manufacturing country in the world. We consume two-thirds as much raw silk as all of Europe, and more than twice as much as France, which holds second place. We have nine hundred factories employing one hundred and twenty-five thousand workers and producing about one hundred and seventy-five million dollars' worth of goods per annum. We are making almost all of the silks which we wear and they are the equal of any, grade against grade. A few wealthy and exclusive people are still buying some of the most costly novelties and specialties of foreign make, but American women are clad, and well clad, in American silks.

Does somebody say—Oh, yes, but at what price? Anybody who is familiar with price history will testify that silks cost today from thirty to fifty per cent. less than they did thirty years ago. Let me cite a notable instance. The firm of Cheney Brothers made its first great success and established its reputation on black gros grain silks, which came to be known to all well dressed ladies of the last generation. They were sold at wholesale at \$2.25 per yard, which price was gradually lowered until fashion finally ended their career. They are still made in a smaller way by the same firm, in just the same old way, without change in weave, width, weight or dye, and are sold at sixty cents per yard less regular discounts. The popular foulards made by this firm are sold today at twenty per cent. less than twenty years ago, and so on right through the line. Even during the last few

years, while other commodity prices have been soaring, the prices of silks have continued to decline.

Now let me ask the thoughtful reader, who in America has been hurt? Is it not an achievement to be proud of, to have built up here this great industry, this proud monument to the protective policy? We lead the world and are still growing. We are giving employment to a great army of workers at wages all the way from two times to twenty times as great as are paid by our competitors in foreign lands, and we are clothing you in silks at greatly reduced prices, and at prices which are certainly less than you would be paying for the foreign makes if they should be freed from the competition of our American manufacturers.

I am frequently told that while it was all right to foster the "infant industry" it has become ridiculous to continue to shield the full-grown giant. It is a fine thing to be a great healthy, husky giant, but who has any use for a hungry, sick old cripple of a giant? If it was worth while to build up this splendid industry, it is worth while to keep it. Our past triumphs would avail us nothing if we had to sell our products in open competition with the products of the cheap labor countries, and we would languish and decline and finally go out of existence, if forced to attempt it, and then how long would it be before others would take advantage of your helplessness and make you dance to their music? We will be doomed to suffer a rude awakening if we rely upon the old theory that our organizations and our workmen excel the rest of the world and need no assistance in competing with them. It is true that Europe and

Asia used to lie in the grip of an unyielding and unprogressive conservatism, but they have long since cast off the lethargy of the olden days. They are well abreast of us in almost every branch of industry, and in many things they are our masters. In Japan more silk was woven on new power looms last year than was produced on the old-style hand looms, which are fast disappearing. The Japanese weavers earn about one-tenth as much as ours, and ours must choose between meeting that kind of competition or remaining behind the protection of the tariff. The first one to feel the strain of the competition would be the laborers whose wages would have to be lowered, but even if it were possible to meet the competition by reducing wages all through the land, we would still lose our opening for trade as the purchasing power of the public would be sadly curtailed and they could not buy even at the reduced price. I do not believe that the intelligence of this people will permit them to throw down and wantonly destroy what they and their forefathers have so proudly built. To do so would be to stand on the same level of constructive ability as the child who only builds a tower of blocks in order to see it fall when he kicks it over.

TARIFF REFORM AND NATIONAL DEFENCE.

Germany's Interest in the Fiscal Policy of Great Britain.

The imminence of a revolutionary change in Great Britain's fiscal system appears to be fully realized by well-informed Germans. They recognize also the danger to German trade involved in this adoption of methods which have proved so suc-

cessful among themselves. Herr Hermann von Rath, a well-known publicist and member of the Prussian Diet, deals with this question in a recent contribution to the "Tag," in which, under the caption "Germany's Economic Life Threatened," he dilates upon the danger, to Germany, of even a modified form of Protection as applied to Great Britain. The Berlin correspondent of the London Morning Post (September 5) summarizes Herr von Rath's views, which include the belief that the British Liberal ministry is dying, the Conservative idea in England being stronger at the present time than any other. Herr von Rath is convinced that Tariff Reform will be the first object which the coming Government will place before Parliament, "and it is the certainty of this which constitutes the danger to Germany's economic life."

Among the points raised by Herr von Rath are the inadequacy of present sources of British revenue to meet the enormous and increasing drain of expenditure and the fact that some form of Protection offers the only solution of that problem. British patent laws have already compelled German manufacturers to establish branch factories in England, and this would be necessary to a still greater extent under Protection. "For Germany," says Herr von Rath, "the matter is peculiarly disquieting, because she would not only have to meet, in future, her own heavy expenditure on the navy, but, in addition, owing to the British protective tariff, be obliged to bear a considerable portion of her rival's naval expenditure. The introduction of Protection in Great Britain will, he maintains, be such a

blow for Germany that even the possibility of a British attack fades into comparative insignificance. It may, when too late, dawn upon the short-sighted naval agitators in Germany that in striving after some unattainable phantom they have sacrificed national interests of vital importance.

If the German war scare forces a new British Government to levy import taxes on competing products to increase the revenue available for national defence, as well as to solve the hard problem of unemployment in England, an immensely popular argument for Tariff Reform will be added to the already formidable list of economic reasons for the abandonment of Free Trade and the adoption of a protective tariff for national protection and the welfare of British industries and British workmen.

THE BUSINESS DEPRESSION OF 1893-'97.

From the New York Tribune.

Democratic authorities have always tried to put the blame for the hard times which set in just after Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated President for the second time on the agitation for the free coinage of silver. That agitation had been gathering force since the passage of the Bland-Allison silver coinage bill, which required the government to coin \$2,000,000 in silver every month. The strength of the free silver advocates in Congress was greatest about the middle of President Harrison's term. Then a reaction began to set in against the free coinage delusion—though it revived and culminated in 1896—and the re-

nomination of President Harrison by the Republicans and of Mr. Cleveland by the Democrats in 1892 proved that neither party was willing at that time to go any further in making concessions to the silver inflationists.

The last two years of the Harrison administration were on the whole years of prosperity, but after Mr. Cleveland's election in November, 1892, business confidence declined rapidly, and when the new administration began the country was on the verge of a panic. That that panic was not caused by fear of the silver heresy is indicated by the fact that Congress at the extra session of 1893 repealed the Sherman silver purchase act and stopped the coinage of silver. But depression became even more acute after the ghost of flat silver money had been laid, and it continued through the next four years. If silver had been to blame the trouble should have been overcome by the prompt stoppage of silver purchases.

Mr. Cleveland and a Congress Democratic in both branches came into power on a pledge to destroy protection, and it was the threat of such destruction, partly carried out in the Wilson-Gorman act of 1894, which really kept the country nervous and apprehensive, halted business and industry and led to the general opening of soup houses. Democratic recklessness in upsetting the basis on which American production rested was the chief factor in the hard times of 1893-'97, which lasted until the anti-protectionist Wilson-Gorman tariff act had been replaced by the protective Dingley act a few months after President McKinley's inauguration.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

There is some justice in Chairman Hilles's complaint that his Democratic opponents are not sufficiently frank regarding the tariff question. As the campaign progresses, the business public is increasingly desirous to know more precisely what is to occur in the event of a Democratic victory. Will the Underwood bills on wool, cotton and steel be re-passed or others substituted? Is there to be a special session of Congress? Precisely where does the candidate himself stand with respect to proposed reductions of duty? There is no sufficient answer on any of these points. The lack of such an answer leaves the whole discussion largely indefinite and vague. Most of the uncertainty could be disposed of by Governor Wilson himself were he willing to furnish a direct and unequivocal answer. Such an answer would help, not hurt, him.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

There are still some dunderheads in the United States who repeat the stale argument of the Cobdenites, that the protectionists seek to unnaturally force the development of industries in this country which cannot be profitably pursued. There never was a bigger blunder. Protectionist tariffs offer no encouragement to attempt the creation of industries not adapted to the United States. The informed free trader knows that this is true and he is chiefly concerned now to note that nearly every industry which the system has sought to promote has been successfully established on the soil of the United States. Had the result

been otherwise he would have pointed to the failures. That he does not do so proves that he is unable to find them.

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From the Boston Transcript.

Governor Wilson in his speech at Springfield declared that he would consider himself without excuse if he were taking part in a program "which would seriously disturb legitimate business of this country or take away from a man his proper opportunity." This is very acceptable as far as it goes, but how far it goes remains for Governor Wilson himself to develop, since most of his outgivings on economic questions are rather cloudy, with a free trade tendency breaking through here and there. Here in New England he is confronted with a condition of affairs that ought to strengthen his determination—if determination it has become—to refrain from taking part in any program that would occasion the disturbance to which he referred.

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From Fibre and Fabric.

The free traders continue their misrepresentations regarding the tariff and there is argument for and against revision, the low tariff advocates featuring the high cost of living as a direct result of our protective tariff, and citing eleven articles of food as an example. As a matter of fact the tariff has nothing whatever to do with the cost or selling price of foodstuffs only as it gives the American laborer the wherewithal to buy. A moment's study and thought will convince the most radical free trader that such is the case. If we are given an Underwood tariff we are in for four years

of depression as sure as anything is sure under the sun, and the hardest hit will be the laborer and the middle classes, as living will be materially lowered, simply because money will not be available for the purchase of necessities and luxuries.

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From the Camden Post-Telegram.

No argument is necessary to show the manufacturers of the country on which side of this question they should take their stand. Anything that hurts the country's manufacturing industries is bound to hurt the workingman also, so that the Tariff issue will be brought home alike to capitalist and laborer. With Protection as the dominant issue the Republican party will win.

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From the San Francisco Chronicle.

We know what the Democrats would do with protection. They would rip it out of the statute book. Their leaders say so. We do not know what they would do with our monetary and banking system, but the language of their leaders is ominous. And nothing is more certain than that a general rip-up of our tariff simultaneously with an assault on our credit system would put business in a very precarious situation. And we must do business and do it profitably in order to be able to earn and save the money with which to carry out the public welfare projects with which so many are occupied without considering where the money is coming from to pay for it all. And the money can never be got from a public which is not prosperous. It is not putting the dollar above the man to say that we must have the dollar before we can help the man.

WHY JEWELRY MANUFACTURING NEEDS PROTECTION.

The following facts in regard to wages paid in foreign jewelry factories, for which we are indebted to Mr. Charles T. Paye, North Attleboro, will conclusively prove the need of protection for American factories if our present high wages are to continue.

Gablonz, in Bohemia, is about the size of Attleboro and North Attleboro combined, and is the leading city in Austria-Hungary for the manufacture of certain grades of jewelry, much of which is imported into this country.

The wages in the jewelry industry, the chief industry in Gablonz, are:

	Per day.
Factory foremen	\$.80 to \$1.00
Skilled workmen . . . .	.60 to .70
General workmen . . . .	.50 to .60
Women workers . . . .	.40 to .50
Boys in the factory . . . .	.30 to .40
Girls in the factory . . . .	.25 to .30
Boys in the office . . . .	.20 to .30
Girls in the packing room . . . . .	.20 to .30

Much of the work is also taken home and done by the piece, but only by working long hours and by special skill can slightly better wages be secured through piece work.

The Reichenberg district, of which Gablonz is a part, has 2,008 houses with 9,222 distinct flats or apartments, occupied by 33,581 tenants. Of the occupied habitations 309 are in basements, 2,791 on the first floor, 2,823 on the second floor, 933 on the third floor, 184 on the fourth floor and 2,182 in the attics.

The habitations, consisting of one

room only, number 3,325 and are occupied by 8,994 people. The habitations, consisting of one room and a kitchen, number 2,068 and are occupied by 7,524 people. Those of two rooms and kitchen number 485 and are occupied by 1,875 people. Those of three rooms and kitchen number 1,483 and are occupied by 5,957 people. Those of four rooms and kitchen number 1,018 and are occupied by 4,339 people. Those of five rooms and kitchen number 843 and are occupied by 4,238 people.

The working class of this same section subsist principally on rye bread, potatoes, milk and vegetables, with occasionally a bit of smoked meat or sausages, sour milk and some home-made cheese.

These are all facts, easy of substantiation, and are conclusive proof to those who have studied the subject, that the great difference between the wages paid in Attleboro, North Attleboro and Plainville, as compared with the wages in Gablonz, and the great difference in the living conditions of the workmen in the Attleboros and in the Reichenberg district of Bohemia, require a substantial protective tariff.

Vienna Wages.

Vienna, Austria, is one of the principal European markets much favored by American importers and department store buyers of novelties, and is generally included in the list of markets visited in making a European purchasing trip.

The wages in the metal industry in Vienna are higher than in Gablonz; in fact, the highest wages in the metal industry in Austria are paid in Vienna, where the following wages prevail:

	Per week.
Goldsmiths and silversmiths	\$5.50 to \$7.50
Stampers and pressmen	6.00 to 7.50
Skilled helpers (men)	4.50 to 5.50
Skilled helpers (women)	3.00 to 3.50
Women polishers and burnishers	3.50 to 4.50
Ordinary labor (men)	4.00
Ordinary labor (women)	2.50

The rate for women polishers is given because this work is done almost entirely by women, which is equally true of the other jewelry manufacturing centres in Europe.

As an example of the living conditions, the family of a skilled workman, earning good wages, with one or two children working in addition to the father, whose earning capacity would be \$6.00 to \$7.00 per week, occupies two or not over three rooms.

The evening meal, which is the principal meal of the day, consists generally of potatoes, beans, rice, milk or chicory coffee and bread.

Meat is a luxury and used only on holidays, with the exception of "brisket," which in the better paid families is served during the evening meal several times a week.

The homes are well conducted, neat and clean; the houses generally attractive in appearance, and only those rented by the better class of workmen have modern sanitary arrangements, but are nevertheless not the homes to which American workmen are accustomed.

Investors do not invest when business is paralyzed. Protection keeps money moving; Free-Trade checks its employing agency.—American Economist.

OUR EXPORT PRICES.

Charge of Selling Abroad Lower Than at Home a Gross Exaggeration.

BY THOMAS O. MARVIN.

A special commissioner of the United States who spent a year in Europe, reports as a result of his investigations that the sale abroad of American products at a lower price than at home is very rarely the case. After repeated inquiries among foreign jobbers and retailers, he learned that the American wholesale price plus the freight, duty, if any, other expenses and a small profit established the selling price to the consumer. The American manufacturer does not obtain, as a rule, large profits on his export business. Foreign trade extension is a tedious and expensive undertaking and a foreign market for our goods is obtained, he declared, not because our goods are sold more cheaply, but because they are better than similar articles of European make.

Higher Prices for Our Goods.

James T. McCleary, while a member of Congress from Minnesota, related some of his experiences abroad while investigating the claim that our goods are sold there at a lower price than at home. He said: "Practically without exception I found the prices of American goods higher everywhere in Europe than in the United States." In Scotland he found a McCormick binder offered for sale for \$95. A new McCormick binder was selling in Minnesota at that time at about \$120. On investigation he found that the binder was of a model then four years old in the United States and that it could be bought in Minnesota for \$85.

This incident is typical of many such instances where it is claimed that our products are sold abroad more cheaply than at home. Either the article is unsalable here even at the price asked abroad; it is part of a remnant or bargain sale; it is surplus product dumped abroad, a custom practised by all manufacturing countries, whether with a high tariff, low tariff or no tariff; it is a consignment of goods at cost or some-

times even below cost in an effort to win a footing in a foreign market against keen competition, or the reported transaction is an isolated and infrequent one or a gross exaggeration, misstatement or imposture.

Lower Export Prices.

Selling abroad at less price than at home is not an unknown occurrence. This practise is one of the recognized and legitimate weapons in the conquest of foreign markets. There is not a commercial country on the globe that does not have in some instances a lower export price than the prevailing domestic price. Great Britain's home price (1909) on steel rails was \$31.50 a ton, export price \$25; Germany's home price was \$30, export price \$24; France's home price was \$31, export price \$25.50; Belgium's home price was \$30, export price \$24; and the United States home price is \$28, export price \$24 to \$26, a less difference than prevails between the two list prices in any other country and a difference made imperative by the exceptional conditions of the foreign trade.

If we are to transact any foreign commerce at all we must meet the conditions which prevail in foreign markets. If we sell our manufactured products abroad, we must undersell the foreign manufacturers who, in almost every case except Great Britain, are protected in their own market by tariff duties, or we must give better value for the money. There are other conditions which interfere with the extension of the American foreign trade. There is a prejudice against our goods to be overcome; there is fear abroad of an "American Invasion"; there are bounties paid by foreign governments on exports and large subsidies paid to steamship companies to carry goods in the export trade; there are reduced freight rates, as in the case of Germany, of 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. on German manufactures for export.

Overcoming Handicaps.

But in spite of these handicaps, our manufacturers, protected in their home market by a reasonable tariff on imports, have succeeded in building up a

foreign trade which now amounts to over a billion dollars annually in value of products sold. And this has been accomplished because of the superior quality of our goods, quick deliveries and better selling methods. For these reasons the price of our goods in foreign markets has been maintained on the same level as at home and only a small percentage of our exports is sold abroad at a lower price than they are here.

The report of the industrial commission contained a tabulation of 416 replies to the question of selling abroad at a lower price than at home. A great majority of the answers showed that prices are no lower abroad than they are for domestic consumers, and a considerable number indicate that they are higher. In cases where a portion of the goods were sold abroad lower than at home the following reasons were given:

"Cash payments and large purchases in the foreign trade, whereas the domestic trade is based on credits and small purchases."

"The drawback or rebate of the tariff on imported raw material of goods manufactured for export."

"To overcome the tariff of other countries."

"To secure new markets."

"To hold a market against new competitors."

"To clear out surplus stock or to prevent a shutdown and increased cost of production by keeping mills running and men employed."

"To get rid of samples and out-of-date goods."

"Because the expense of selling and advertising is less abroad than at home."

Selling Expenses Less Abroad.

The fact that the expense of selling and advertising is much less in foreign countries than it is here has an important bearing on the price at which goods reach the consumer. In Great Britain and throughout Europe a great deal of the retail business is carried on in buildings which are both the store and the home of the merchant and the conduct of the business is a family affair, clerk hire and other expenses being

reduced to a minimum. Rents are cheap and a small profit suffices. Many of the normal and legitimate expenses of American stores are eliminated and all the processes of distribution are carried on much cheaper than in this country.

The recent report of the tariff board on cotton manufactures gives some interesting illustrations of the difference in the cost of distribution in England and the United States. The report shows that the price at American mills of many of the coarser grades of cotton goods is as low as or lower than the mill price in England, yet the retail price is much higher in this country than in England. Thus one fabric which sells at the mills in the United States at 8 1/2 cents a yard will be jobbed at 11 cents and sold at retail at 15 cents. The identical fabric in England would sell at the mill for the same price, 8 1/2 cents, be jobbed at 9 3/4 cents and retail at 13 1/2 cents. A fabric selling at our mills at 12 cents would be jobbed at 16 1/2 cents and reach the consumer at 25 cents. The same fabric with the same mill price in England would be jobbed at 14 cents and reach the consumer at 19 cents.

The mill price is the same in both countries, but because of higher costs of distribution, larger salaries to clerks, more expensive advertising, larger rents and a wider margin of profit, goods, the manufacturer's price of which is the same, reach the consumer here at a higher price than they do abroad. And some people foolishly blame the manufacturer for "the high cost of living."

Misrepresenting the Facts.

A retail store in London might purchase from an American mill these cotton fabrics which sell at our mills as low as they do in England and because of cheap transatlantic freight and low cost of distribution, offer these goods for sale on its counters several cents a yard cheaper than they can be bought for in Springfield, Boston or New York, and the orators of Democracy would thunder across the continent that American goods were being sold at cheaper

prices than at home and demand the obliteration of the protective tariff—that economic system which has made it possible for cotton mills or any other mills to become established in this country and distribute annually millions of dollars in wages to swell the purchasing power of our people and support the mammoth stores which adorn the business streets of our great cities, where clerks are paid \$10 to \$15 a week instead of \$5 or \$6, as is the case in London; and the cost of which was 40 to 60 per cent. higher than it would be abroad because our carpenters, masons and painters receive wages two and three times as much as is paid for the same kind of work abroad.

If you want the same prices that prevail abroad then make up your minds to accept the same wages. But if you want good wages in your pay envelopes then rally to the support of the American system of protection which 40 years of Republican administration has written upon our statute books.

Cheapness is not the goal to strive for; because cheap prices mean cheap wages, cheap men and cheap women.

Only 3 Per Cent. Sold Abroad.

In 1909 the products of our mills and factories were valued at \$20,672,000,000. Our export of manufactures that year amounted in value to \$671,416,000. In other words, 96.8 per cent. of our manufactured products was sold to the American people, in the American market, the greatest market in the world, and only 3.2 per cent. was sold in foreign countries.

Who could have been harmed if all the manufactured products which we sold abroad, 3 per cent. of our total production, should have been sold there cheaper than at home? Yet all the fair evidence that can be obtained demonstrates that only an insignificant part of this 3 per cent. was sold abroad less than at home.

If in such paltry dealings as this the enemies of protection can find an argument for overthrowing the economic system of the country and induce the American electorate to follow their

leadership, then is the boasted common-sense of our people a myth and folly has usurped the place of reason.

In face of the plain facts of the case how utterly absurd is the declaration of Gov. Marshall, Democratic candidate for the vice-presidency, that he is "in favor of a system of taxation which will compel the protected manufacturer to sell the surplus at home and the product abroad." Ninety-seven per cent. abroad and 3 per cent. at home—what a beautiful system that would be! Ninety-seven per cent. of the production of our factories, says Gov. Marshall, should be sold abroad in the overcrowded markets of the world.

Never in the history of our country has a man become so violent an advocate of the policy of selling abroad cheaper than at home. There are not ships enough on all the seas to transport such enormous cargoes and should they reach a foreign shore they would have to be disposed of on bargain counters, dumped overboard or given away. There would be no room for them in the bamboo stores of Tokio, in the bazaars of Paris or in the shops of London. There is a place for them in the million stores of American towns and cities, where the most prosperous people in the world will buy them and where they cannot be displaced by the products of the low-wage countries of Europe and Asia so long as the protective tariff is maintained.

THE HOME MARKET PAYS.

Farmers Know Their Products are Valuable Only When Wage-Earners are Prosperous.

From the New York Press.

The farmer cannot be fooled. He knows what a very small fraction of our agricultural products sell abroad. He knows that the bulk of our agricultural products is sold at home. He knows that if American wage-earners are prosperous there are good prices for farm products; that if American wage-earners are

not prosperous there are poor prices for farm products. He knows that American wage-earners can be prosperous only by our continuing to maintain American industries employing them against the competition of cheap foreign industries.

Mr. Wilson on the stump tells the farmer he could get \$30 a year off the cost of his implements. Mr. Wilson naturally does not like to tell the farmer that the price of his butter is too high, the price of his poultry too high, the price of his eggs too high, the price of his grain too high, the price of his mutton too high, the price of his vegetables too high, and so on. So he goes in for the price of the farmer's implements—\$30 a year. The farmer will tell Mr. Wilson at the polls that he doesn't care to save \$30 a year on implements at the cost of fifty cents a bushel, say, on a thousand bushels of wheat a year.

RHODE ISLAND TARIFF PUBLICITY LEAGUE.

The manufacturers of Rhode Island met Oct. 14 and formed the Tariff Publicity League. Forty men identified with the industry were present.

The officers elected were: President, Dr. Fenner H. Peckham; vice-presidents, Joseph E. Fletcher, Lyman B. Goff, Charles Sisson and William Clarke; treasurer, Orray Taft; executive committee, J. O. Ames, J. W. Coggeshall, Webster Knight, F. E. Richmond, 2nd, Orray Taft, Harold C. Whitman, Harrison Benn, E. C. Bucklin, F. L. Jenckes, A. L. Kelley, J. R. MacColl, C. H. Merriman, Jr., G. R. Parsons, H. O. Sturges and R. W. Taft. The following resolutions were passed:

"Whereas, In the election of last year textile manufacturers of Rhode Island organized as a Tariff Publicity League presented to the voters their reasons for

believing that the proposed Democratic tariff changes by which protections of woollens would be reduced from approximately 50 per cent. to 20 per cent. and on cotton from an average of 42 per cent. to less than 20 per cent. would bring disaster to both owners and employers of our manufacturing industries and

"Whereas, The Democratic party in Congress has reaffirmed its adherence to this revolutionary policy by again passing these same measures and in addition has declared in its convention platform that any protection to our industries is unlawful, and

"Whereas, This Democratic action and the fact that we are electing a Senator and three Representatives to vote upon it has made it even more important than last year that the verdict of this State on these measures should be emphatic and unmistakable if our remarkable progress and prosperity is to continue, and

"Whereas, The result of that campaign of education in these bread and butter questions was to increase the Republican majority of 1,100 votes in 1910 to more than 7,000 last year, and

"Whereas, While we are not opposed to such reasonable revision of present duties as recent investigation may show to be possible without disaster to the large number of people engaged in the industries affected, we are opposed to tariff revolutions. Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we take every legitimate means to bring this unparalleled and menacing situation to the attention of the voters in the approaching election."

A popular demand arose for the formal creation by law of a permanent non-partisan tariff commission. Commercial bodies all over the country united in a movement to secure adequate legislation for this purpose, and an association with a nation-wide constituency was organized to promote the cause. The public opinion in favor of such a commission was evidenced by resolutions adopted in 1909 and 1910 by Republican State conventions in at least twenty-eight States.—Pres. Taft.

THE FARMER AND PROTECTION.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

All the papers supporting Woodrow Wilson are lamenting the fact that the farmer is getting good prices for his products, and they would all like to see some plan adopted which would curtail the rewards of the agriculturist. It will be interesting to note just how keen the American farmer is to preserve the advantage he has gained. There was a time when he understood perfectly that the reason why he received such small returns for his labor was largely because he had to ship his products to foreign countries, where they were in competition with the entire production of the world. Then he was in favor of the protective policy, which he realized would result in creating a great domestic market for him. His expectations were confirmed by the event. He is now getting fair prices for what he produces, and the question arises, Will he cheerfully sacrifice the advantage he gained through protection by abandoning it? If he does he will become easy game for those who are crying for cheap farm products, because people who receive small wages for working in factories cannot pay big prices for the products of the soil, and those who lose their jobs cannot pay any price at all.

THE NEW BEDFORD STRIKE LESSON.

From Fibre and Fabric.

It is easy money for the paid agitators to drop into a mill community and fire up a crowd of irresponsible foreigners to make impossible demands and strike if they are not granted. But there is a responsible element that can only live like human beings by steady employment. Heretofore this class have felt duty bound to strike with the crowd rather than stick to their work and be called "scabs." But an empty stomach and a cold, cheerless home with hungry children is slowly overcoming the assumed loyalty to a gang of industrial wreckers and particularly now, with winter close at hand the responsible help in the mills are going to have good cause before they go out on strike.

The New Bedford affair illustrates how labor is disorganized with little if any just cause. Nine weeks of wages amounted to close to \$1,000,000 and it can never be made up. Hundreds of men and women who have not a cent to spare contributed nine weeks' wages, and the organizers and the agitators were the only ones benefited. If these undesirable factors had been given ten minutes to get out of the city limits, New Bedford labor would have been \$1,000,000 better off. As it is, hundreds will suffer all winter because they felt it necessary to follow the crowd, rather than to stand up in their boots and fight the agitators and irresponsibles.

PRESIDENT TAFT OPTIMISTIC.

On his recent tour to Western Massachusetts and Vermont, President Taft spent Sunday, October 6, at Dalton, and previous to continuing his journey, he issued the following optimistic statement:

"I have every reason to be satisfied with political conditions. I have been simply overwhelmed for days past with letters and newspaper clippings showing the trend of the tide to the Republican party, its platforms and its candidates. I have been especially gratified by the news from the Northwestern States. The population of the Northwest is not surpassed anywhere in intelligence and thrift and attachment to American institutions. The farmers of that part of the Union were never so prosperous, and they do not mean to risk the loss of their prosperity by abandoning the Republican party, whose policies have enabled them to prosper. They are convinced that the third-term candidate is no longer in the running and that the choice is between the Republican platform and candidates, on the one hand, and, on

the other hand, the Democratic platform, with its plank of a tariff for revenue only, and its candidate, Governor Wilson, who said in an address at Williams Grove, Pa., that the farmer does not need protection. It is unnecessary to explain to the farmer, West, East, North and on the Pacific slope, what Governor Wilson's very frank declaration would mean, with Mr. Wilson in the White House and a Democratic majority in the Capitol. The same news comes from all directions. A Baltimore trade paper, which has been gathering the views of manufacturers in all parts of the United States, thus sums up the situation:

A rapid expansion in business interests, increasing activity everywhere, factories overtaxed with orders beyond their capacity to fill, a growing scarcity of labor, especially of skilled mechanics, a car shortage which, in many cases, is greatly retarding shipments—such is the condition of business throughout the country as voiced by leading manufacturers of every section.

"The principal reason for the existing prosperity is the assurance that, under the Republican policy of home protection and trade expansion, American industry, while reaching for the foreign market, is not in danger of losing the home market. While our foreign trade is growing more rapidly than at any time in our history, domestic commerce is making advances fully as remarkable."

"There is no serious danger, I believe, to our institutions from industrial agitations. So long as such agitation keeps within legal bounds it is not without wholesome significance, and may tend to improve conditions. When it passes beyond the legal limit, whether those self-out-

lawed are connected with capital or with labor, it is a menace to be dealt with by lawful authority. The Golden Rule is getting to be more and more a guide in business as well as in religion. Social and economic conditions are growing better, not worse, and Republican policies fostering and stimulating national prosperity, undoubtedly tend toward this betterment.

"For the man or the community enjoying robust health, quack remedies have little attraction, no matter how vociferously recommended as cure-alls for the body politic. The law of supply and demand, along with labor organization and arbitration, and such legislation as may properly be enacted governing hours of labor and rates of compensation in the public service, thereby giving an example for private employers, are adequate to deal with the wage question. A general minimum wage should have a tendency to bring down the maximum to the minimum. Labor organizations are well aware of this result, where an arrangement to that effect has been entered into with employers. However, as I have said, the American people are in no need of quack nostrums, and too busy to listen to their venders.

"The higher cost of living, as I have said before, is worldwide. The aim of the Republican party is to see that American workers are enabled to meet the cost of living by keeping employed at good wages. It is a simple purpose, and as direct and practical as it is simple, and does not need a volume of rhetoric to explain it or get around it. While the cost of living, so far as most of the necessities of life are concerned, is not so high here as in Europe, the wage

earner here is getting from more than double, to six and seven times the wages paid in Europe, and is in that proportion better able to meet any increase in the cost of living.

"I am pleased to note that former Governor Douglas of Massachusetts, an earnest and most estimable member of the Democratic party, refused to be carried away in the current idle reasons for the 'high cost of living.' He attributes it chiefly to the increased annual production of gold to \$500,000,000 from about one-fourth that amount twenty years ago, and he expects that as long as the present output of gold continues, with no change in the weight of gold coins, prices will have a tendency to mount higher. Obviously, the Democratic party and Governor Wilson, with such conditions facing us, could not select a worse time for proposing to the American worker—as in effect they do propose by urging a reduction in the tariff—to consent to lower wages, with a view to more open competition with labor abroad. Wages must be kept up, and the way to keep them up is to keep the tariff protective, and not 'for revenue only.'

"I propose in dealing with the trust question to keep the great combinations of capital within exactly the same control as the city or cross-roads grocery that pays a Federal license for selling cigars. I mean that both shall obey the law. That's all. Simple, is it not? The Sherman law has been and will continue to be enforced against all violators, however rich and powerful they may be. I am utterly opposed to the proposal to have an interstate trade commission, fixing prices and otherwise exercising control over business affairs.

Such a control, because not guided by law but by personal discretion would be both despotic and Socialistic, and no reader of history needs to be told that the two terms have a very close relation."

THE JUDICIAL RECALL.

At the recent meeting of the American Bar Association, in Milwaukee, Henry D. Estabrook, New York, after asserting that judicial recall was being urged by "one-eyed leaders of the blind," said:

"It is proposed to recall a judge from his high office to obscurity or disgrace whenever he decides a case, not necessarily contrary to the law, but contrary to what a number of people in his vicinity regard as law. It is proposed that a clique of voters may set in motion the vast and expensive machinery of an election for this purpose whenever and as often as they see fit. It is proposed that the issue shall be determined, not by a majority vote of all eligible electors, who are perhaps indifferent to the proceeding, but by a majority of those actually voting on the particular issue and who are passionately alive to it. Here is an exemplification of trial by jury that transcends all idea of law or justice; where the judge himself is prisoner at the bar, accused of no crime nor of anything in particular without benefit of counsel or power to summon witnesses—not even to be confronted by his accusers. It is a dastardly, cowardly, cruel contrivance that would make the iniquity of the inquisition almost respectable by comparison."

I quote as high Democratic authority as Senator Gorman when I state that "the last and only complete Democratic victory gained in recent years was won because the candidate stated 'We will not destroy any industry.'" And on that declaration the campaign of 1892 was waged in the East and Middle West, rather than upon the dangerously worded Chicago platform, in which protective tariff was assailed as unconstitutional, and which platform was soon evoked and, as far as possible, formulated into organic law. Were industries

destroyed? Ninety-two articles were transferred from the dutiable to the free list by the Wilson bill as it came from the Democratic Ways and Means Committee or as it passed the House, among them wool, sugar, coal, iron, and lumber. The farmers were stripped of the protection afforded in the McKinley law. Railroads went into the hands of receivers. Banks closed their doors. The smoke of industry ceased to cloud the sky. Three million laboring people were thrown out of employment. Gold left our shores with every ship. The looms and reels and spindles of Bradford and other English cities worked double forces night and day to supply our people with textile fabrics, while the workmen of America languished, were being fed at soup houses, and begging for bread.—Hon. A. L. Bates, of Penn.

GLASS WORKERS' WAGES IN BRITAIN AND IN THE UNITED STATES.

Addressing the annual meeting of the National Flint Glass Makers Society of Great Britain and Ireland on September 2nd at Stourbridge, Mr. T. W. Rowe, President of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, enlightened his auditors on the comparative conditions of the British and American workman. Mr. Rowe is reported in the Stourbridge Express of September 9, 1911, as saying that: "He found workmen in the British Isles just as capable and intelligent as the workers in the United States, yet working for one-fourth, one-fifth and even one-sixth of the rate of wages paid for the same class of labor in the United States. The idea of men making medical bottles for £2 and 30s a week was to him almost incomprehensible, and if anyone previously had told him that that was the condition of things in England he would not have called them liars, but would certainly have thought they were. For that class of work in America a man could earn £4 a day and £2 a day was an ordinary wage of 8 1/2 hours labor. In England he found they had men pressing for £2 a week, while for the same kind of work in America men could earn \$15 a day, and they had men doing regular work who only had to put in their time at the fac-

tory to receive £8 a week. There were men, too, who were getting £400 a year, work or play, for certain classes of work. These were a few examples of the enormous difference in wages prevailing for the same class of work in England compared with America. Many of their leading people in England would tell them, however, that the cost of living in England was not so great as in America. 'I want to tell you,' continued Mr. Rowe, 'that your cost of living for beef steak, mutton chops, veal, eggs, flour, potatoes and corn is higher than it is in the United States. The only things you have cheaper in England are your house rents and clothing. Your clothes are cheaper and your shoes are cheaper, and besides these articles the cost of the necessaries of life in the British Isles is higher than in the United States.'

**IF A THING IS MADE AT
HOME, HOME LABOR
IS EMPLOYED.**

If a thing is made at home, home labor is employed; if abroad foreign labor is employed. Wages are lower abroad than at home. If a thing can be made cheaper because labor is cheaper, then it can be sold cheaper.

If foreign products can undersell our home products on our own soil, then our home factories must go out of business and our laboring men must go out of employment.

The domestic corporation is a combination of American capital and American labor receiving and disposing of its wealth on American soil, which we may now regulate to some extent, and which we hope to regulate more, while the foreign combination would enrich itself at our expense, would carry its wealth beyond seas, and would be beyond our control.

PROTECTION AND PROSPERITY.

All told, we have 268,491 manufacturing establishments, in which \$18,438,270,000 of capital are invested, where 7,678,578 wage earners find employment and \$3,427,038,000 are paid yearly in wages. The stimulus which industries of such magnitude impart to agriculture, local trade and professional activities is the cause of the rapid development and industrial progress of the United States. The system of protection to domestic industries so wisely adopted by the founders of our government, approved by four generations of American Statesmen, ratified again and again by the votes of American citizens, and justified by over a century of unprecedented prosperity, is now in the hands of the American electorate. The ancients believed that the fate of men was in the hands of the gods. The fate of our country is in the votes of the people. It is inconceivable that they will turn back the hands of the clock of prosperity, open our ports to the inrush of foreign goods and overthrow an economic system under which the United States has become the foremost manufacturing country of the world.

When did we ever lower the duties in this country that hard times and a depleted Treasury and gold flowing out of the country did not ensue? When were the higher duties ever restored that general prosperity did not follow? When did the Democratic party ever assume power that they did not at once make an assault upon the protective features of the tariff laws? If there is one thing that the school of Bryan, and the school of Cleveland, and in fact all the schools of modern Democracy do agree upon, it is to assail the protective features of the tariff laws of this country whenever possible.

Earnings in England, however, cannot be based on weekly wage scales; unemployment, varying as to the individuals involved, is now so bad as to be spoken of as a settled national feature in industry. The inspector-general of the army was quoted at Ipswich as mentioning in his last annual report that 90 out of every 100 men enlisting in the army had given unemployment as their reason for becoming soldiers.

INCREASING DEMAND FOR WOOL.

Danger in Legislation That Would Injure Sheep Raising.

There is no doubt that the younger element of Chinese are favorable to the wearing apparel of the great western countries. Having been educated abroad and having spent much time in studying customs and business, they naturally have a desire to adopt the best points they find. And this, notwithstanding the fact that it has long been claimed that the dress of the Chinese is the most sensible from a physical standpoint. The cultured Chinese would find it extremely difficult to part company with the luxurious silks that his progenitors used for centuries, and if he did it would be, in a sense, a national calamity, there being so much industrially dependent upon it.

The silk industry in China is no mean affair, and unless the curtailed silk production was followed by a disposition to grow wool, the difficulty that would ensue in the wool consuming countries of the world could be better imagined than described.

The increasing consumption of wool all over the world, and a relative lessening of production is a thing that practically all of the trade in this country are aware of, although they failed to accurately discount it. To add to its consumption even a small percentage of the population of a country such as China, which runs up into the hundreds of millions, without adding any appreciable production would cause a very acute situation. With Japan said to be using enormous quantities of

wool at this time, and the consumptive capacity of the present day wool consuming nations on the increase, prices would soar beyond all reason.

If the tariff is changed in such a way as to harass woolgrowing in this country, the situation will be even more difficult. There seems little doubt that, with what amounts to a bounty, taken away from woolgrowing, the business will have difficulty enough to contend with, without adding to it. The increased Japanese consumption is not a theory but an actuality, so that there is this to contend with if nothing else. Anything that tends to decrease production of wool will be a positive handicap, that instead of becoming lessened, will increase.

The two-fold purpose to which sheep are put, makes the business of growing them an exceedingly important one, and with their consumption as food increasing, and their product of wool on the decrease, it is a great question where the sheep are to come from to satisfy any new demand.

A MILLION-DOLLAR PAY-ROLL.

From the Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph, Esp.

When the fact was made public, a few years ago, that the pay-roll of Pittsburgh's industrial establishments amounted to a million dollars a day, wonder and even disbelief were expressed on all sides, and especially in cities rather jealous of Pittsburgh's manufacturing supremacy. A new calculation is now necessary, however, for the pay-roll has swelled to proportions heretofore unknown. A million dollars a day, big as that sum is, no longer suffices to fill the pay envelopes of Pittsburgh's working people. The sum now required is considerably above that figure, according to estimates made by the banks which provide the currency and make up the pay.

The reason the pay-roll of Pittsburgh is now larger than ever before is to be

found in the expanding business of the community, making necessary the employment of more labor, at the highest scales of pay known anywhere on earth.

This is the situation at present in Pittsburgh and this is the situation which is so deplored by Professor Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic party. They are talking of discontent, and promising to remove the ills under which working people labor, by substituting a tariff for revenue only for the protective tariff under which great industrial centres like Pittsburgh have grown into unexampled prosperity. Democratic talk of this sort only provokes a smile from the well-paid and fully employed men and women who are thriving under Republican laws, and are content to "let well enough alone."

OUR NEW REFORMS.

From an article by Robert Binks Thompson, in the Irish World.

Worst of all is the effect of public primaries in extending and intensifying the excitements of the Presidential year. Before a single candidate was nominated we went through a political tornado in the struggle for party preferences which was worse than most of our elections. In fact the comparatively languid character of the actual campaign has resulted from the public exhaustion in the holding of the primaries. The amount of energy that a citizen can give to his preferences and his party is limited, and if it be used up before July, it will not come to the fore in August, September and October. Gov. Wilson, just because there was less of exhausting disturbance in the Democratic party, awakens an enthusiasm among his followers of which Republicans are not capable. Besides this, the expense of elections has been greatly increased by these public primaries. To canvass nearly twenty millions of voters is a costly business even once in the year. To do it twice

involves an outlay which makes an elective president more costly than a hereditary monarch. And the expense is not distributed over the whole people, nor do the contributors increase proportionally to the growth of the number of voters.

The Initiative of the people in legislation proceeds on the assumption that their representatives in legislative assemblies are either less intelligent or less honest than are those who elected them. Otherwise it is manifestly better to leave such measures as the people are asked to vote upon, to the decision of a deliberative body, where the reasons for and against can be handled with fullness and freedom. For my part I believe that the legislatures are just as wise and just as honest as the constituencies, and possibly more so. It would be very nice to be able to believe with the newspapers that the average voter is a model of honesty, purity and good sense. But a very brief acquaintance with many of them makes one glad that the men in the legislature are as good as they are.

The recall of executive and political officials by popular vote is a plan which opens the doors to endless political intrigue, and which must tend to paralyze the best rulers and the best judges at just the moments when they are required to render the greatest service to their country. We in Pennsylvania have suffered from decisions which represented the prejudices of the legal profession, rather than pure justice. It is to be hoped that the present agitation will have a good influence upon our courts, and check the faults complained of. But it would be a costly remedy if we were to strip our

judges of the reverence which attaches to their office in all well ordered communities. For worse than the wrongs inflicted by unfair decisions in such cases as I refer to would be the loss of a sentiment which imparts stability to public order, and deepens respect for law. The cases are not exactly parallel, but it is better for a child to think of his father as always wise and good, than to acquire the habit of debating the wisdom and justice of his acts. The habit of reverence is not so strongly rooted in our national character, that we can afford to lose any that we have.

A NEW INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

It is stated that Professor H. C. Emery, who was chairman of the Tariff Board, is likely to be appointed chairman of the Industrial Commission authorized by Congress in the closing days of the session. The commission is to be composed of three representatives of employers, three working men and three "laymen" supposed to represent the consuming public. The work of the proposed commission is outlined in the act which gave it birth, and which in part reads:

"That the commission shall inquire into the general condition of labor in the principal industries of the United States, including agriculture and especially those which are carried on in corporate forms, into existing relations between employers and employees; into the effect of industrial conditions on public welfare and into the rights and powers of the community to deal therewith; into the condition of sanitation and safety of employees and the provisions for protecting the life, limb and health of the employees; into the growth of associations of employees and wageearners and the effect of such associations upon the relations between employers and employees; into the ex-

tent and result of methods of collective bargaining; into any methods which have been tried in any States or in foreign countries for maintaining mutually satisfactory relations between employees and employers; into methods for avoiding or adjusting negotiations; into the scope, methods and resources of existing bureaus of labor and into possible ways of increasing their usefulness; into the question of smuggling of other illegal entry of Asiatics into the United States or its insular possessions, and of the methods by which the Asiatics have gained such admission, and shall report to Congress as speedily as possible with such recommendation as said commission may think proper to prevent such smuggling and illegal entry. The commission shall seek to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation and report its conclusions thereon.

"PROSPERITY IS HERE."

From the New York Times, Ind't Dem.

As the President remarked at Beverly, "prosperity is here." There is not the slightest doubt that either of his rivals for electoral favor would be glad to point with pride to such facts as the President recites as the result of his party's policy and his personal efforts. Never were the gross earnings of railways so large, and the earnings of the industrials show an even greater relative improvement. Never was it less true that these earnings insure to a few wealthy malefactors. The number of stockholders in only 242 corporations increased from 394,842 in 1906 to 872,393 in 1911, and almost half of them were women. The country is increasing both its exports of manufactures and its imports of materials for manufacture. "Social justice cannot be done without wealth such as is indicated above, and such conditions are not produced by attacks upon wealth." "Prosperity is the broom that sweeps our alleys and cleans our noisome hovels." Social justice is being done now as it was not done in 1907, and as it could not be done if those days of terror and distress were to be recalled by the methods of that unhappy year, whose debris it has fallen to the present President to clean up. As the President says, why disturb the prosperity which is here by promises of rainbows?

AMERICAN AND ENGLISH WAGES

Hourly Earnings in the United Kingdom and in the United States
in Different Occupations in the Cotton Industry.

	England	U. S.	Relative Earnings	
			England	U. S.
Weavers :				
Male (piecework)	\$0.1105	\$0.1719	100.0	155.5
Female (piecework) .....	.0901	.1609	100.0	178.6
Mule Spinners :				
On course and medium yarns, male (piecework) .....	.1688	.2486	100.0	147.3
On fine yarns, male (piecework) ...	.1877	.2533	100.0	135.0
On very fine yarns, male (piecework)	.2016	.2934	100.0	145.0
Ring Spinners :				
Female (time work) .....	.0658	.1202	100.0	182.7
Female (piecework) .....	.0732	.1343	100.0	183.4
Total .....	.0675	.1282	100.0	189.9
Spoolers :				
Female (time work) .....	.0577	.1182	100.0	204.8
Female (piecework) .....	.0672	.1225	100.0	182.3
Total .....	.0669	.1216	100.0	181.8
Fine and Jack Frame Tenders :				
Female (time work) .....	.0753	.1528	100.0	203.0
Female (piecework) .....	.0836	.1503	100.0	179.8
Total .....	.0834	.1505	100.0	180.4
Reel Tenders :				
Female (time work) .....	.0569	.1462	100.0	256.9
Female (piecework) .....	.0602	.1766	100.0	283.3
Total .....	.0601	.1701	100.0	283.0
Intermediate Tenders :				
Female (time work) .....	.0647	.1426	100.0	220.4
Female (piecework) .....	.0640	.1665	100.0	198.2
Total .....	.0632	.1645	100.0	197.7
Draw Frame Tenders :				
Female (time work) .....	.0719	.1038	100.0	144.3
Female (piecework) .....	.0895	....	....	....
Total .....	.0869	.1038	100.0	119.4
Picker Hands :				
Male (time work) .....	.1121	.1259	100.0	112.3
Slasher Tenders :				
Male (time work) .....	.1870	.2017	100.0	107.3
Male (piecework) .....	.1991	.2929	....	....
Total .....	.1899	.2278	100.0	120.0
Twisters :				
Female (time work) .....	.0669	.1206	100.0	211.7

The table shows that the hourly earnings of weavers in the United States are 55.5 per cent. higher for males and 78.6 per cent. higher for females than the earnings of weavers in England.

For mule spinners the hourly earnings in the United States are from 35.0 to 47.3 per cent. higher than those of mule spinners in England.

For ring spinners, 82.7 to 89.9 per cent. higher than in England.

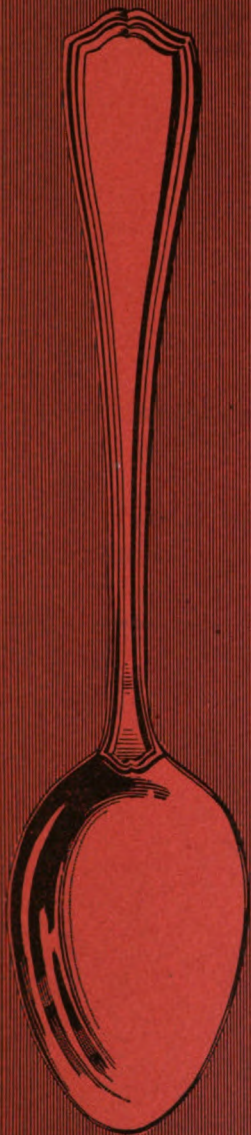
For spoolers, 81.8 to 104.8 per cent. higher than in England.

For fine frame tenders, from 79.8 to 103 per cent. higher than in England.

For intermediate tenders, from 98.2 to 120.4 per cent. higher than in England.

For twisters the hourly earnings are 111.7 per cent. higher than in England.

—From the Tariff Board's Report.



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DEC 4 1912
MASS

The Protectionist

DECEMBER, 1912

Protection the Wisest Policy

No Mandate for Revenue Tariff

Home Market Club's Annual Meeting

Extra Session for Tariff Smashing

The Lace Industry and Protection

Alphabetical Index on Next Page

PUBLISHED BY THE

HOME MARKET CLUB

77 Summer St., Boston, Mass.

Vol. XXIV. No. 8.

10 Cents Each, \$1.00 a Year

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CHARLES A. STOTT.

THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress

Signed articles are not to be understood as expressing
the views of the editor or publishers.

VOL. XXIV.

DECEMBER, 1912.

No. 284

PROTECTION THE WISEST POLICY OF THE NATION.

Wholesale Lowering of the Tariff Disastrous.

*Address by President W. B. H. Dowse at the Annual Meeting of the
Home Market Club.*

In the last few weeks we have held a plebiscite and on March 4th next a party will come into power which believes in a tariff for revenue only. The Home Market Club has the consolation that this is a victory of the minority of the voters of the United States, as the returns show that a majority of the people cast their votes for candidates who believe in the doctrine of protection. It is also consoling to know that the victorious party, so far as the safeguards of constitutional liberty are concerned, will continue in the path that our forefathers have trod. There were less votes cast for the Democratic President in the election just over than were obtained by Democrats four years ago, so that we can confidently assert that a majority of the voters are protectionists.

Was there ever a time in the history of our club that called for

greater efforts on our part than the present? We have before us a certainty that a revision of the tariff will take place in an extra session of Congress to be called soon after the 4th of March. We must be prepared to do all possible things in presenting facts in relation to the industries of the country, and especially of New England. We may not be sure of obtaining justice, but we can firmly present the truth, and demand that the revenue shall be so raised as to keep the mills of the country in operation, and the operatives who work therein from starvation.

Swept into power by a phenomenal majority of the electoral votes, the Democratic party is suddenly sobered by the magnitude of its responsibilities.

Something of the character of the man who has been elevated to the high office of the presidency can be

gathered from his remarks to a body of Princeton students when the returns from the election showed the certainty of victory. "I have no feeling of triumph tonight," said Woodrow Wilson, "but a feeling of solemn responsibility." How great that sense of solemn responsibility must have been is evident when we recall an incident in the college life of the man now suddenly raised to the highest office in the land. While a student at Princeton, Woodrow Wilson participated in the college debates. On one occasion the subject was "Protection versus Free Trade." Sides were chosen by lot. Wilson drew from the hat a slip marked "Protection." He tore it up and returned to his seat. Nothing under heaven, he swore, would induce him to advance arguments for a thing in which he did not believe. He did not believe in protection. He does not believe in protection today.

As a college student he refused to argue in debate for protection.

As a candidate for the presidency he ran on a platform which declares protection unconstitutional.

Is it any wonder then that he is oppressed by the solemn responsibility of his new office? He knows as well as any one of us that the business of the country has been built up by over one hundred years of protection and as an historian he knows that when that policy has been uprooted disaster has followed.

Describing conditions in 1893 to 1897, when the last attempt was made to put the tariff on a revenue only basis, Mr. Wilson in his "History of the American People" said: "A great poverty had come upon the agricultural regions of the West and

South. Prices had fallen. Men of the poorer sort were idle everywhere, and filled with a sort of despair. All the large manufacturing towns teemed with unemployed workingmen, who were with the utmost difficulty kept from starvation." And he showed that conditions did not materially improve until the Republican party in 1897 resumed control over the economic policy of the nation.

The late Senator Hoar once declared in Congress that the experiment with free trade under the Cleveland administration cost the people of this country more in dollars and cents than the entire cost of the Civil War.

Mr. Wilson was not unaware of the experiences of the country under the last low tariff nor of the rapid recovery under a return to the policy of protection. Therefore it was with some degree of alarm that the business men of the country read the reports of his speeches in the months before the national conventions, for it was recognized that he was to be a prominent candidate for the nomination.

Men who knew that the protective tariff was necessary to the industrial progress of the country were naturally aroused when they read that Mr. Wilson in his speech at a dinner of the Reform Club in New York said: "The whole tariff policy has become a huge scheme of make-believe," and that "The face of general advantage worn by the tariff is a mask, and many private jests going behind it." He referred to "the top-heavy, lop-sided, unsymmetrical bulk of American industrial enterprise," and declared at Denver, "We are going about now to enact a thorough pro-

gram of popular reform, and we know very definitely the objects at which we intend to aim."

In his letter of acceptance Mr. Wilson said, "the tariff was once a bulwark; now it is a dam." And the object to strive for was the breaking down of that dam!

He recognized in his letter of acceptance that the business of the country has been built up on protective tariff schedules and spoke then mild words of caution which a later sense of responsibility has emphasized. "Its foundations," he said, "must not be too radically or too suddenly disturbed."

Later, as the sense of responsibility developed, he said, "This change cannot be brought about suddenly. We cannot arbitrarily turn right about face and pull one policy up by the roots and cast it aside, while we plant another in virgin soil. A great industrial system has been built up in this country under the fosterage of the Government behind a wall of unproductive taxes. This change must be brought about, first here, and then there, and then there again. We must move from step to step with as much prudence as resolution."

There is, then, some justification for the hope that the needs of our industries will be given some degree of consideration, although the suggestion that changes should not be brought about suddenly has given way to the intention to call Congress in extraordinary session for immediate revision of the tariff.

We are face to face, then, with another experiment in tariff reduction. That the president-elect already feels the responsibility which such a task involves should encour-

age the country to hope that some degree of caution and prudence will guide the processes of revision.

We have a right to appeal to the majority in Congress, we have a special right to appeal to the Democratic Congressmen from New England to do their utmost to safeguard the industries of the country and the manufacturing enterprises of these great manufacturing States, in order that "a great poverty" may not come again upon the land as it did in '93, or our manufacturing cities teem "with unemployed workingmen."

We believe in the principles for which this club stands, protection for our industries and our workingmen, not as a theory, merely, but as the wisest policy for the nation, whose welfare is the first object of all citizens and all patriots.

The facts and the figures to uphold our belief will be presented to the Congress of the United States and we ask of the party in power a thorough and honest investigation of our industries, of the American standard of wages, and of the important issues involved in the proposed revision of the tariff.

We have always worked and are working for the welfare of the whole people. We are trying to preserve in the United States a civilization and standard of living that has been created by over two centuries of independence of, and emancipation from, the old world. The truth cannot be ignored that the American workmen in the advantages they enjoy are hundreds of years apart from their European brothers. Any sudden change by a wholesale lowering of the tariff will have a tendency to cause these advantages to disappear. Can there be any

doubt what the effect will be on the welfare of the whole people of the United States if our workmen are forced to take the same wages as their European and Asiatic brothers. I, for one, believe that thousands of votes were cast in the last election by people who preferred to bear the hardships of free trade, even though they did not believe in this doctrine, rather than see our constitution overthrown, just as in the Civil War thousands gave up their lives to preserve the Union.

It is interesting to see what protection can do for a country: Take, for instance, Germany which adopted a protection policy in 1879. Germany's export and import trade in

1880 was	\$1,429,025,000
1890	1,875,050,000
1905	3,324,018,000
1910	4,019,072,250

The tonnage of steam vessels of 4,000 tons and over during this time increased in like proportion. The population has increased from 46,000,000 to 66,000,000.

I personally visited and was familiar with Germany in 1878. A factory at that time was a rare sight. I was last in Germany in the spring of 1911. At that time manufacturing towns and cities were everywhere to be found with skilled laborers in abundance and an output of millions in value.

During the last 30 years in the United States we find our export and import trade in

1880 was	\$1,503,593,404
and for	
1912 was	3,857,587,343
Showing an increase	
of	\$2,353,993,939

At the present time factory employes as a rule in the United States receive in wages from three to five times more than are paid the foreign workmen. This showing certainly should justify our past and encourage us to victorious work in the future. All that we need is to present the truth and the people in the end will support the policy of protection. Adequate protection is necessary. A tariff based on the difference in the cost of protection abroad and at home is not sufficient. There is a handicap of nearly ten per cent. on home made goods simply because the American people prefer foreign goods. Home made goods still have to be placed on the home market at a cheaper price than foreign goods to move them in competition.

We have before us a great opportunity for work. We hope for, and ask for, the hearty help of all our members.

JAPANESE GOODS IN BOMBAY.

The number of active factories in the Bombay district was increased from 520 to 548 during the fiscal year 1910-11, of which 431 were connected with the cotton industry. In 1911 there were 86 cotton mills in the city of Bombay, employing 104,550 hands, and 98 more in the Presidency outside the city, employing 55,251 hands. In the various factories 10,816 children were employed. During 1910-11 Japan appeared for the first time as a supplier of cotton yarn for India, furnishing 293,837 pounds valued at \$122,610, of which 83,600 pounds were mule yarn above No. 50, and the balance unspecified. Unlike yarns, the imports of piece goods increased greatly, prints and colored goods showing the greatest gains. The Japanese met the local requirements in cotton hosiery and had almost a monopoly in that trade.

NO MANDATE FOR REVENUE TARIFF.

Democratic Success Due to Division of Protectionists—Wilson Promised Not to Disturb Industry.

*Report of the Secretary of the Home Market Club,
Read at the Annual Meeting.*

What have been the startling news events and the sensational political activities of the past year are no longer news and no longer politics. They have passed into history and time alone can demonstrate their full effect upon our national life.

That we are passing through an era of readjustment no man can doubt, but that the extremists in the pending industrial strife and economic changes will see a speedy triumph of their theories or a complete adoption of their principles, none but the most rash enthusiast would contend.

At the opening of the year New England was shaken with an industrial volcano. Almost without premonition of the blow fell and in communities where for years the steady hum of industry had woven the record of progress and prosperity, the alarming note of discord and destruction was sounded by men who flaunted red banners and proclaimed a revolution.

The strikes in our textile centers were not merely a protest against a wage-scale and conditions of living. They were a blow at organized industries and organized labor and an attempt to overthrow the industrial structure of the nation.

Men who stood for "no God and

no master," who spoke a strange language and were aflame with incendiary doctrines, threw the furious force of a passionate propaganda against the established order of a hard-won New England civilization. A greater stake than an increased daily wage was the object for which they fought. It was nothing short of the destruction of American institutions, upon the wreck of which they would raise a new social order in which there would be, as the banners proclaimed, "no God and no master," no private ownership, no rights, no laws, no government and no flag, such as we have won by over a century of heroism and of sacrifice. This assault upon our institutions was resisted and repelled by a group of men to whose genius we owe New England's manufacturing supremacy. Effectually supporting them were the power of the Commonwealth and the law and order loving citizenship of the threatened communities.

Out of this contest has come a greater national stability and, for the cities directly affected, an aroused patriotism and an increasing civic pride. Law and order are more firmly established in every community and the rights of citizens under the constitution and the

laws are more safe and secure. New England has proven to be a bulwark against industrial revolution.

The political activities of the year culminated in the presidential election of November 5th, and New England has proved to be a bulwark, also, against an economic revolution. For although Mr. Wilson secures the electoral votes of all the New England States except Vermont, he is 235,000 votes behind the combined votes of the two protectionist candidates. The combined vote for Taft and Roosevelt exceeds the Wilson vote in Maine by 23,945; in New Hampshire by 18,071; in Vermont by 30,126; in Massachusetts by 121,412; in Rhode Island by 13,944 and in Connecticut by 27,103. In Maine Roosevelt received a larger vote than Taft, but in every other New England State the Taft vote exceeded that for Roosevelt and in Connecticut was over twice as large.

New England, therefore, stands by the policy of protection and the same is true of the country at large, for the protectionist vote exceeds the tariff-for-revenue-only vote by a larger margin than it did in 1908.

We are justified, therefore, in appealing to the New England Congressmen of both parties to protect the industries of New England and to guard the welfare of the 1,101,000 wage earners employed in the manufacturing enterprises of the New England States.

In the economic features of the campaign the club took the keenest interest, for it believes that the welfare of the country is best promoted by the protective tariff policy which has been so largely instrumental in the development of the nation as the

most prosperous country on the globe.

Contending for supremacy at the polls were three parties, two of which declared for the policy of protection and one of which for the second time since the Civil War boldly asserted, in spite of the tariff legislation of a hundred and twenty-five years, that a protective tariff is unconstitutional. A majority of over a million votes was cast for the parties which upheld protection.

This division in the ranks of protectionists could have but one result. The Democratic party was the beneficiary of the feud. Unable to secure a majority of the votes, lacking even a plurality, endorsed by only a minority of the electorate, yet the Democratic party has won in the electoral college one of the phenomenal victories of our history.

States in which the vast majority of the population depends upon manufacturing enterprises for its livelihood, gave their electoral votes, some of them for the first time, to the party which insists that the government has no right or power to levy taxes on imports except for revenue only, a result which was brought about because those who would naturally vote for the protectionist candidate divided their votes among two candidates, both of whom stood for the policy of protection.

It is fair to state, however, that many votes were cast for the candidate of the Progressive party, not because of protection, but in spite of it. An appealing personality and a platform which hung upon glittering rainbows an assortment of political promises, attracted the votes of

many who would not have supported a candidate on the Republican ticket.

And yet, possibly an equal number who normally would have supported Republican candidates voted the Democratic ticket as the surest way of protesting against a third term and a candidacy which they regarded as a menace. Particularly was this true in the State of California where the Republican candidates were denied a place on the official ballot. Colonel George Harvey says that a million and a half of Taft's best friends "voted otherwise to make sure the accomplishment of a specific purpose."

This was an election, therefore, where issues other than the tariff were considered in many minds of paramount importance.

Prominent leaders of the Republican party freely stated that the principles of constitutional government were far more vital to the American people than any question of tariff policy, for the one involves the foundation stones of the republic, the other one of the props of the present prosperity.

By a large majority the country has voted for the maintenance of constitutional government and no mandate can be claimed by any party for the abolition of the protective tariff system.

Recognizing that other issues besides the tariff were influential in the result of the presidential election this year, it must be conceded by the victorious party that no definite decision on the tariff question has been registered by the voters of the country.

Assuredly that plank in the Democratic platform which declared pro-

tection unconstitutional has not been endorsed by the nation.

In 1892 the Democratic platform contained a similar declaration that the protective tariff was unconstitutional, and Senator Gray of Delaware in the Senate debate upon the Wilson bill declared, "We will bring all the patriotism that exists in the breasts of American Senators, and will join hands to see that the hopes of the American people are not disappointed, and that the fruit of Democratic promises shall not turn to ashes on their lips."

Cleveland was praised by Senator Vest for challenging "the protected industries to a fight of extermination." Henry Watterson declared, "The Democratic party is a free trade party. The conflict between free trade and protection is irrepressible and must be fought to the bitter end." Isidor Rayner, who has represented Maryland in the U. S. Senate for seven years, said, "A tariff for anything else than revenue is outside the traditions and principles of our party."

And yet Senator Gorman of Maryland in the debate on the Wilson bill deprecated that policy which would destroy industries, and when the poor people were thrown out of work, keep them in order by soldiers and deputies, and, with a handful of Democratic Senators, among whom was Senator Smith of New Jersey whom Governor Wilson has denounced for defending the industries of his State, he succeeded in preventing the original Wilson bill from becoming a law and made it less destructive than otherwise it would have been.

Alarmed at the outlook for the party in the campaign of 1892 be-

cause of the radical position assumed in the platform in regard to the tariff, Mr. Cleveland was induced to allay as much as possible the fear which had been aroused.

In his letter of acceptance Mr. Cleveland said, "We will not destroy any industry; we will remodel the tariff; we will give lower duties; we will even the burdens of the people, and we will give freer raw materials." And yet he denounced the Gorman-Wilson law as "party perfidy and party dishonor," because it provided for freer raw materials instead of free raw materials, which he claimed, when safely ensconced in the White House, was a fundamental Democratic doctrine.

Senator Gorman declared that but for Cleveland's declaration that he would not destroy any industry, he could not have been elected. It is equally reasonable to claim today that, if Governor Wilson had not declared repeatedly during the closing days of the campaign that "We don't want to disturb the industry of the country." "We are not here to destroy—" he, too, could not have been elected.

Undoubtedly there are men elate with victory who will go to Washington determined to abolish every vestige of protection and give the country a tariff for revenue only. Other men will rise like Senator Gray in Congress and demand that "the fruit of Democratic promises shall not turn to ashes on their lips."

But the most solemn promise of the candidate and the party was that they would not "disturb the industry of the country." With these words still warm upon his lips Woodrow Wilson assumes the sol-

emn responsibility of the presidency.

It is our duty to stand by that policy which has built up so marvelously the industries of the country and to so present the facts to Congress that the representatives of the people will safeguard every industry and the welfare of every wage-earner.

FOREIGN COMPETITORS PLEASED WITH WILSON

The British, German, French and other foreign newspapers have expressed much gratification over the election of Mr. Wilson and a Democratic Congress. The governor of the Bank of England declared that "the result is doubly welcome," a view which the New York Times, London, correspondent says was "echoed generally throughout the city." A Berlin despatch to a Democratic newspaper says that "the result created special satisfaction in the Fatherland because the Democrats captured both houses of Congress, which insures a revision of the tariff on a basis that will redound to the immediate substantial benefit of German trade with the United States." The Kaiser's government is quoted by the same correspondent as "viewing Governor Wilson's election as President with the utmost sympathy."

Why not? Mr. Wilson believes in opening the doors to the admission of all the surplus products of Germany and other nations. Germany would not permit the owners of potash mines in that country to sell to the United States at a reasonable profit, because this country had to have the potash at almost any price.

So the government passed a law nullifying contracts and compelling a large increase in prices. In the same way the government of that country is now proceeding to monopolize the oil industry so as to exclude American oil, and make a market for the higher priced oil owned by German bankers.

Although we have a maximum and minimum tariff, Germany still discriminates against certain products of this country by admitting at lower rates of duty similar products from other countries. The admission to the United States of wood pulp and print paper from Canada at lower rates than from Germany, is the alleged reason for this course. That, however, does not justify this German discrimination, though that provision in our laws relating to Canada should be repealed. However, there is no hope of that being done under Wilson; on the con-

trary, Canada will be given free admission for her farm products without any return, and all other nations will have the same advantage.

The removal of all duties on food products is one of Mr. Wilson's first duties, according to his utterances. That will please the foreign producers, though not those in this country, with their much higher paid employes. The removal of the duties on a great many manufactured products will follow, Mr. Wilson says, or their reduction to a revenue basis. That will enormously benefit England, Germany and other countries, and explains why they are so delighted over Democratic success. And yet, imports as well as exports declined under the last Democratic administration because the people did not have money to buy with. The same thing may happen again, and our foreign competitor may find the grapes sour.

THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF MADE IT POSSIBLE TO START THE LACE INDUSTRY.

By Thomas O. Marvin.

The establishment of lace manufacturing in the United States is the result of our protective tariff policy. Switzerland produces large quantities of lace, and Nottingham in England and Calais in France have been for over a hundred years centers of lace manufacturing.

Lace making is one of the advanced branches of textile manufacture and requires the services of skilled and experienced workers. Capital was not willing to venture

in this untried field and labor of sufficient skill was not to be found. For years we imported practically all of the lace goods consumed in this country, one concern in Brooklyn and another in Jersey City being about the only survivors of the early attempts made to establish lace factories.

Under more favorable tariff conditions other manufacturers have begun to venture in this field. They have equipped modern factories and

are now offering American made laces to the American markets, but our entire number of lace factories, about twenty-five in all, has not been able to make any appreciable effect upon the importation of foreign laces. In fact our imports of laces for 1912, amounting to \$37,000,000 in value, were a million dollars larger than the previous year.

The value of our imports is far in excess of the total value of our domestic production. And this is taking place under tariff duties of 60 and 70 per cent. If the foreign manufacturers can pay a duty of 70 per cent. and still command the lion's share of our market, it is evident that any such reduction in the duties as is already being hinted at in French papers would drive American laces out of the market; close the American lace factories; force these skilled operatives out of work and turn millions of dollars' worth of lace making machinery into junk.

**Calais and Nottingham, Who Sell Us
Three-Fourths of Their Lace, are
Jealous of Our Progress.**

The growth of the lace industry in the United States is watched with jealous eyes by the manufacturers of Calais and of Nottingham. Three-quarters of the production of Calais is sold in the American market and the United States is one of Nottingham's largest customers. To meet the increasing competition of the American factories, foreign manufacturers have lowered their prices to an extent unequaled in years. To prevent the growth of our industry they cut prices, at times until profits vanish, and try to overcome the advantage which a protective tariff gives to our products by quot-

ing prices which, they hope, will swamp our new industry.

A Calais manufacturer who investigated conditions here with a view of shipping his machinery to this country, found operatives earning here \$20 a week who had worked in his own mills at Calais for \$4 a week. Our higher wages, higher price of cotton yarns, higher machinery and factory costs forced him to conclude that a 70 per cent. duty does not make up for the advantages of foreign manufacture.

A French manufacturer would regard such a duty as high, but he can get peasant women to do the clipping on lace work who are satisfied with twenty cents a day, whereas in America it is impossible to get women to work for less than a dollar or two dollars a day.

But encouraged by the protective duties of the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, manufacturers have stood bravely by their determination to establish in this country a lace-making industry which shall give employment to thousands of skilled workers and supply our market with laces of American manufacture. The silk industry has been established by reasonable protection and the United States is now the foremost silk manufacturing country of the world. Under similar encouragement the lace industry has laid already a strong foundation and with the continued encouragement of our tariff laws, it can develop into an industry of great national importance. The foreign manufacturers view such a prospect with serious apprehension. While the Payne-Aldrich bill was under consideration by Congress every possible effort was made by foreign manufacturers and their

agents, the importers of foreign laces, to break down the protective features of the lace schedule, and they succeeded in preventing the adoption of specific duties, which would have lessened the danger of undervaluations, in place of ad valorem duties which gave them easier means of access to our markets.

Referring to the efforts of the Nottingham manufacturers to weaken the protective features of the Payne-Aldrich bill, the Nottingham Guardian of May 22, 1909, said: "It is to be hoped that the energetic protest lodged by the Chambers of Commerce of Nottingham, Calais and Lyons may have some good effect."

It is an astounding situation when foreign manufacturers assume the right to interfere in American tariff legislation, and every patriotic American should easily realize on which side of the controversy lie the best interests of the United States. If the foreign manufacturer believes that the lace industry is worth fighting for, why should not we decide that it is worth defending and protecting? If they believe that our market for their lace products is worth enough to them to lead to the forceful presentation of energetic protests against our efforts to restrict their sales in our home market, why should not we believe that establishing and maintaining our own lace industry is a wise and patriotic course to pursue?

Calais Newspapers are Alarmed and Endeavoring to Prevent the Exportation of the Lace Industry.

The attempts of a Republican Congress to encourage the American lace industry caused the same

alarm in Calais that they did in Nottingham. In an effort to prevent skilled lace workers from emigrating to America, a Calais newspaper published a sensational article with such scare heads as "America Coverts Our Industry and Our Lace Makers;" "Workmen, Beware of Them. Do Not Seek Misery on the American Streets."

Another Calais paper published an article under the title of "Lace Crisis," and discussed means to prevent the exportation of the industry. A Calais manufacturer who was contemplating moving his plant to Rhode Island was boycotted and threats were made of burning his mill.

The article referred to in the Calais paper said: "This monopoly can be taken from us. An American company has been formed for the purpose of manufacturing lace. Not one workman worthy of the name should consent to leave to go to America. Not one design should be copied for American machines." And a bonus of twenty francs a week in addition to the wages that they would earn if working was offered to the unemployed to induce them to remain in Calais and not seek employment in the lace factories of America.

When our government was founded, the wise statesmen who laid the broad foundation of our nation believed that diversified industries were essential to the proper development of the country, so the first tariff act passed by Congress levied duties on imports "for the encouragement and protection of manufactures."

If diversified industries were desirable then, when a sparsely peopled

continent offered abundant opportunities to settle on fertile land, where diligent cultivation of the soil would yield a competence, how much more necessary is it today that every possible avenue of industry should be opened to the vast and varied population of a great and growing nation.

The Basis of Industrial Justice and How to Promote the General Welfare.

The air is rent with raucous cries for social and industrial justice and the welfare of the workingman is advanced as the chief concern of statesmanship. These are high and honorable objects and are worthy of the best endeavors of our lawmakers and our statesmen.

But they are not new discoveries of modern political leaders and office-seekers. The highest statesmanship of the nation has been engaged with these very questions from the foundation of the government, and political parties have won and held office in this country because their policies were believed to be in the interest of the man who works for a living.

These were the motives which prompted the tariff acts of Washington's administration. He and his great associates in the government sought to promote the general welfare by inaugurating the protective tariff policy. It was because they endeavored to maintain this policy of industrial development and diversified employment that a distinguished line of Democratic Presidents, from Jefferson's first administration to the beginning of the administration of Franklin Pierce, were elected for so many years to office.

Industrial justice was the prime

motive of the founders of the Republican party. Three million human beings were held in slavery. Industrial justice demanded the freedom of the slaves and the Emancipation Proclamation was issued by a Republican President. The platform on which Lincoln was elected to the Presidency endeavored to promote industrial justice by commending the protective tariff policy, "which secures to the workingman liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence." So, too, a long line of Republican Presidents kept the welfare of the country foremost among the policies of their administrations.

**Under Twelve Years of Protection
Twenty-five Mills have been Built,
Employing Five Thousand
Operatives.**

Today political leaders are endeavoring to convince the voters that social justice and the general welfare can be promoted by a tariff-for-revenue-only. Against this theory the whole history of the country sets a stern and warning face. A tariff-for-revenue-only closes mills and factories and throws millions out of work. Social and industrial justice must be founded on industrial prosperity. Roosevelt said in 1904: "Every class of our people has benefited by the protective tariff."

The policy of protection, then, is the essential foundation of general welfare and of industrial justice. Steady work and good wages are the foremost needs of American workingmen. Our manufacturing

industries and the American standard of wages depend upon the maintenance of the protective tariff policies. Abandon this policy and the temple of industrial justice would be shaken to its foundation stones.

McKinley said: "To increase production here, diversify our productive enterprises, enlarge the field and increase the demand for American workmen; what American can oppose these worthy and patriotic objects?"

How otherwise can the welfare of our people be promoted and industrial justice advanced?

These twenty-five mills have been built under twelve years of protection. Tariff-for-revenue-only would close every one of them and throw five thousand out of employment.

Mill.	No. of machines.
Amer. Textile Co., Pawtucket, R. I.	66
Regina Lace Co., Pawtucket, R. I.	40
Seekonk Lace Co., Pawtucket, R. I.	14
Cadoza Lace Co., Pawtucket, R. I.	15
Quaker Lace Co., Philadelphia	58
North American, Philadelphia	44
Bromley Lace Co., Philadelphia	27
Zion Lace Industries, Zion City, Ill.	30
Warwick Lace Co., Riverpoint, R. I.	12
Phenix Lace Co., Phenix, R. I.	12
American Lace Co., Elyria, O.	24
Vari Lace Co., Williamsbridge, N. Y.	16
Taylor Textile Co., Williamsbridge, N. Y.	8
Liberty Lace Co., Williamsbridge, N. Y.	6
Excelsior Lace Co., Williamsbridge, N. Y.	3
R. I. Lace Co., Barrington, R. I.	9
Paterson Lace Co., Paterson, N. J.	9
Jennings Lace Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.	20
Hall Lace Co., Jersey City, N. J.	25
Lehighon Lace Co., Lehighon, Pa.	7
Dunham Lace Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.	3
De Luxe Lace Co., Davenport, Ia.	7
Richmond Lace Co., Alton, R. I.	24
Dresden Lace Works, S. Norwalk, Conn.	26
Redfern Lace Co., Somerville, N. J.	14

STAND BY PROTECTION.

Henry Hall, in New York Tribune.

I presume it will work out all right, for good, in the end, just as it did twenty years ago, but possibly at a tremendous cost to the country. Harrison's defeat in 1892 was a national calamity. As a result of Cleveland's election in 1892 Providence afflicted this land of ours with four years of gloom, during which as many innocent hearts were broken and as much capital was lost, in another way, as during the four years of civil war. Popular sentiment revolted finally at Cleveland's policies, swept that administration out of office, restored the old economic regime in the United States and gave the country a long era of the greatest prosperity ever known in our history. Must we be compelled to go through all the suffering of 1893 to 1896 again, when there is not the slightest necessity for it?

Protection to our home manufactures is one of the five or six great forces which bring about prosperity. It is an historic fact that good times in this country have always been coincident with protection to manufactures, or the promise of speedy enactment of a protective tariff. Hard times have always been coincident with lowered protection to manufactures or the promise of speedy enactment of a reduced tariff. Search the history of all the years since George Washington signed the first American tariff law and this enormously vital fact will force itself upon the mind. It is useless to try and evade this conclusion. I could set forth a complete history of tariff legislation in the United States if that were necessary to prove my

case, but it is not. It would be better to let every thinking man examine the subject for himself and reach his own conclusion. No candid man can possibly reach any other conclusion than the one above set forth.

PROTECTION'S TEMPORARY REVERSE.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

Protection which protects must be equally protective of all industries worthy of protection and create conditions which shall make for the equal prosperity of all citizens of the Republic, whether they happen to be protected or need protection or not. The theory of protection is the integration of the whole country as an economic unit, minimizing waste by excluding unnecessary transportation, maintaining unimpaired the highest standard of life which the country is capable of supporting and buying impartially from all the world whatever we cannot economically produce.

After all, the fault is with the rank and file of the party, which, not being well grounded in its political faith, did not create a background which inspired party leadership along the lines of established party principles, and when leadership failed scattered like unshepherded sheep into all manner of devious ways. Except as it stands for the equal protection of home industries and impartial trade with foreign nations, there is no Republican party and has not been for years. When the Republican party began to excuse policies for which it had always aggressively fought, to defend faintly and offer concessions, it began rushing to its fall.

It is unfortunate but was inevitable and long ago the Chronicle predicted what has now happened. Had President Taft—in most respects one of the best Presidents we ever had—happened to be a well-grounded and enthusiastic protectionist the party might have pulled itself together. Unhappily that was not the case and in default of such leadership the party drifted and went on the rocks.

What to do now is to painfully build on the old foundation a party so well grounded in its political faith that no defection of any man can shake it.

DISASTER AND DISCIPLINE.

From the Greenfield Recorder.

Out of its disaster and discipline it is evident that the Republican party is coming, with reason for continued existence and hope of restored power. Even a single week's reflection upon what happened November 5 has convinced every sane observer that the party has a future. None of the principles for which it has stood was rejected by the country. Even upon the tariff, the great majority of the voters stood by Protection and in the minority that voted for the Democratic candidates in an uncounted body who have faith that the new president will resist tariff revision on free-trade lines. Beliefs abide, and those which have found their expression in the Republican party are not less the political faith of Americans than they were in the days of its great majorities. The question of the future service of the party is entirely one of whether or not it will be the fit instrument for making the political creed of a majority of the people effective. It is a question not of opinions but of efficiency.

THE DUTY OF LABOR UNIONS.

From the Philadelphia Telegraph.

We are constrained to believe that the legitimate labor organizations of this country are neglecting a plain duty when they do not with one voice denounce the outrages that have been committed in New England as a protest against the trial of two labor leaders under indictment charged with murder. This is a country of law and order. We have no room here for the imported ideas advanced by the Industrial Workers of the World, so called. That body is not a labor union. It is organized anarchy; it advocates violence, has advocated violence from the very outset of its activities. Sabotage, infamous enough standing alone, is the least of the offences for which it is called upon

to answer. Its hand is against society. It holds constituted authority in contempt, and unless the honest, organized workingmen of the country repudiate it, and bring a moral pressure to bear that will destroy it, the time is sure to arrive when the state will be called upon to lance the ulcer; and American states have a way of applying drastic measures when their integrity is threatened.

THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF PROTECTION.

Valuable Contribution to Economics by George B. Curtiss, Esq., in His Great Work on The Industrial Development of Nations.

The history of The Industrial Development of Nations in modern times by George B. Curtiss, Esq., is an account of the never ceasing struggle which has raged in the world of industry and commerce between foreign traders and their allies on the one hand and the domestic producers and their friends on the other. From the interests of these two great primary forces, the "traders" and the "producers" sprang the two opposing systems of political economy, Free Trade and Protection. It had ever been the endeavor of the traders, the shipping interests and importers to prevent the rise of domestic industries and the expansion and growth of domestic trade in order that international trade might reach the highest magnitude. They have demanded "Free Trade" and for the promotion of their selfish interests have sprung the arguments and theories which have been formulated from time to time throughout the history of the world against the policy of protection to home industries. British manufacturers joined hands with them and gave support to their pet

doctrines and policies about 1846 when it was believed by Richard Cobden and his associates that the British manufacturers were so far in advance of other nations and held such supremacy in manufacturing that under a system of universal free competition they could suppress the rising industries of all other nations and become the sole manufacturing nation of the world.

The producers and manufacturers of all nations, excepting Great Britain, since 1846, asked for protection or security against the destructive influences of the traders in order that domestic industry might rear its head and thrive, and this request has been granted by all prosperous and progressive nations. The industrial arts under the shield of protective regulations have been established throughout the world, maintained and lifted to their present magnitude.

The principles contended for by these two schools of political economy in support of their respective theories, as they have been presented from time to time in the controversies over the subject during the history of nations, are given in great detail in the able volumes by Mr. Curtiss. The writings of great economists, the speeches and debates of the great statesmen of the world, cover every phase of the controversy. Mr. Curtiss shows that the two great fundamental principles underlying the doctrine of free trade are: First, the law of natural selection, called by the scientists the law of "the survival of the fittest." Second, the law of the gravitation of capital and industries. The effect of the operation of these two great laws upon the development and

growth of domestic commerce and industries are considered by the author throughout the entire work.

The effect of the unrestrained operation of these two laws has been to stifle industries and retard the progress of the world, and that protection was a system of governmental regulations of commerce and industries devised for restraining and counteracting the destructive influences of the struggle for existence under the law of the survival of the fittest and the concentration of industries in a few favored centers on the globe to the detriment of the rest of the world. Mr. Curtiss finds a scientific basis for the doctrine of protection in the law of "intelligent human selection," which he arrays against the "let alone" policy of the Free Trade economists with a force and clearness which places the protective system upon a scientific basis from which it cannot be dislodged.

The use which the author in this respect has made of the great evolutionary principle of "intelligent selection" is one of the most valuable contributions to the scientific phases of the subject which has been presented. In the exposition of economic principles contained in the preface to the work the author says:

"By what means, by what governmental policies, have the industries of nations been fostered and established? By what process has the material advancement of mankind been promoted? What great economic law has governed the world of trade, commerce and industry? The answer is rational and conclusive. Not in a single domain of human affairs has progress been made by letting "nature take its course," by

leaving the problem to be worked out by the law of the "survival of the fittest" or "natural selection;" but it has been by that other law of human progress known as the law of conscious, intelligent human selection; the refusal to yield to the blind fate of nature. Man has attained the high eminence which he now occupied by preventing unconscious selection from shaping his destiny.

"The most beautiful and fragrant flowers, the richest fruits, the most valuable and useful animals, the best varieties of wheat and grains, and all the improvements which we know in plants and animals, have come from artificial selection. Withdraw the care, protection and influence of man from any of these, and subject it to the influence of the law of the "survival of the fittest," and it would either perish or return to its original and wild state. It matters not whether we call the efforts of man so exerted "natural" or "artificial." It is found that the evolution of man—his education, development and improvement—has arisen from the protecting, controlling, governing power of man himself. It has been through the ordinances of man that societies have been formed, governments established, peace preserved, persons and property protected, and the brutal propensities of man softened or eradicated."

Applying this principle to the development of industries, Mr. Curtiss shows that the industrial progress of nations has been achieved by placing limits upon that struggle between nations by which under free competition wages would be reduced to the rate of bare subsistence and industries concentrated in those points on the globe where they could

be carried on at the lowest possible cost, involving the degradation of labor and the impoverishment of the world.

VICE-PRESIDENT SHERMAN.

Almost on the eve of the National election, the country was called upon to mourn the death of Vice-President Sherman. His death occurred at his home in Utica, N. Y., October 30, of Bright's disease. He had not been in good health for several months, and rapidly declined from the time (August 31) when he was formally notified of his renomination for Vice-President, and it is supposed that the excitement of this occasion hastened the progress of the disease. The funeral was held on November 1, in the Oneida County court house, where the body of the dead statesman had been lying in state for several hours and had been viewed by many thousands of persons. The attendance at the funeral included President Taft, several cabinet officers and members of the United States Supreme Court, a large representation from both Houses of Congress, and prominent men from all parts of the country.

The more important facts in the life of the late Vice-President may be summed briefly as follows: James Schoolcraft Sherman was born in Utica, N. Y., October 24, 1855. He was graduated from Hamilton College in 1878, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1880. He at once entered politics and was elected Mayor of the city in 1884. In 1886 he was elected to Congress, and with the exception of a single term remained in the House until he was elected Vice-President on the Republican ticket in 1908. He was

again chosen to run with Mr. Taft at the Chicago convention last June. He was a prominent figure in New York State Republican politics, presided at several State conventions, and had charge of the National Republican Congressional Campaign in 1906. In 1910 he was defeated for the temporary chairmanship of the New York State Republican convention by Theodore Roosevelt. In Congress, where he was an important ally of Speaker Reed and later of Speaker Cannon, his most important work was done as chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs. Both in the House and later in the Senate his personal popularity was great. Mr. Sherman's home was in Utica, where he had important business and banking interests. He is survived by a widow and three sons.

James S. Sherman enjoyed the distinction of being the first Vice-President in several decades to be honored with a renomination, the seventh in the history of the country. Indeed, says the New York Tribune: "From its entry into national politics in 1856 until this year the Republican party had never renominated a Vice-President, and it was a striking tribute to Mr. Sherman's political availability, as well as to the strong affection in which he had always been held by his party associates, that his selection to make the race a second time with Mr. Taft was accomplished over the resistance of a firmly established party habit." Mr. Sherman was also the seventh Vice-President to die in office, and the first national candidate of an important political party to die between his nomination and the date set for election.

Mr. Sherman was a steadfast Re-

publican and Protectionist, and a true conservative on public questions. His parliamentary abilities and his success in presiding over the deliberations of the Senate were conceded on all sides. It is recalled that he had more than once relieved that body from an embarrassing predicament. President Taft has thus characterized his friend and running mate: "Those who knew him loved him; those who knew the services he rendered to his country respected him."

The New York Sun says of the probable results of the hasty and ill-considered Constitution-making in Ohio: "Thanks to the agitators and demagogues, chiefly of the Socialist

Labor party, and to the easy neglect of their civic duties by the people at large, chaos will come in Ohio. The State will be littered with broken statutes and excavations of the Constitution. The Legislature will be at cross purposes with the people, and the courts will fall into disrepute. The lawyers will not know what the laws are, and the law will command less and less respect. Between employer and employe relations will be strained. Capital will be suspicious. The effect on business cannot be salutary. Public morals must suffer. Reaction to the old standards, to the old conservative safeguards, will come, but in the meantime Ohio must pay for the folly of its experiment in hasty and ill-considered constitution making."

EXTRA SESSION FOR TARIFF SMASHING.

Congress Will Bow to Wilson, Who Will Be a Minority President
—Says No Further Tariff Inquiry Necessary—McVeagh's
Sweeping Free Trade Ruling on Ship Supplies.

From Our Washington Correspondent.

Washington, Nov. 25, 1912.

Now that the Democrats assert that they will control both the House and the Senate, as well as the Presidency, after March 4, the talk here centers on what they will do with the tariff. The question of an extra session has since the election been the principal topic, and President-elect Wilson has finally disclosed his purpose to call an extra session to deal with the tariff. Mr. Wilson has stated that no further inquiry is needed to pass tariff bills, and he also states, with some emphasis, that he will redeem every

promise he has made, so far as possible, to reduce the cost of living, take all protection away from trust products, and put the tariff on a revenue basis. That means sweeping tariff legislation, and it looks as though he would have the support of his party in the House and perhaps also in the Senate.

Alleged Conservative Democratic Senators.

Some of the Democrats in the Senate have been called "conservative" on the tariff. Mr. Simmons, of North Carolina, who hopes to be

chairman of the Finance Committee after March 4, is reckoned as one of the "conservatives," because he voted, when the existing tariff law was passed, against taking off the duty on lumber. But no more subservient Free Trader was found among the Senate Democrats of the present Congress than Mr. Simmons. He had charge in the Senate of the monstrous tariff bills passed, urging them forward to the detriment of important legislation that might go into effect, though he knew that there was no prospect of any one of the Democratic tariff bills becoming a law. The only show of opposition on his part to the House measures was exhibited toward the free sugar bill. He agreed with some of the other Senate Democrats to retain a duty instead of putting sugar on the free list. But Mr. Wilson has approved the free sugar bill passed by the House, so that if it again comes to the Senate it may be expected to pass that body with the consequent destruction of the domestic sugar industry with its \$300,000,000 of capital invested.

North Carolina Not Helped by Simmons.

North Carolina is coming to be an important manufacturing state, producing last year \$300,000,000 in value of such products. Cotton manufactures are the chief industry, but when the House passed a bill to throttle that industry, refusing to give a hearing to the North Carolina manufacturers who sent a delegation here for that purpose, Mr. Simmons fell in line, regardless of his State, which demonstrates what can be expected of the next chairman of the Senate Finance Commit-

tee. He has professed anxiety for an extra session of Congress as has Mr. Martin of Virginia, and the other Democrats heretofore thought to be "conservatives." The extra session will be dominated by the Bryan influence, and the people of this country know what that means.

What Mr. Underwood Says.

Chairman Underwood of the House Ways and Means Committee is talked of for Secretary of the Treasury, but his friends say that he prefers to remain in the House in charge of the tariff measures. He is already preparing bills and has "expert" assistance furnished by the Free Trade New York Reform Club, which is liberally supported by the importers who expect to profit greatly from the destruction of American industries. In talking about the tariff Mr. Underwood, a few days ago, said: "I am sure the Ways and Means Committee will give a fair and reasonable opportunity for every one to be heard, on every schedule of the tariff bill, before action is taken. The bills already passed by the House indicate the line of revision that will be followed."

Those bills put on the free list nearly \$6,000,000,000 of products now on the dutiable list, and greatly reduced the duty on \$9,000,000,000 more of products, taking this year's values. But nothing was done with Schedule B., earths, earthenware and glassware; C., wood and manufactures of; F., tobacco; H., spirits, wine and other beverages; J., flax, hemp and jute; F., silks and silk goods; M., pulp, paper and books; N., sundries and the free list. All of these are more or less under con-

sideration by Mr. Underwood and his "experts," and all are to be acted on at the extra session. Mr. Underwood says that he would have his committee go ahead with the hearings at the coming session of Congress, so as to be ready to legislate when the extra session is held under the new administration. But here comes in Mr. Wilson, who said a few days ago that there was no need of any inquiry. If Mr. Wilson holds to that view Mr. Underwood will probably go ahead without hearings, just as he has done in the present Congress with such woeful results.

Wilson Holds That Free Trade Will Do No Harm.

Many persons have been taking comfort in Mr. Wilson's remarks to the effect that nothing would be done to injure business. Such persons do not know Mr. Wilson. He is a man of very positive convictions, as college professors usually are, and what he thinks will not injure business is such legislation as that already passed and approved by him, such as putting so-called "machine tools," printing presses, sewing machines, typewriting machines, wire, horse shoes, foundry and machine shop products, cash registers and calculating machines, boots and shoes, sugar, agricultural implements, etc., on the free list, while retaining duties on the raw materials of which they are manufactured.

Those products, now protected, aggregate in value billions of dollars, and only a part of the tariff schedules have been dealt with. To put such highly-finished products on the free list, and say that would not interfere with business, is characteristic of Professor Wilson, but any

business man, not an importer, knows better. Mr. Wilson is fond of saying that the Democrats constitute half of the nation, and that they are not going to hurt themselves. Grover Cleveland and all other Free Traders have said the same thing. But experience tells a very different story. The legislation by Congress under Cleveland has been seriously attacked by Mr. Wilson as "perfidy," and former Senator Smith of New Jersey was defeated when a candidate for re-election by Mr. Wilson because he voted for the modified tariff bills, and yet even with those measures 3,000,000 persons were thrown out of employment, soup houses were established to keep able-bodied men from starving to death, imports and exports both decreased largely and bonds had to be issued to pay the running expenses of the government. Oh, no, Free Trade will not injure business, Mr. Wilson says, and Cleveland said business was injured because the country did not get enough Free Trade. But workmen and business men know the result of such a disastrous policy.

A Minority Party.

Mr. Wilson and his prominent followers are fond of referring to the great vote for "tariff reform," and yet over 1,000,000 majority was cast against that policy. Both Taft and Roosevelt vigorously attacked Wilson's tariff theories, and their combined vote is 1,000,000 greater than that cast for Wilson, who polled less votes than did Mr. Bryan, and yet the latter was badly beaten. That demonstrates that the great majority is still for the protective tariff. Ex-Senator Foraker calls attention

to the fact that 300,000 voters did not go to the polls in Ohio. In New Jersey 58,000 less votes were polled this year than were polled when Wilson ran for Governor. Kentucky shows a loss of 52,000 votes from the 1908 total, and Indiana 71,000, and so on with other states.

The truth is that President Taft's course in putting through Congress, by the aid of the Democrats, the law providing for the free admission of Canadian farm products, which he still adheres to, cost him many votes, and some of the able men who supported that measure, like Mr. Hill of Connecticut, have gone down with him. Luther W. Mott, of New York, who opposed that measure and made an able speech in favor of the protective tariff, was re-elected to the House by an increased majority, but Mr. Taft's vote decreased greatly in that district. That shows what brought about the defeat of the President. Roosevelt's vote came largely from opponents of Mr. Taft's tariff policy.

MacVeagh a Drawback.

There is no question as to the unpopularity of President Taft's choice of MacVeagh, a lifelong Democrat and importer, as Secretary of the Treasury and administrator of the tariff law. Mr. MacVeagh has furnished an illustration of his tariff views in the interpretation he has given to the clause in the Panama Canal act admitting free of duty material for the construction of ships. He has ruled that everything used for construction, repair, equipment and stores must be admitted free. Thus Krupp guns and armor for war ships, lumber, iron ore, hemp, cloth of all kinds, spars, anchors, chains,

cables, life-saving apparatus, wire-less material, furniture, pianos, provisions, wines, and everything used on board a vessel, either for ocean, lake or river trade, can come in free of duty. That is not all. Such things can be stored in a bonded warehouse and taken out free when wanted. This is the most sweeping Free Trade measure that has passed since the war—under the MacVeagh interpretation. It means immense loss to American industries, as the domestic shipping consumes a vast deal of such material, and is protected from any foreign competition, but now can purchase in Canada, Europe and elsewhere whatever needed in the way of supplies.

President Taft, on November 14, issued a proclamation fixing the rates that foreign shipping shall pay for passage through the Panama Canal, as follows: 1, On merchant vessels carrying passengers or cargo, \$1.20 per net vessel ton—each 100 cubic feet—of actual earning capacity. 2, On vessels in ballast without passengers or cargo 40 per cent. less than the rate of tolls for vessels with passengers or cargo. 3, Upon naval vessels, other than transports, colliers, hospital ships and supply ships, 50 per cent. displacement ton. 4, Upon army and navy transports, colliers, hospital ships and supply ships, \$1.20 per net ton, the vessels to be measured by the same rules as are employed in determining the net tonnage of merchant vessels. American coastwise shipping was exempted from toll payment by Congress. The rates are practically the same as will be in force in the Suez Canal next year.

FACTS ABOUT TRUSTS.

From Our London Correspondent.

London, Nov. 15, 1912.

We see in British industry a steady movement towards combination and monopoly, a movement which is the natural outcome of competition, and, therefore, not capable of being prevented or undone by law. At one time it takes the form of the elimination of subordinate agents in production and distribution, at another of combination or rings to regulate prices, at a third of the actual fusion of competing firms. Some years ago when the English Sewing Cotton Company was formed, the *Economist* (London) wrote: "The obvious intention of the amalgamation is that those taking part in it may do all they can towards creating a monopoly in sewing cotton, and thus to force up prices and to earn large dividends for the shareholders—what makes the attempt to establish a monopoly in sewing cotton peculiarly objectionable is, that prices are kept up to a relatively high level at home, while lower prices are accepted in foreign markets, where there is more free competition. In other words, the British consumer is placed at a double disadvantage, in having to pay excessive amounts in order that foreign consumers may purchase what they require at low rates." I may add that this particular company consisted of an amalgamation of fifteen firms, floated with a capital of £2 millions.

Practically all our large industries are controlled by trusts in some form or another. Single amalgamations,

while not perhaps entirely excluding competition, control the screw, cotton, thread, salt, alkali and rubber trade industries. In other cases a formal or informal agreement of masters fixes prices; thus in the hollow-ware trade (metal goods) prices are arranged by an informal ring of a dozen or so firms. Similarly there is practically no open market in antimony, nickel, mercury, lead pipes, fish supply, petroleum, and perhaps the foreign import trade in meat, steel and iron rails are controlled by a ring. All the largest firms in the newspaper making industry have consolidated their interests into one combination. In the engineering industry some twenty-four firms have a total subscribed capital of £14 1/4 millions; the same process applies to the banking interests. Of late years the small private concerns have been bought up and absorbed by the large institutions. There is practically no hope of life for any small bank in England today. Possibly, so far as banks go, this is a good thing, because a lot of weak banks constitute a source of financial danger in times of stress. British financial institutions are so strong today that nothing but a world-wide cataclysm could shake them. I refer now to the great joint stock London banks.

The real question is whether we shall have our Trusts in this country, where they employ British capital and British labor, and are amenable to British public opinion and law; or, on the other hand, whether we shall

place ourselves at the mercy of foreign trusts and combinations, over which we have not, and cannot have the slightest control. As things are constituted today in the industrial world we must have combinations. They are the inevitable outcome of an age of excessive competition. It is simply industry trying to protect itself against extinction. In itself it has nothing to do with tariff. As one of the greatest authorities on this question of trusts says, "Competition came into the industrial world to free trade from feudalism, and, having done that work, played havoc with the lives of men. It called into existence the great opposing principle of association, by which a series of bulwarks against individualism has been built up in the trade union, the co-operative society, the municipality, and the central government. Finally, competition turning against itself, has ended in combination, and private monopoly threatens to overwhelm the state by economic and political oppression. We cannot turn back the march of economic progress; for good or for ill we must now face the concentration of industry. We cannot go back to competition, but we can direct the new tendency into safe channels." Trusts and all other forms of monopoly mean a great advance in the organization of industry. When competition inside an industry has been eradicated by some form of combination, our expectation would be that prices would remain steady at the most profitable point, and that consequently the tendency towards periodical crises would be averted and employment made more regular. This would be a vast gain to the community, and

there has been much dispute as to whether it has been actually achieved in the United States or not.

Summing up the controversy, Prof. J. W. Jenks says: "Since the Standard Oil Companies were organized into a trust, prices have been a good deal steadier; but frequent sudden changes in prices for short periods, if prices had been given by the month, show that not even that Trust has complete control of the market for both raw and refined oils. There is no evidence that the Sugar Trust has had any influence in steadying prices. They have fluctuated as much since as before the formation of the trust. The same result appears for whiskey. Therefore, trusts are not too readily to be credited with having brought about great steadiness of prices, although they may have done much in that direction." On the other hand, the British Consul at Dusseldorf, writing about the Westphalian Coal Syndicate of Germany, says that the benefits of these combinations, under good organization, have proven of great benefit, not only to the coal trade, but to the iron and steel trades, rises in price being slow and steady.

F. C. CHAPPELL.

There is one fact connected with the result of the national election that stands out in bold relief. Both the Republican and Progressive platforms declared for the maintenance of the Protective tariff system. The combined vote of the two candidates opposed to the Democratic theory of tariff for revenue only, is greater by about 1,000,000 than the Wilson vote. Therefore the country has declared for Protection by a popular majority of about a million.

THE TARIFF AND PRICES.

By Walter J. Ballard.

The cry is raised in this campaign by speakers and newspapers on the Democratic and Progressive sides that the protective tariff policy of the Republican party is the cause of the high cost of living. Such is not the fact.

About the only articles that have increased in price are food products, and in every country, and particularly in free-trade countries like England, the prices of all articles from the farm, and especially meat, have increased in price. It is conceded that our farmers are prosperous and that they have made big profits in the past few years (twenty billions of dollars in ten years), and no one should envy or begrudge them their prosperity; they have kept our automobile mechanics busy building machines for them; they have increased the rates of wages of farm hands. In a few years, with increased and abundant crops (like the one of this year) and the breeding of more live stock, prices for farm products will again become normal. Further, the increased wages now paid by the farmers to the farm laborer may induce thousands of our people, and especially the immigrants from the farm countries of Europe who now crowd our cities and our towns, to seek employment on the farm. It is admitted that the population of the cities, which is the farm products consuming population of the country, has largely increased, while the population of the country

or farmers, which is the producing population of food products, has decreased. This is a very strong reason for the high price of food.

To prove conclusively that the present protective tariff is not in any way responsible for the high cost of living, study the prices of tariff-protected manufactured articles in any 5 and 10-cent store. Goods are sold exceedingly cheap in those stores—that is, manufactured goods which, if imported, would have to pay a high rate of duty. In those stores you can get a plain cup and saucer—two articles—for 5 cents, and a decorated one for 10 cents; if imported those articles would pay 45 per cent. duty—nearly one-half their present retail price. Has the protective tariff increased the retail cost of cups and saucers—a necessity—to the American people?

A pair of steel shears can be bought for 10 cents and a table knife and fork for the same price; yet our protective tariff duty on shears and knives and forks is 80 per cent. Has protection made these any dearer? Decidedly not.

A large dishpan, a workman's dinner pail, both articles made of tin, can be purchased for 10 cents each; these pay over 40 per cent. duty when imported, and not long ago we had to import all our tin plate. Our protective tariff was applied to tin plate, with the following satisfactory result, and a big wage-paying industry has been built up

without our people paying any more (if as much) for the tin goods they buy.

	Tin plate imported. Pounds.	Tin plate produced. Pounds.
1891	1,036,489,074	2,236,743
1896	385,138,983	359,209,798
1900	147,963,804	849,004,022
1905	161,066,820	1,105,440,000
1910	154,566,599	1,619,005,000

These are official (Bureau of Statistics) unassailable figures. Can any illustration of the value of protection as a builder-up of wages and profit-paying industries at no cost to the consumer be more striking? Many such striking showings could be given; the "woods are full of them." This increase in home production from 2,000,000 to 1,619,000,000 pounds as a result of nineteen years' protective tariff work, less the three years of the Wilson-Gorman low-tariff monstrosity, is a protective tariff victory which cannot be gain-said or discounted.

Mention might be made of more than 100 articles that we make in this country (for the making of which wages are paid to three million people), the retail price to the people of which are not one cent higher by reason of the protective tariff. If we take off this protection we may see some prices go down by reason of lessened demand, but, as in '93 to '96, we shall also see the value of work and also the rates of wages of workmen and workwomen decreased, factories, shops and mills closing, savings and other banks bursting, home mortgages being foreclosed, thousands and thousands of workingmen roaming the country seeking the work which will not exist and looking for the bread

which they will not be able to find, while their wives and children are starving during their absence. In those '93 to '96 days the free-soup house was "heaven" to hundreds of thousands of starving people, to the degradation of American manhood and American womanhood.

Republican protection and prosperity travel together, while Democratic free trade (or low tariff—the same thing—in this country of vast resources waiting profitable use), poverty, ruin and bankruptcy are boon companions.

"If," says James L. Feeney, ex-president Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., and formerly editor of the International Bookbinders' Journal, "if, as our Democratic friends claim, the tariff is responsible for the high cost of living, we can also claim that it is responsible for the high rates of wages our mechanics receive, and the American workman today can afford to have meat on his table at least once a day (although it is high in price), where his fellow-mechanic on the other side of the big pond cannot afford to have it once a week; our mechanics receive almost double (in many cases a great deal more—the writer) the wages paid for the same class of work in foreign countries, and they receive fully five times as much wages as is paid in Japan, a country that we would have to compete with if we let down the tariff bars.

"I spent a few months in Europe a few years ago," says Mr. Feeney. "I was at that time editor of the International Bookbinder, the official organ of the bookbinders of the United States and Canada. I investigated the conditions of labor as a

trades-unionist, and I found, especially in free-trade England, poverty in many homes of mechanics in my own trade, as wages were low and the cost of living very high; meat was a luxury that few could afford. I found in the big cities of London and Liverpool articles of American manufacture in every shop, and although I sympathized with the poorly-paid mechanics of England, I was pleased to see our surplus stocks of goods sold abroad (there would not be any surplus stocks to sell abroad were it not that, under protection, it is possible and profitable for our factories to make goods in

larger quantities than our home market requires, and thereby supply more work and more wages to our workers—the writer), and the day will come, through our great policy of protection, when we will be the greatest manufacturing country in the world, and I believe we can now claim that title. I am an American trades-unionist, and possibly it may be considered selfish, but I want to see no article imported from a foreign country that we can make at home, as the American mechanic today exceeds in speed and surpasses in skill in many respects his fellow-workmen abroad.”

THE DEFEAT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND HOW TO SAVE IT.

By J. W. Allfree.

To the Editor of the Protectionist:

The American people have passed through their thirty-first presidential campaign, and for the first time in the 123 years of our history they have had an opportunity of expressing at the ballot box their opinion of the wisdom and patriotism of Washington in declaring against a third term of the Presidency, and we are not only surprised but alarmed at the vast number of our American people of boasted intelligence and love of country who in disregard of Washington's example and warnings deliberately use their right and powers of self government to place in Washington's chair a man who shows the ambition and determination to override all precedents of executive tenure of office.

But the campaign had other unusual features. Parties were stronger in working force, presumably by reason of money contributions now coming to light, yet as a rule the people were never so listless. A new and powerful party born in a day, or night, with machinery in perfect running order was in the field. From 1850 to 1900 the contest between the Democrats and Republicans on the tariff question had been plain and emphatic, the Republicans for and the Democrats against protection; and the policies thus espoused were never more distinctly drawn than in the party platforms of 1900.

After the death of President McKinley in 1900, Roosevelt became president. He was nominated and

elected in 1904, and when assured of his election he volunteered the statement that it would be his second term and under "no consideration" would he accept another nomination. Under the guise of protection he had secured the adoption by the convention that nominated him democracy's tariff declarations of 1888 of "the difference in cost of production at home and abroad." And the Review of Reviews tells us that he expected to have the tariff reductions thus called for made during his second term, but found it could not be done, owing to the opposition of Congress and the people.

This and his pledge not to be a candidate for another term made it necessary for him to pick a successor who would carry out his tariff reduction plans; and he chose Mr. Taft. President McKinley had recognized in Mr. Taft not only legal and judicial abilities but also a pacifier of the turbulent elements of government, and had sent him to the Philippines when such tact was needed to save our credit and possessions; where in three years' time he turned those people from rebellious haters to obedient subjects of our government. Before this work was safely completed he was offered a Supreme Court Judgeship, the ambition and desire of his life, but he put it behind him in order to complete his work in hand; and when he was called into Roosevelt's cabinet as Secretary of War he still had a care for those benighted people.

Our relations to the Pacific business world by our possession of Hawaii and the Philippines was to be strengthened by a canal uniting the two great oceans, and Mr. Taft as Secretary of War was the best quali-

fied for peacefully preparing and smoothing the way for such a stupendous undertaking; and has proved his ability by its success without a slip or a jar, except of the earth and rock that was in the way.

Mr. Taft was thus engaged when President Roosevelt selected him to be his successor. The convention that was thus prevailed upon to nominate Taft readily adopted Roosevelt's tariff policy. This was the origin of the "Steam Roller" business in conventions. Roosevelt steamed up in 1912 for Roosevelt for a third term, but not owning the committee as in 1908 he failed to get his 238 contesting delegates seated by the committee, so had to make the contest, and when he found his Steam Roller would not do its work as planned he bolted the Republican convention, took his machine with him and organized a new political party of his own that would be obedient to his will and know none other but Roosevelt as Boss.

As President Mr. Taft did his best to comply with Mr. Roosevelt's tariff policy. All "differences in cost of production at home and abroad, including reasonable profits" goes to the government as revenue and makes it a tariff "for revenue only," which is democracy's free trade policy; and would put foreign competing products into our markets on an equality with home products. When the Democrats under Cleveland figured on this plan they found the ad valorem rates on dutiable imports would be less than 10 per cent. and their average of over 42 per cent. on all imports fell short on revenue, while paralyzing our industrial, producing and business interests.

Blaming the protective tariff for

THE PROTECTIONIST

about all the evils that befall the American consumer is a new role for Republicans and it has worked a revolution in party belief and resulted in Republican defeat. Compare their plea for tariff reduction to relieve our consumers of daily burdens from needlessly high tariff rates with our old stand by Republican protectionists and you will see who is the true Republican. Lincoln said: "I am in favor of a high protective tariff. The man that lives at home on protected home products pays no tariff." James G. Blaine said: "A policy of tariff reductions would be disastrous to the mechanics and working men of the United States." Or take McKinley's answer to Grover Cleveland's arguments in accepting the nomination on a similar tariff declaration in 1888, "that the American consumer paid the tariff tax on home products the same as foreign imports"; McKinley charged him with "Ignoring the fact that not a few home products of common use were then selling in our markets for less than the tariff rates thereon." This is an irrefutable answer to all such contentions for tariff reduction, yet Roosevelt and Taft reject the Lincoln, Blaine and McKinley arguments and cling to Cleveland's impossible tariff contention, for how is it possible to pay more tariff on a thing than it costs? And yet like Cleveland, they were only contending for what their respective platforms called for on the tariff questions but under different appellations.

But strange as it may appear, Roosevelt repudiated Taft because he "had not gone half fast enough nor half far enough" in tariff reduction, and although Roosevelt had

failed to do anything during his two terms in that line, while Taft had accomplished wonders in securing reductions from a Republican Congress far greater than Cleveland secured from a free trade Democratic Congress, Roosevelt condemned and denounced him for inefficiency and determined on his ruin. Roosevelt knew Mr. Taft had disregarded the interests and welfare of the Republican party, in obedience to and to carry out the policy laid out for him by Mr. Roosevelt; aside from his and Roosevelt's tariff policy Mr. Taft has been among our greatest presidents. But all the same the split came and vengeance was all there was for Mr. Taft, received from the man whom he had tried so hard to serve.

And a sad change had come over Mr. Roosevelt. On returning from his African hunt he plunged into a local political controversy, which soon caused him to forget his third term declarations and pledges, and a split with Taft was designedly brought about because he wanted Taft's place; and failing to secure the nomination from the Republican convention, though using his steam roller process, trumped up delegates and all as in 1908 for Taft; he included the Republican party with Taft in his desire and determination for vengeance and destruction, though the Republican party had made him all he even has been politically, and like Taft has heretofore bowed to his imperious will.

Mr. Roosevelt is a great politician. He makes a tremendous fuss over wrongs done "the common people" by our government and the two old parties. His platform pledges a thousand reforms for their benefit. These promises cover all sides of all

questions in which the common people are supposed to be interested, even to getting rid of our Constitution, courts and laws that in any way interfere with his interests; and to help him on in these wild and impossible schemes of government millions of our people voted for him without considering or realizing that they were voting for and inviting conditions that would pave the way for him to assume the dictatorship and become the only law-making and law-enforcing power of the country.

On the other hand Mr. Taft is no politician. When the Republicans elected him President supposing him to be a protectionist as he claimed, he selected a low tariff man to run the revenue department of his administration, and made many similar appointments, some the most important in his gift. He also adopted a free trade reciprocity policy, and refused to give it up to save himself and his party from defeat. This may have shown firmness, but it was the reverse of political wisdom, as it left the masses indifferent as to his election even after the party had nominated him for a second term, so when the election came off the combined vote of Taft and Roosevelt was a million less than Taft's vote in 1908 and yet would have defeated Wilson, who run away behind Bryan four years ago. This probable loss of some two million votes when there was a natural gain of one and a half million voters in the four years shows a dangerous disregard of a vitally important principle.

The Roosevelt pretense of "getting down to the common people" to get rid of "boss rule" is a sham and a humbug, as his every move in the game tends to put the governing

power from the people. The primary, referendum, abrogation of constitutional restrictions, recall and nominating as well as electing by ballot all officers from president down tends to put the government "of, for and by the people" away from the people by making nominations and elections cost more than "common people" can afford while a few active leaders can combine, collect funds and boss the job of punishing "the common people" with candidates for whom to vote both at the primary and election. The shrewd, slippery boss can mislead and divide our most intelligent people to glory in voting against their own, their party's and their country's best interests, as now appears from the voting at our last election.

This is deplorable, and in connection with the substitution of the Democratic policy of "a tariff for revenue only" make another substitution, that of Republican party leadership, imperative, that the party may be led back to its true tariff policy of Protection as laid down and contended for by Lincoln, Blaine and McKinley; and as presented in the McKinley platform of 1900. Can this be done, and where and who are the true men to do it?

Fortunately for the Republican party Mr. Roosevelt, the wittiest and most bewitching of them all, has become an open enemy of the party and decreed its destruction with its principle of true protection. When our people get a taste of his tariff policy from its natural source as the result of his schemes they may not be so anxious to follow in his lead. Yet Cummins and Taft are the first to jump into the harness as leaders to save the party for future useful-

ness; but the party had as well be buried as to be saved by leaders who led it to defeat by holding to a tariff policy the opposite of Republican. Newton, Ia.

THE ELECTION RESULT.

Views of J. S. Bache Co., New York Bankers.

The President-Elect has very properly taken the first opportunity after election to assure business that it has nothing to fear and that it is his hope and purpose to instill new energy and confidence into the prosperity now prevailing. It is rather astonishing, but nevertheless true, that business needs such assurance. Mr. Wilson's words are: "There is absolutely nothing for the honest and enlightened business men of the country to fear (from the Administration)." Is there any other country in the world that needs such assurance? Are there any honest and enlightened business men in any other nation that fear their Government? And yet this fear has been a real thing in the United States and prevailed everywhere during the drawn-out depression of 1910-11. It was Mr. Roosevelt who first raised the embargo on honest business, in his scathing denunciations of the Steel Trust prosecution, in the latter part of 1911. Stocks of goods all over the country had sunk exceedingly low and the hand-to-mouth buying had continued for a long time. But it needed some authoritative utterance from semi-official quarters to start confidence. Since then progress has been steady—slow at first but finally developing into real prosperity. But honest business had had a taste of indiscriminate Government prosecution and needed some assurance from a new

administration of what its status was. And Mr. Wilson has given this assurance at the most proper moment. It is an omen of good import and has been thoroughly appreciated, not only in the market where the best known and most valuable certificates of business success are dealt in, but throughout the whole country.

The Democratic party is now on trial. It has come into office by reason of a well-conducted campaign most skillfully led by its party candidate. It must not suppose, however, that the result is because of an overwhelmingly popular demand. Success was brought about because say about 6,500,000 people voted the Democratic ticket, but it must be remembered that in the neighborhood of 8,000,000 other people were opposed and voted differently and diversely. The Democratic party is on trial for four years with complete responsibility. Upon the results of these four years its retention in power depends.

Mr. Wilson, by promptly assuring business men, shows his realization of the fact that prosperity is of the first importance even to a political party.

By reason of high prices of commodities a great discontent has grown up. There are evils to be corrected in business and wealth-getting and in political bossism, but these are not the real causes of popular unrest. The high cost of living is at the bottom of it all, and in as far as tariff revision can remedy this, a just revision must be faced. It may be assumed from the assurances given during the campaign by Mr. Wilson that this will be accomplished in a manner least unsettling to general business.

NOT ANTI-PROTECTIONIST.

From the New York Tribune.

In its excitement over the capture of Governor Wilson of the electoral votes of many states in which he was the choice of a minority of the electors, "The Evening Post" falls into the error of thinking that the country as a whole has indorsed the tariff smashing views with which the Democratic party entered this year's campaign. It said recently:

First among the great gains of his [Mr. Wilson's] victory we put the destruction of the hideous superstition about the protective tariff, which was again dragged out the past month in the hope of deceiving, at the same time that it insulted, the intelligence of the American people. They were asked to de-throne reason and to grovel before a fetich. . . . Wilson's triumph makes an end of the superstitious view of protection. Say not the struggle naught avail-eth when this has been accomplished.

If Mr. Wilson held a view of protection different from and opposed to the view held in common by Mr. Taft and Colonel Roosevelt, that view was certainly not indorsed by a majority of the voters. Outside the Southern States the vote for the two protectionist candidates for President ran far ahead of the vote for the supposedly anti-protectionist candidate. There were no signs of a Wilson landslide anywhere. The Democratic nominee merely held or fell below the normal Democratic vote, and he would have been left in a decided minority in the Electoral College if the protectionist vote had not been divided between two nominees.

Compared with the Cleveland overturn in 1892, the Democratic party still shows a great decline in

strength with the people. Mr. Cleveland won decisive victories in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin and nearly carried Ohio, while Mr. Wilson's vote in those states this year has fallen far below the total polled by the two former sections of the Republican party, both pledged to protection. In this state, according to The Post's own figures, he got only 690,893 votes to 840,581 for Taft and Roosevelt.

Governor Wilson himself in the latter part of the campaign seemed to realize that he could not afford to antagonize the protectionist sentiment of the majority of the voters. He threw the Baltimore platform overboard and described himself as a rational protectionist, anxious merely to eliminate the faults and abuses of the system. He was a good enough politician to see that the anti-protectionist view which he was supposed to hold was not the view of the majority, and if he continues to exercise political shrewdness he will not seriously antagonize the popular verdict just given in favor of retaining the protective system. "The Evening Post" imagines a vain thing in classifying Governor Wilson's election as an anti-protectionist victory.

THE CANDIDATES ON THE RESULT.

The day following the election, President-elect Wilson made the following statement: "The result fills me with the hope that the thoughtful progressive forces of the nation may now at last unite to give the country freedom of enterprise and a Government released from all cor-

porate and private influence, devoted to justice and progress. There is absolutely nothing for the honest and enlightened business men of the country to fear. No man whose business is conducted without violation of the rights of free competition and without such private understanding and secret alliances as violate as principles of our law and the policy of all wholesome commerce and enterprise need fear either interference or embarrassment from the Administration. Our hope and purpose is now to bring all the free forces of the nation into active and intelligent cooperation and to give to our prosperity a freshness and spirit and a confidence such as it has not had in our time. The responsibilities of the task are tremendous, but they are common responsibilities which all leaders of action and opinion must share. And with the confidence of the people behind us everything that is right is possible. My own ambition will be more than satisfied if I may be permitted to be the frank spokesman of the nation's thoughtful purposes in these great masters."

Col. Roosevelt at his home at Oyster Bay, after the result was known, said: "The American people, by a great plurality, have decided in favor of Mr. Wilson and the Democratic party. Like all good citizens, I accept the result with entire good humor and contentment. As for the Progressive cause, I can only repeat what I have already so many times said: the fate of the leader for the time being is of little consequence, but the cause itself must in the end triumph, for its triumph is essential to the wellbeing of the American people."

President Taft has issued no formal statement of his views on the result, but a Columbus despatch, November 6, stated that he has already formed plans for holding together and strengthening the Republican party. The plans are indefinite, but he declared to friends who went with him north from Cincinnati that the party would be active as in the past, and that there was no reason to believe that its chances of future success were not excellent. So far as the President's plan is concerned, he hopes to see organized a "national Republican club" entirely apart from the Republican national committee, which shall cherish the principles of the party and be a source of political activity, not only during election years, but at all times. The President spoke of the Republican Club of New York, the Hamilton Club of Chicago and other organizations similar in character, and expressed the belief that through these clubs interest and loyalty could be kept alive. To a suggestion that he might be the Republican party's nominee in 1916, the President replied with a smile, but made no comment. He laughingly repeated his intention of returning to Cincinnati and the practice of law.

The President is convinced that the task of President-elect Wilson will not be easy. He said that he earnestly hoped Mr. Wilson would not call an extra session of Congress to revise the tariff. He wished, he said, to see the present prosperity continue as long as possible. Mr. Taft declared that Mr. Wilson would face a Congress made up to a large extent of untried men who had come to believe in "histrionic publicity," and who believed that to show their

faith with the people they must at times be "insurgents" and oppose the program of the leaders.

MINORITY PRESIDENTS.

From the Boston Herald.

Some of the more irreconcilable Republicans are laying emphasis on the discovery that Wilson, in spite of his stupendous and hitherto unprecedented majorities, will be a minority President. This is true, but not important. In a triangular contest, conducted in 48 units, it would be very strange if any one man did obtain a clear majority over all.

The collapse of the Whig party in 1852, under Winfield Scott, is the stock example of overwhelming defeat, and yet Franklin Pierce, the Democratic victor, had a popular majority of only 63,000 in the entire country. The vote of John P. Hale, the liberal candidate, offset nearly all of Pierce's plurality, even though Hale carried the electoral vote of no single state.

Some of the Secessionists urged in justification of their course, that Lincoln was a minority President. That, too, was inevitable from the quadrangular contest of that year. He polled a half million more votes than did Douglas, but Breckinridge received 850,000, and the Bell and Everett ticket nearly 600,000. Electoral votes were divided in that year among all four candidates. Even Bell carried Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia, with an electoral vote several times that which Mr. Taft has now obtained.

James K. Polk was a minority candidate measured in popular vote. So was Zachary Taylor, so was Garfield, Cleveland in 1884; Benjamin

Harrison in

The only student's going only a minor possibility of opposition together. I destined to momentous

FOREIGNNESS

"Is Not That the Best"

From This is the editorial in the New York, which American memorial is built M. Kirchberg Co., imported glassware and fixtures, this cut from the Marine pool, crease in free cubic meter, letter states percent over the

Mr. Kirchberg Journal editor as much as the up of foreign headquarters projected to the States govern are, and so cover the trade heavy a tax business of A turn can only ing public. ments, it is highly probable American tar mediately by freight rates.

This, of course argument in made goods the added

lantic freight rates, and it also indicates the inevitable conclusion which must follow the playing up of the foreign idea, and the indifference of American manufacturers and business men to their own best interests. This country once had the nucleus of a great merchant marine, but somehow American interest in American ships fell off until now, with a tremendous import and export trade, this country has practically no merchant vessels, and is at the mercy of a great foreign shipping trust.

We have done nothing to protect and maintain our shipping industry and have steadily advertised the wonderful luxury and efficiency of the foreign steamship lines, so that now these foreign shipping interests control American business.

In the same way, if the present policy of boosting foreign goods as of necessarily superior value to the domestic products is persisted in, it is easily conceivable under certain tariff conditions these manufacturing interests would be crowded out until practically nothing but the very plainest and most staple bread and butter goods were made in this country, all the cream of fine goods, with the skill and art necessary for their production, as well as the higher pay to the creators, producers and workers, going to the foreign centres, which are being so wonderfully well advertised by our own big retail stores. There is sufficient pressure in that way now.

Logically, the next step from having nothing in which to carry our goods is to have nothing to carry.

THE FREE SHIP HUMBUG.

From the Marine Journal.

One of the most vociferous free ship advocates for many years has been the New York Evening Post. The Post uttered a paean of editorial joy over the passage of that rider on the Panama Canal Act that admitted foreign-built ships to American registry for the overseas trade. Yet now the Post, getting down to the cold earth, discovers that New York shipping men do not

take this legislation seriously—that one and all of them declare that it will have no effect whatever in creating a new American merchant marine.

All this is what the Marine Journal has known and proclaimed from the beginning. If there ever was a preposterous humbug policy it is a free ship law in the United States. Such a scheme may have proved of some benefit to Germany, Italy, Norway and other cheap-wage nations because they can man their British-built ships at a lower rate than the British. But free ships are absolutely worthless, and sure to be acknowledged so by all men before another year, for the upbuilding of an ocean shipping in America.

Several years ago the Merchant Marine Commission of Congress put the question squarely to American concerns like the International Mercantile Marine and others owning foreign-built ships under foreign registry, whether they would transfer their craft to American registry if a free ship law were recommended. Every one of these corporations answered with an emphatic negative. Nothing has occurred since then to change the situation. These concerns cannot afford to abandon foreign subsidies and undertake to pay the American wage rate of the coastwise trade.

This free ship experiment has been forced upon the country by the South and West against the judgment of our real maritime interests. It is the work of the men who want high tariff protection for their rice and sugar, their barley, wheat and hogs, but who insist on absolute free trade for the American shipowner, builder and seaman. President Taft's half-hearted approval of this

scheme was one of the costly blunders of his administration. But it may turn out to be of some advantage after a year or two of proved failure to have the free ship policy relegated forever to the political lumber-room.

WILLIAM J. BROWNING.

After years of Republican ascendancy New Jersey has swung back to the Democratic ranks, and the recent election gives but one Republican Congressman, William J. Browning, whose friends remind him that Lincoln was in his day the only Whig in the Illinois delegation. Mr. Browning is a good representation of an interesting district.

Camden, besides its foreign population of recent arrival, and the English element that long ago came to its textile mills, has three marked lines. There are the old Camdenites, whose fathers and grandfathers lived in Camden, who remember Judge Garrison's father as a young clergyman, who recall a large village with a few Indians yet surviving to tell of the once famous Delawares; occasionally a septuagenarian citizen tells you that his sire was one of the first depositors in the century-old bank. Second, about thirty-five years ago, Philadelphians began to seek homes in Camden, and this army of incomers has quickened the local pace; it has brought on the up-to-date community with progressive factories and a great shipyard.

Next, there is the yearly drift from the farms, the young persons from Mantua and Barnsboro, from Pitman Grove and Moorestown, from villages and crossroads, who seek employment in Camden concerns. Probably the most vivid sense of the growth of Camden comes to him who contrasts the present-day ferry with the ferry of twenty years ago, and the next to him who mentally passes from the little schooners he used to see in the South Jersey creeks to the gigantic men-of-war that go forth from the New York Shipyard, a plant that has more than once vied with Cramp's

mighty Philadelphia establishment, and won contracts for which its senior had bid.

From his boyhood, William J. Browning has been a part of this community, and his long service as clerk of the House has given him a practical grasp of legislation. His associations taught him to know the residence streets of the town, and a more homelike city does not exist in this hemisphere. The surrounding farming districts that send up their endless wagon trains on the summer nights were as familiar to him in his teens as the Philadelphia factories were to Kelley and Randall. In the busiest sessions of Congress, if he ran up for a few days, he was able to get local news from an old schoolmate, a Grand Army veteran, a farmer, a merchant or a Masonic brother, and Camden's Masonic standing is high. Emphatically does he know his district, and it is by no means every Congressman of whom this can be said.

May the Jersey voters of 1914 strengthen the Republican lines. If, however, they have this year chosen but one Republican Congressman their choice has fallen on a steady, working legislator, a man who will fight it out on the Protection line if it lasts through many summers. R.

TEXTILE MILL COMPETITION.

Why Wage Limits Are Set—Machinery Not Speeded Beyond Skill of Mechanics.

From the New York Commercial.

As long as each State in the Union has different laws regulating hours and conditions of labor, wages will have to be regulated largely by the competition produced in this artificial way. Wages and conditions in woolen mills are now being widely discussed in the papers, but little is said of the position into which the mills have been forced by competi-

tion. Plenty is said about labor fighting for a principle, but the case of the mills and the principle they have at stake is overlooked.

A mill in Lawrence, Mass., cannot run one shift more than fifty-four hours a week, while a rival in Philadelphia can run fifty-eight hours, and in some other States even longer hours are legal. The Lawrence mill cannot afford to pay as much for fifty-four hours as the other mills pay for fifty-eight to sixty-four hours. The machinery runs just as fast in one mill as in another on the same class of goods. The talk about speeding up the machines at Lawrence is all buncombe. All mills run automatic machines at the highest possible speed suited to the class of goods turned out. That is why they are buying new and the latest improved machines all the time. Textile machinery for producing staple goods is as nearly automatic as it is possible to make a mechanical device, and it is no exaggeration to say that a modern spinning mule is almost human in the way it does its work.

With the same machinery running on the same goods under such conditions, the output is in exact ratio to the number of hours the machines run. The labor of tending textile machinery is not severe, the chief difference in it being that fine goods require closer attention, but this is counterbalanced by having fewer machines to watch. On very fine woolen and silk goods there may be one weaver to each loom, while one weaver will look after from six to ten automatic looms in a print goods mill. These are actual conditions.

Now the principle at stake for

which the Lawrence mills are fighting is that they will pay only for what they get. Trade conditions, including the closeness of competition, do not admit of an increase of four per cent. in the labor cost any more than of paying four per cent. more for raw wool or cotton than their competitors give. In addition to the extra cost of labor there is the loss of time of the mechanical plant. Two hours a week is equal to about two weeks' running time, and New England operatives also demand two weeks holiday every summer. This means four weeks' idleness for millions of dollars invested in plants. New England mills cannot and will not stand this handicap. Lawrence is only one of the points affected by the Massachusetts law. These mills cannot afford to lose at both ends by paying more wages and turning out less goods at the same time.

The buying season for heavy woollens for next fall and winter is now on. If the Lawrence and other Massachusetts mills cannot make contracts with the clothing manufacturers and cutting-up trade now, they will lose most of their business. Their customers are insisting on cast-iron contracts for deliveries, making time the essence of the contracts, and if these terms are not met, work will be slack in Lawrence for six months to come. Labor has even more at stake than the mills. The situation is critical for every mill hand in the State of Massachusetts and the trouble is that the operatives who are on strike do not see where they are drifting and how close they are to the rocks.

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid
To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

DECEMBER, 1912.

The report that Bryan will be Secretary of State in Wilson's cabinet is received with mixed emotions by both Republicans and Democrats.

It would seem that the voters of the country not only declared against a "third term," but also against a second term. It may be that Wilson will have to be content with a single term.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat is of the opinion that the Republican party needs no reorganizing, as the events will soon begin to shape themselves which will restore it to power either in 1914 or 1916.

From this time on we may expect a plethora of statements and counter statements concerning what President-elect Wilson may or may not do; what Congress will or will not do with the tariff. For the most part these will have little value, but will make good material for the waste basket.

It is stated that the advocates of "scientific tariff revision" propose to continue their efforts for a tariff

commission, but, according to the New York Journal of Commerce, President-elect Wilson takes no stock in that kind of revision and prefers the old method of Congressional investigation.

In a speech before the Lotus Club in New York, Nov. 16, President Taft suggested that Cabinet officers should have seats in Congress, and an opportunity to participate in its business. We much doubt if this suggestion receives much popular approval. He also advocated a six-year single Presidential term.

While the Socialist party increased its vote throughout the United States in the recent election, it failed to elect a candidate for any important office. Even in Wisconsin, regarded as a hot-bed of Socialism, Mr. Berger, the one Socialist Representative in the present Congress, was defeated for re-election by a majority of 2,000.

Not many Republicans will shed any tears, and those mostly of the crocodile variety, over the defeat of some of the Republican Congressmen who supported the Canadian reciprocity treaty. They were warned of the possible consequences of voting for this entering wedge to break down the protective system, but they did not heed it, and the outcome was inevitable.

The San Francisco Chronicle says: "We shall hear less about the cost of living for some time to come, but it will not be because there has been a sensible diminution of prices. Avoidance of the subject will be due to the desire of the politicians to not

call attention to the fact that they made promises before election which they will not be able to keep and which they will not attempt to live up to."

The Government's crop report for November shows that 1912 has been the most remarkable agricultural year in the history of the country. The corn crop is estimated at 3,169,137,000 bushels, or 281,921,000 bushels more than the greatest corn yield of any previous year. There are also record crops of potatoes, oats, barley, rye and hay. The enormous sum of \$4,171,134,000 represented the aggregate farm value on November 1 of all the principal farm products.

Of the forty-one propositions of one sort and another—constitutional amendments and legislative acts of state-wide or merely local application—submitted to the voters of Oregon in the recent state election, about-two thirds were rejected and these included the most of the more radical propositions. This result is a great disappointment to the radical element of the population, which has labored hard for three or four years to secure the adoption of quack reforms and freak legislation.

In an extended review of the meat situation in a free trade paper, we find the admission that it probably would be of no benefit to our consumers if the tariff was taken off of meats, for the reason that the Chicago packers now so control the South American industry that they are in a position to hamper shipments to this country to be sold in competition with their own supply;

in other words, foreign shipments of meats to this country will probably be directed by the same interests which now supply the market here, not in opposition to them.

The defeat of Senator Bourne, of Oregon, as a candidate for re-election is not to be deplored. The Boston Transcript says: "When the country newspapers of Oregon turned on Jonathan Bourne and opposed his re-election, the Senator declared he would even scores with them before he left the Senate. His answer was the inquisitorial 'newspaper publicity' law now before the Supreme Court for a decision as to its constitutionality. As chairman of the Senate Post Office Committee, Senator Bourne succeeded in getting that section into the annual post office appropriation bill over the protest of the Post Office Department."

Prosecution before the Customs Court of the international issue as to the right of Europe to send wood pulp and paper into the United States free of duty, because that privilege is accorded to Canada, may be suspended pending the determination of a case now before the Board of General Appraisers which involves the validity of the only operative clause of the Canadian reciprocity agreement under which free wood pulp and paper come in. European nations claim the right of free entry under the "most favored nation" clause of their treaties with this country. If the Customs Court should decide that the second section is invalid, that would deprive Canada of the right of free entry and the pending

European cases would be left with no ground to support them.

On November 15, President-elect Wilson in a formal statement announced that he would call the new Congress together in extraordinary session not later than April 15. He added: "I shall do this not only because I think that the pledges of the party ought to be redeemed as promptly as possible, but also because I know it to be in the interest of business that all uncertainty as to what the particular items of tariff revision are to be should be removed as soon as possible." Mr. Wilson believes that Congress may not consider the tariff as the only question for the special session, and that it can take up any other subject if so disposed.

Referring to the report that President Taft disapproves of Secretary MacVeagh's action in liberalizing the interpretation of Congressional action as to the free importation of ship building materials, the New York Journal of Commerce apparently bemoans his disposition to repudiate the Secretary's action, though it admits that this is quite consistent with his past "protectionist record," except on the question of Canadian reciprocity. It says: "When the question of buying supplies for the Panama Canal in the cheapest market became acute some time ago, he yielded to the demand for purchases in the United States. When Governor of the Philippines he invariably gave transportation contracts to domestic vessels rather than to those operated under a foreign flag, no matter what the differ-

ence in bids might be. He cut off the more liberal customs arrangements with foreign countries after the Payne-Aldrich tariff act was adopted."

The Boston Record says: "To come to a specific point of intimate interest to New England, the Democratic party will need to go slowly when it takes up consideration of the tariff on shoes. That tariff is low; it is too low for adequate protection, say shoe manufacturers. Probably no one would try to prove that any further reduction at that point would mean lower priced shoes of the same quality to the consumer. Impairment of the present inadequate protection for the shoemaking industry would put many New England (and some Western) factories out of business and throw many thousand good Americans out of work. Democrats from New England are already framing protests against assaults on the shoe tariff schedules, and they will be heard when Congress goes to work on its big task."

The Tariff Reform Club, of New York, which is nothing less than a free-trade organization, sent in October a uniform letter to the 800 or more Democratic and Republican candidates for Congress, asking their opinions on tariff revision and reduction. Up to November 7, replies had been received from only 84 Democratic and 15 Republican candidates. While all, both Democrats and Republicans, favor immediate reduction of tariff duties, 36 of the Democrats and all of the Republicans favor determining tariff rates

by the differences between the cost of production in this and foreign countries. Some of the Democrats call for a Tariff Board to perform the work of revision. The results of this canvass up to November 7, had been so disappointing to the free trade organization, that we shall probably hear no more about it.

The South appears to be in the saddle once more. The state textbook board of Texas has submitted a proposition to remove the picture of Abraham Lincoln from a history adopted for the use of the Lone Star State schools. To the credit of Gov. Colquitt of that state, he declared that he would resign from the governorship rather than agree to the

proposition. The "United Daughters of the Confederacy" have just held their convention at Washington for the first time, where they dedicated a monument to the Confederate dead at Arlington. A poem was read at their gathering extolling the virtues and attainments of Jefferson Davis, and also of other Confederate leaders. The election to the presidency of a Southern man whose father served in the Confederacy, will give new power in national affairs to the influence of the South. The Confederate constitution made a protective tariff impossible in the Confederate. President-elect Wilson has declared his belief in the Free Trade declaration of that Confederate instrument.

HOME MARKET CLUB ANNUAL MEETING.

Official Reports and Election of Officers—Resolutions Adopted.

The annual meeting of the Home Market Club was held at their rooms on Wednesday, November 20, at noon. The President, W. B. H. Dowse, presided and delivered his annual address.

(This address, and also the report of the Secretary, are given in full in the opening pages of this number.)

The Treasurer, D. Webster Dixon, read the following condensed statement of the financial condition of the club:

Balance Nov. 1, 1911	\$3,846.13
Total receipts, year ending	
Nov. 1, 1912	17,413.11
	<hr/>
	\$21,259.24

Total expenditures, year ending Nov. 1, 1912

16,352.73

Balance on hand Nov. 1, 1912

\$4,906.51

A statement of the Auditing Committee, A. G. Pollard and Thomas O. Marvin, was read, stating that they had examined the Treasurer's report and found it correct. The report was accepted.

Election of Officers.

The report of the Nominating Committee, Messrs. Charles T. Paye of North Attleboro, Philip Dana of Westbrook, Me., and Ashton E. Hemphill of Holyoke, was presented, as follows:

For President,

W. B. H. Dowse of Boston.

For Vice-Presidents,

John B. Smith.....Hillsboro, N. H.
 John Hopewell Cambridge
 Lyman B. Goff..... Pawtucket, R. I.
 Joseph Metcalf Holyoke
 Wm. M. Wood..... Boston
 Leontine Lincoln..... Fall River
 George M. Whitin..... Whitinsville
 F. A. Sayles..... Salyesville, R. I.
 Arthur H. Lowe..... Fitchburg
 Stephen A. Jenks..... Pawtucket, R. I.
 George A. Hammond.... Putnam, Conn.
 Edward H. Haskell..... Boston
 J. J. Dewey..... Quechee, Vt.
 C. H. Parsons..... New Britain, Conn.
 C. W. Springfield, So. Wolfeboro, N. H.
 P. F. Amidon..... Wilton, N. H.
 Wm. S. Hopkins.... Woonsocket, R. I.
 Frederic C. Fletcher..... Boston
 L. D. Cole..... Newburyport
 Arthur B. Daniels..... Adams
 J. C. Osborn..... Fall River
 George Park..... Dexter, Me.
 Fred W. Estabrook.... Nashua, N. H.

Executive Committee.

The President, Secretary and Treasurer by virtue of their offices, and

Lew C. Hill..... Boston
 Franklin W. Hobbs..... Boston
 R. P. Snelling.... Newton Upper Falls
 A. G. Pollard..... Lowell
 Richard S. Russell.... North Andover

Advisory Board—The Ex-Presidents:

Wm. H. Bent..... Taunton
 William B. Plunkett..... Adams
 George A. Draper..... Hopedale
 Charles H. Hutchins..... Worcester
 James R. MacColl..... Providence

For Directors.

Term Expiring 1915.

Channing Smith..Cherry Valley, Mass.
 H. Carleton Slack..... Springfield, Vt.
 S. O. Bigney..... Attleboro
 Joseph E. Fletcher.... Providence, R. I.
 Frank Hopewell Boston
 John Shirreffs Fitchburg
 Channing M. Wells..... Southbridge
 H. T. Whitin..... Northbridge

The by-laws provide that the Secretary and Treasurer shall be chosen by the Board of Directors.

The chair appointed John Hopewell teller of the election, and he reported that all the votes, including 174 proxies, were for the ticket nominated. The chair declared the several nominees elected.

For the information of members, we give the names of Directors whose terms will expire in 1913 and 1914:

The Directors whose term will expire in 1913 are:

W. K. Dana.....Westbrook, Me.
 Charles Sisson..... Providence, R. I.
 Eben D. Bancroft..... Hopedale
 W. F. Shove..... Fall River
 Lewis R. Speare..... Boston
 W. C. Plunkett..... Adams
 Calvin D. Paige..... Southbridge
 Francis H. Manning..... Boston

The Directors whose term will expire in 1914 are:

Eben S. Draper..... Hopedale
 W. H. Chase..... Leominster
 Walter E. Parker..... Lawrence
 Charles Cheney..So. Manchester, Conn.
 Leonard B. Nichols..... Boston
 W. H. Pridee..... Hingham
 Louis B. Goodall..... Sanford, Me.
 George S. Colton..... Easthampton
 F. B. Macy..... New Bedford

The following resolution offered by Francis H. Manning was adopted:

That the President and Secretary of the Home Market Club be instructed to call a meeting of the directors early in December to take such action in behalf of the Club to safeguard as far as possible the welfare of our industries and our wage-earners, as may seem proper and desirable in order that, in the impending revision the business of the country may not be disturbed, as Governor Wilson has repeatedly promised.

The following resolution offered by John Hopewell was adopted:

Recognizing that the business of the country has been built up by a protective tariff policy, the Home Market Club at its annual meeting, urges the Presi-

dent-elect and the Congress of the United States to thoroughly investigate the industrial and economic conditions of the country so that an unregulated foreign competition may not force our manufacturing establishments to close or to adopt the bitter alternative of reducing wages to the low level which prevails abroad.

We ask the attention of Congress to the fact that a material reduction of the duties on boots and shoes, silk, metal, cotton and woollen goods and machinery will be a serious blow to New England industries, and the welfare of a million workingmen.

We also urge Congress to grant to the pulp and paper industry the same just and fair treatment which is given to other industries in order that growth and expansion instead of stagnation and decay may once more become the proud record of a great American industry.

Ample protection is essential to the maintenance of our industries and of the higher standard of American wages.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

Necrology for Year Ending November 20, 1912.

Theodore C. Bates.... Worcester, Mass.
(One of the founders of the Home Market Club)

Francis M. Bacon.....New York
A. A. Colburn..... Milford, Mass.
George R. Damon... Leominster, Mass.
John A. Faulkner..... Lowell
A. Walter Harris.... Providence, R. I.
Jonathan Howland, Jr.
New Bedford, Mass.

Amory A. Lawrence..... Boston
O. H. Merrick..... Brookline
(Former Director)

Arthur Merritt Boston
Francis J. Ward..... Roxbury
John G. Wright..... Boston
Stephen Holman Swampscott
(One of the original members of Home Market Club)

George W. Wells..... Southbridge
(Former President)

Levi L. Wilcutt..... Boston
Charles A. Stott..... Lowell
(Former President)

Wm. E. Joslin..... Providence, R. I.
(Vice-President)

SOME FIGURES OF THE ELECTION.

Pending the receipt of the official returns from every state in the Union, it is impossible to give accurate figures of the recent election at this time. The vote has been officially counted and declared in not more than one-third of the states, and in three states—California, Idaho and Wyoming—the results determined by the unofficial returns may be reversed by the official count. In California, Roosevelt appears to have 65 plurality over Wilson; in Idaho, which was claimed for Taft until a few days ago, Wilson appears to have won by a small plurality, and also in Wyoming, where the contest was between Taft and Wilson—the Third Party polling only a small vote in that state. Assuming that there will be no material changes in the results as now reported, the Electoral vote stands, as in the following table:

For Wilson.	
Alabama	12
Arizona	3
Arkansas	9
Colorado	6
Connecticut	7
Delaware	3
Florida	6
Georgia	14
Idaho	4
Indiana	15
Illinois	29
Iowa	13
Kansas	10
Kentucky	13
Louisiana	10
Maryland	8
Massachusetts	18
Maine	6
Mississippi	10
Missouri	18
Montana	4
Nebraska	8

THE PROTECTION:

Nevada	3	majority of
New Hampshire	4	he falls
New Jersey	14	majority
New Mexico	3	The elect
New York	45	states sh
North Carolina	12	no divisio
North Dakota	5	Wilson v
Ohio	24	majority
Oklahoma	10	his vote e
Oregon	5	for Taft
Rhode Island	9	teen of tl
South Carolina	9	Union.
Tennessee	12	have give
Texas	20	the major
Virginia	12	oral colle
West Virginia	8	
Wisconsin	13	
Wyoming	3	
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Total	433	

For Roosevelt.

California	13
Michigan	15
Minnesota	12
Pennsylvania	38
South Dakota	5
Washington	7
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Total	90

For Taft.

Utah	4
Vermont	4
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Total	8

It is not possible to give more than approximate figures of the popular vote at this time. A few days after the election it was stated that the total vote cast by the Republican, Progressive, Democratic and smaller parties might reach 15,000,000. It was estimated that Taft received about 3,400,000 votes, Roosevelt 4,170,000, and Wilson about 6,350,000 votes, which leaves about one million for the minor party candidates.

Some of the Democratic and mugwump papers are very sensitive over the talk of Wilson being a minority President, and point to his large ma-

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bership of the next House of Representatives are: Democrats 202, Republicans 143, completing the total of 435. This gives the Democrats a clear majority of 149. Of the Republicans there are 15 who are counted as "Progressives," and 26 more having "progressive" tendencies. On the Democratic side 11 members are said to be afflicted with this complaint. The Federation of Labor claim that 16 members are favorable to all sorts of labor legislation, and that they all carry "union cards."

Notes.

In the New England States, New Hampshire elected two Democratic Congressmen, Massachusetts, 7 out of the 16 members, Rhode Island 2 of the 3 members, and all of the 5 members in Connecticut.

Wilson carried Massachusetts by a plurality of about 18,000; Gov. Foss was re-elected by a plurality of about 49,000; Walsh (Democratic) for Lieutenant Governor, defeated Luce by about 40,000. The Democratic candidate for Secretary of State was also elected, but the Republican candidates for Treasurer, Auditor and Attorney-General were re-elected by small pluralities. The Republicans have a majority of at least 42 in the Massachusetts Legislature.

Of the twenty-eight Governors of States voted for on November 5, the Republicans elected only six. There was no choice by the popular vote in New Hampshire, and the Legislature will elect the governor. The Governor-elect in West Virginia was supported by both the Republican and Progressive parties.

HON. CHARLES A. STOTT.

Again we have to mourn the loss of a former President of the Home Market Club whose long and faithful service as an executive officer in this organization cannot be too highly estimated. Hon. Charles A. Stott died at his home in Lowell, Mass., October 31, aged 77 years. Heart disease was the cause of death. Four years ago he lost a leg by amputation but subsequently recovered completely from that and became as active as crutches would permit him to. He continued to manage the Belvidere Woolen Mills for a time after that and continued, until very recently, actively engaged as president of the Lowell Mutual Fire Insurance Co. Early in the summer he went to Little Boar's Head, N. H., to his summer home, as had been his practice for many years, and remained there until the second week in October. He had not been so well for a time and on his return he sank gradually.

Major Stott, by which title he was better known, was born in Dracut, a town adjoining Lowell, August 13, 1835, and was the only child of Charles and Sarah MacAdams Stott. He was descended from a sturdy and respectable English ancestry, which belonged to that class of immigration, the members of which, by their honesty of purpose, fortitude under trial and sense of responsibility, have done so much to improve the condition, develop the energies and broaden the resources of their adopted country. His father, Charles Stott, was born in Rochdale, England, August 21, 1799, and came to America in 1826, finally settling in Dracut in 1828, where, in companv

with Joseph Garnet, Robert Whitaker and a Mr. Fittin, he hired an old woolen mill and machinery at the "Navy Yard," in which he carried on the woolen business for four or five years, afterwards assuming the agency of the Belvidere Woolen Mills in which position he continued until his death, in 1882. He also built the Stirling Mills. Thus the Stott name was identified with the earliest beginnings of the woolen industry in Lowell and Major Stott continued in his father's business.

Charles A., the son, received his education in the public schools of Lowell, being graduated from the high school. His first occupation was in the hardware store of Burbank & Chase and then for one year as clerk in the counting room of the Merrimack Manufacturing Co. Going to the Belvidere Woolen Mills in 1856, he occupied the position of clerk and paymaster until his father's death in 1882, when he succeeded him as agent and treasurer.

Previous to the Civil War he was captain of Company H, Sixth regiment, M. V. M., and upon that regiment's enlistment he was mustered in as its major, serving during his nine months' service under Col. Follansbee, at Suffolk, Va. He was one of the oldest members of Gen. Butler Post 42, G. A. R., and served last year on the committee of citizens which entertained the members of the old 6th Massachusetts Regiment, in honor of the 50th anniversary of their march through Baltimore. He was also a member of the Loyal Legion and an honorary member of the Richardson Light Infantry Association of Lowell.

Major Stott was a sound and con-

sistent Protectionist and never faltered in his devotion to the cause. He was prominent in the affairs of the Home Market Club for more than twenty years. He served as a member of the Executive Committee for three or four years previous to 1895, when he was elected President and was re-elected in 1896. Then he was a vice-president until 1899, when he was again chosen a member of the Executive Committee and served continuously until 1910, when on account of advancing age and ill-health he asked to be relieved from further service. He was untiring in his application to the duties of these positions, in the administration of which he was uniformly faithful and exact as in all of his business transactions. He was strongly conservative in his views, and not disposed to favor radical changes in policy or a compromise on vital principles; and he expressed his opinions with an earnestness and frankness that commanded the respect even of opponents. By his associates in the official board he was esteemed as a prudent counsellor and a safe man for any emergency.

Other organizations in which Major Stott was an active member were the Lowell Board of Trade, the Lowell Club, and the National Association of Wool Manufacturers. He was a director in the Prescott National Bank of Lowell before its consolidation, and was president for some years of the Lowell Mutual Fire Insurance Company. From early manhood he took an active interest in political affairs. In National and State affairs he was a vigorous Republican, but of recent years in Municipal affairs he was an

independent. He served in both branches of the Lowell City Council and was a member of the lower branch of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1867. He served as Mayor of Lowell in 1876 and 1877. While Mayor in 1876 he presided at the exercises in honor of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the town of Lowell. He was presiding officer at many of the great Republican rallies held in old Huntington Hall. He was chairman of the Republican State Committee in 1881-82, and was a Presidential elector in 1884.

He had been a member of the Masonic fraternity since 1857, when he joined Pentucket Lodge of Lowell. Later he became a member of Kilwinning Lodge, Mt. Horeb Royal Arch Chapter, Ahasueris Council and Massachusetts Consistory, 32d degree, past commander of Pilgrim Commandery, Knights Templars of Lowell, and past grand commander of the Grand Commandery, Knights Templars of Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

At a meeting some years ago in the Board of Trade rooms, Lowell, he gave \$5,000 to endow a bed in the Massachusetts General Hospital; and this was only one of his public benefactions.

He was a member of High Street Congregational church and had given much of his time and effort to the affairs of the church. He was always the familiar figure at the social affairs of the church, being uniformly either the presiding officer, toastmaster or principal speaker.

He married first Mary E., daughter of George W. Bean of Lowell. They had one daughter, Lilla A., born July 24, 1858. His

wife died in December, 1860, and on December 3, 1863, he married Lizzie Williams of Concord, N. H., who with their four children, Mrs. Frank W. Howe, Miss Edith Stott, Charles W. Stott and Miss Marion Stott, survives him.

In social life Major Stott was of an exceptionally genial and cheerful disposition. He was strong in his personal attachments to his friends, of which he had an ever widening circle. Noted for energy in any cause he undertook to serve, he was always in great demand for public occasions. With private cares that were by no means small, he neglected no public duty and was able to perform a great variety and amount of work for the general welfare. It is rare that a life has been more successful in both its material and moral aspects.

We copy the following appreciative tribute from the Lowell Courier-Citizen:

"In the death of Major Charles A. Stott, Lowell has sustained a loss which will be widely felt. Few men have been more generally beloved, and few men have ever given to this city, both in political, business and social life, as hearty, genial and helpful a citizenship as his. A man of fine physical presence, of valiant courage, of kindly nature and of un-failing good cheer, he was one of the rare sort who manage to remain ever young and ever a source of pleasure to their fellows. If Heaven only sent us more men of his like, we should find this earth a better place—but perhaps we should not feel the same degree of appreciation for them that we do feel now in their comparative rarity among us. No man or woman who knew

Major Stott will fail to mourn his going, for to all such he was both an inspiration and a benediction."

Simple but impressive funeral services for Major Stott were held at the family residence in Lowell, on Sunday afternoon, November 3, there being a very large attendance, which included delegations from fraternal and civic bodies. Rev. Allan Conant Ferrin, pastor of the High Street Congregational church, assisted by Rev. Appleton Grannis, rector of St. Anne's Episcopal church, conducted the services, which were marked by a simplicity characteristic of the life of the deceased. The Weber male quartet of Boston sang impressively "Lead, Kindly Light," "Jesus Lover of My Soul" and "Still, Still With Thee." At the grave the prayers were read by Rev. Mr. Ferrin and Post 42, G. A. R., performed their military services and taps were sounded. The honorary pall bearers were: C. C. Hutchinson, F. W. Kittredge, A. G. Cumnock, A. G. Pollard, N. W. Norcross, C. L. Knapp, E. E. Sawyer, C. W. Whidden and Joseph Peabody. The active bearers were members of the various Masonic bodies.

THE RADICAL VOTE FOR

1912.

BY F. G. R. GORDON.

While the returns are not as yet all in for the radical vote, enough is known to estimate very near the official count. In the first place the Socialist party have polled just about one million votes. It may be a little more or a little less, but it will not be far from a million. The

Prohibition party, which has a number of socialistic planks, municipal ownership, nationalization of railways, etc., have polled about 300,000 votes. The Socialist Labor party, the extreme Socialist organization, have polled some 50,000 votes, and the Progressive party have a record of over 4,000,000 votes for their presidential ticket. While it would not be correct to call the Bull Moose party a Socialist organization, yet that party had twenty-one socialistic planks similar to those of the Socialist party platform. To sum up: We have over a million votes for straight out Socialism, and we have over four million votes cast for a sort of semi-Socialism, though it is only fair to say that at least half of the Bull Moose votes were personal Roosevelt votes. The fact remains, however, that the Socialists have been supplied with a great deal of political ammunition. The denunciation by Roosevelt of the two old parties and their leaders, as "political crooks" and "liars" has sort of "proved" to the red flag wavers that they have been "right" all the time. Moreover, we are now told that after the Bull Moose party gets its twenty-one socialistic planks in the statute books, there will be more coming, and it is inevitable that every new radical party becomes more and more radical, so that we have to face this fact: There are a million Socialist votes and at least two million other voters who may be called half-baked Socialists. There is no doubt that within the next five years the Bull Moose party will have municipal ownership and the nationalization of railways as a part of their creed.

Is it not time that the sane and sober citizen of this nation begins to take notice of all this?

The Socialist party has at the present time some 150,000 dues paying members; they are expending more than a million dollars every year for their propaganda; their campaign is continuous and they are greatly aided by the radical agitators, for the latter prepare the ground for the Socialist crop. In the light of these facts it is clear

that there is only one safe political organization in this country today dealing with the social question, and there is only one safe political organization for the defence of a protective tariff and that is the Republican party. The latter must remain the great conserving and conservative party of the country. If it does this it will win most of the time. If the Republican party attempts to compete with the radical parties it will fail and deserve to fail.

THE TARIFF SITUATION.

Some Press Opinions Regarding the Effects of Wilson's Election Upon Tariff Revision, and of an Extra Session of the New Congress.

From the Textile Manufacturers' Journal.

Although President-elect Woodrow Wilson has received a plurality of over 2,000,000 votes, the country has expressed its allegiance to the protective tariff principle by a majority of more than 1,000,000. Both Republicans and Progressives favored adequate protection to domestic industries, and, although differences of opinion upon less vital issues prevented the will of the popular majority from prevailing upon this one supreme question, failure of the dominant party to defer to this great majority will bring swift retribution. So plainly have the people spoken that no referendum is needed, but were it possible to obtain a National expression upon this question alone no sane man can doubt that the present large majority would be swelled by a very large percentage of Democratic votes.

That President-elect Wilson and large numbers of Democratic Congressmen are conscious of the fact that adequate protection to domestic industries is accepted as a permanent National policy by a vast majority of the citizens of this country has been apparent in their public utterances during the recent campaign. That these progressive leaders of the Democracy will exert themselves to satisfy this majority and thus prolong their control of National affairs is confidently to be expected, but not until they have proved their ability to dominate the radical Bourbon element in the party, to whom the term Democrat is synonymous with free trade or tariff for revenue, will the business world feel safe.

Business men irrespective of party are pinning their faith in a continuance of present prosperity upon the ability, fair-mindedness and coura-

geousness of President-elect Wilson, House Leader Underwood and a few Senators and Representatives of known progressive ideas from manufacturing States, both North and South. These men, who should be familiar with the tariff needs of the great industries, whose stockholders and wage earners they represent and are sworn to protect, must be depended upon to thwart the low tariff demands of the Bourbon element in the party. It is to them, and not to the Republican minority in Congress, that the people must look for a continuation of the American scale of wages and of living conditions.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

Already some of the leaders of the party which has triumphed over a divided opposition are urging that the new President must call the new Congress together in extraordinary session immediately after his inauguration to take up the work of revising the tariff and are suggesting that some of the bills which were passed by the present House of Representatives be brought forward and put through to speedy enactment, while others should be prepared in the meantime to supplement them. If there had been a clear "mandate" for a speedy and thorough revision, this might be good strategy, and it may be so in the existing situation in case the work can be so wisely and judiciously directed as to be vindicated by results, and to prepare the way for further steps. But it will be easy by too drastic action to cause a reaction which would bring the opposing political forces together again. The House will be too strongly Democratic, while the control of the Senate may be difficult and uncertain.

There should be action upon the tariff, and it may be that prompt action would be best, but the way in which the party victory has come about dictates sober consideration and a clearly devised and prudent course, with astute calculation of consequences. Hasty or blundering action might prove fatal to the party's chance of continued support.

From the New York Tribune.

Already an organized movement has begun among the Democrats to force his hand in the matter of an extra session. Without stopping to inquire whether or not such a session fits into his plans, they already have a claque crying out that the party is pledged to immediate downward revision of the tariff and that "immediate" means the neighborhood of March 4. It is even urged by some that the party is committed to the passage of the wool, cotton, chemical, steel and free list bills which Congress passed at the last session for electioneering purposes. This is a plausible suggestion, but it implies that the Democrats really believed in those bills or drew them for some other purpose than that of putting Mr. Taft "in a hole." Governor Wilson never committed himself to them and may not care, as successor to Mr. Taft, to have them as a hole in his path.

The new President may want to choose his own time for tariff revision, to organize his administration, make his appointments, get control of the party machinery and work out a careful program which will as nearly as possible reconcile the party doctrine of tariff for revenue only and his denunciation of protection as per se injurious to expanding Ameri-

can business with his somewhat contradictory declaration that he was following in the liberal protectionist path of Blaine and McKinley and only wanted to carry out the idea of the Republican platform of 1908 for an adjustment of duties to cover the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad with a reasonable profit to the domestic producer. He may feel that Congressional ideas on the tariff are not sufficiently clarified and harmonized to produce a law which would be creditable to the party or beneficial to the country, and that he must take time to enlighten his followers.

From the Textile Manufacturers' Journal.

Opinions of wool manufacturers respecting tariff legislation and its effect upon their division of the textile industry, are representative enough to give a pretty good idea of general ideas in the textile industry. While the trade are sanguine of uninterrupted prosperity for a definite period, should no announcement of an extra session be made, they feel that in all human probability Mr. Wilson and his advisers, in order to keep their anti-election pledges, will be obliged to take early and radical action on the tariff. That such action cannot help but be disastrous is the general feeling, and the consequences of wage reductions and shut-downs are clearly pointed out by these important factors.

The statements to which we have referred are not given for the consumption of the operative or of the ultimate consumer. If such accusation could have been made before election, and we deny that it could, there is no point to such an argument today. These statements are the

calm, judicial, unprejudiced opinions of those who face a contingency which may mean financial disaster to many, but which is viewed with optimism and the hope that statements regarding the non-interference with business and with business men by the successful Presidential candidate and his coadjutors will be realized in fact. Little fear is felt of the immediate future, but at the same time hard-headed business men of the type of those quoted cannot blink the fact that uncertainty must be considered as a factor. On the other hand it is regarded as injudicious to take action before the program in connection with tariff revision is much better known than it is today.

From the Boston Journal.

President-elect Wilson's first word, through unofficial channels, has a ring of cheerful reassurance that carries no earthquakes with it. He says: "There is absolutely nothing for the honest and enlightened business men of the country to fear. No man whose business is conducted without violation of the right of free competition, and without such private understandings and secret alliances as violate the principle of our law and the policy of all wholesome commerce and enterprise, need fear either interference or embarrassment from the administration." Who could ask a more finished declaration that the Democratic platform contained a large assortment of stage thunder adapted for the occasion?

From the Boston Transcript.

Woodrow Wilson will be a minority President. The aggregate vote for Taft and Roosevelt will exceed that which Mr. Wilson received.

This circumstance ought to impose upon him and his party great caution in following out the policies enunciated in the Democratic platform. Both Taft and Roosevelt stood for protection. Mr. Wilson is a tariff revisionist, and in the course of his campaign varied from a radical revisionist to a somewhat conservative one. With a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House the party tendency may be to go to extremes, to cut and slash tariff schedules. If that tendency is manifested there will be a test of President Wilson's firmness and of his political sagacity as well.

From Fibre and Fabric.

From the sweeping Democratic victory it is evident that American labor is willing to work in competition with labor abroad where the wage is less than one-half the American wage. The one splendid privilege accorded the American workman has been exercised to the limit, and now we must look for adjustments and be prepared for a four-year period that will leave its mark for many years to come.

Evidently a change was desired, and when thousands of idle workers go down to the docks in cities where there is a port of entry, and see the loads of foreign goods being delivered to supply American demand, while the large and small home establishments are curtailed or closed, there should be no kick. The word of the politician was taken in preference to the word of the employer, and American industry has been sold out to foreign competitors and there is "great rejoicing" in England, Germany and France.

Foreign syndicates will now take up their options on storage lofts and

office buildings and millions of money that has gone into circulation each year as a result of home industry expanding, will now go abroad to pay work people in foreign countries, rather than in America. Strikes and disorder are already on the bills, as wage adjustments are as sure as anything under the sun, as soon as mills and factories clean up the advance business now booked, and the consumer will not be able to buy necessities or luxuries one per cent. cheaper than at the present time.

From Washington Cor. of New York Journal of Commerce.

Politicians in discussing the work of the experts of the Ways and Means Committee preparing analysis of business anticipatory to an immediate revision of the tariff next spring are disinclined to express their real feelings. However, it is evident that the progressive element of the Democratic party is slightly hostile to the work, inasmuch as it was conceived without their full consent and approval. Conservative Democrats are unwilling to discuss the question, as they fear to do so now would antagonize the other element, although they fully realize that it is best that the country should know that a thorough investigation is being given the tariff so that no one can say that the Democrats were acting without due consideration of the subject.

Republicans declare that if the plans of the Ways and Means Committee as outlined is carried out the party will have the enmity of all the business men of the country. It is declared that the Democrats have a great opportunity to win the favor of the country if they only confine their reductions to those paragraphs

which are recognized to be unpar- donably high. For instance, they say the tariff on steel rails might be re- duced without injuring anyone; so might the duty on stoves. Espe- cially do they criticise the plan of the ways and Means Committee to revise the agricultural schedule, which, the Republicans say, will bring no relief whatever to the high cost of living because it would reduce the farmers' profits.

English Views of the Result.

A London dispatch November 7 said: "The chief interest in the American presidential election for England is its relation to the tariff. Tariff reform is one of the leading issues in British politics. The Lib- eral papers hail the Democratic suc- cess as a great victory for low tariff, which is certain to have an influence in England."

The Daily News says: "That the Democratic party should return to office after fifteen years in the wilder- ness is nothing. What matters is that it is a regenerated party which has returned intrusted by the Ameri- can people with a definite mission and led by a man who has char- acter and intellect to carry the mis- sion through." The News thinks that Woodrow Wilson's election should stimulate all men of the American universities, which are more national and democratic than the English, to participate in politics, and adds: "War against protection is an interest common to all peoples, and the world has too long been de- nied that inspiration, that leading which we have a right to expect from the greatest of all republics."

The Standard says: "The people had grown tired of two sets of office

seekers, grouped for the mere pur- pose of the game into parties and divided by no real question of prin- ciple." The Standard holds that the Democratic revision will leave duties higher than the tariff reformers in England propose.

The Morning Post says: "The significance of the election lies in the fact that the people were dissatisfied with the Taft Administration, which was too much controlled by the bosses, but were not ready to accept the advance Roosevelt program."

The Express says: "Mr. Wilson's success depends upon the degree to which he can raise enthusiasm for politics in hitherto apathetic quarters. He will not lay violent hands on the tariff."

"What emerges most significantly from the election," says the Chroni- cle, "is that the majority of the American people have awakened to keen dissatisfaction with things as they are; that a great forward surge is agitating the mighty mass; that although to some its purposes may be confused, to some its battles still fought in the half light, there is enough will and vitality in the gi- gantic nation to carry it forward to final victory."

Francis Dyke Acland, parliamen- tary Under Secretary of Foreign Af- fairs, speaking at Taunton, referred to the election of Woodrow Wilson as a victory for reduced tariff and said that the English democracy ought not to turn its back on a pol- icy which other Democracies wished to establish.

"The Times in an editorial thinks that the rise of the Progressive party may well prove to be a matter of su- preme moment not alone in the in- ternational politics of the United

States, but in the history of modern democracy. Mr. Wilson's success," adds the Times, "will largely depend upon his skill in inducing the more conservative of his party to move fast enough. His task is not easy, but the Democrats succeed to power with a President whose character and past achievement are full of promise."

Canadian Opinion.

From the Toronto Mail and Empire.

The chances are that a Democratic President and a Democratic House of Representatives will make some serious attempts to reduce the high American tariff, though the reductions are not likely to be of a sweeping character. There is a probability that the clamor of the consumer will lead Governor Wilson to place some natural products on the free list, and if this is done Canada may have for nothing some of the benefits for which she was urged by the continentalists to barter her birth-right. Canada has thrived in spite of a prohibitive tariff reared against her by the people of the United States, and whether the tariff is maintained, increased or reduced she will continue to thrive. Canada recognizes that the tariff of the United States is exclusively the business of the people of the United States, and whatever they choose to do with their own, Canada will be well satisfied.

An Ottawa dispatch says: "Canada will naturally welcome the downward revision of the United States tariff, to which Mr. Wilson and his party are pledged. It will be recalled that in the reciprocity campaign, secondary to the national argument was the economic contention that the

Democrats, if returned, would themselves reduce the tariff and that Canada would benefit to at least some extent without surrendering any part of its fiscal independence or forming any alliance with Washington. The election of Governor Wilson, taken in conjunction with the Democratic platform is interpreted here today as justifying this prediction in fulfilment of pledges, the triumphant party must revise the United States tariff, and necessarily it must be downward. Some, if not many, lines of Canadian industry and production, particularly those bearing upon the cost of living, should obviously reap advantage. Reciprocity, however, though still in Democratic favor, and quite possible of being actively revived at Washington is conceded here on all sides as being so dead an issue as to render its further advocacy in Canada an impossibility. The situation will not change an iota through Governor Wilson replacing Mr. Taft at the White House."

German Press Opinions.

The election of Woodrow Wilson is regarded generally by the German press as a most fortunate occurrence for Germany. The newspapers say it gives promise of a reduction of the tariff which has crippled the German export trade and also of the abandonment of the policy of tariff "pin pricks," such as those connected with paper pulp and split peas, under which German-American relations have suffered.

All the journals, however, warn the German commercial world against expecting too much from the Democrats in this respect and point out that the Democratic party will be quite as responsive to the protection

of American interests as the Republican party.

The "Post" doubts whether Woodrow Wilson's promises will result in anything more than did Roosevelt's or Taft's. It continues:

"The dollar is always more powerful than the President's will in America, and the trusts which Roosevelt was unable to masticate will prove probably too tough for Wilson."

The "Tageblatt" hopes that Woodrow Wilson's advent will inaugurate

just and lasting commercial relations between the United States and Germany and will perhaps serve as an example to European protectionists.

The "Kreuz Zeitung" says the Republicans are the chief exponents of imperialism and are more jingo than the Democrats, but it is doubtful whether the Democrats are more friendly to Germany than the Republicans, except insofar as they are less belligerent and less desirous of war with Germany or any other power.

OUT ON THE HIGH SEAS IN 1812.

By Roland Ringwalt.

A boy's relish for the sea-fights of 1812 is not keener than a man's consciousness of their importance. Materially they meant so little, morally they counted for so much. All the combatants on both sides could have easily been stowed away in a corner of a British port. One line-of-battle-ship could have sunk Perry's and Barclay's, Macdonough's and Downie's squadrons. Yet morally the contests of 1812 gave new heart to America, amazed the veterans of Great Britain, and raised the curiosity of France. Precedent after precedent was shattered. British captains had grown careless of odds against them; they learned that a slight superiority on the part of an American meant deadly peril. They had believed that a fight was practically won if a British ship could get near enough to board an enemy and several times they got too near. It was almost an English conviction that a frigate

was clumsy and overweighted if she carried a battery over the eighteen-pound limit; the large American frigates carried twenty-four pounders, without lessening their speed, and with a terrible increase in their destructive force. The noisy boasts of the American pamphleteers are justly forgotten, but the grim fact that the Admiralty concealed the reports of the actions from the public eye teaches a valuable lesson. It admits of but one interpretation—brave Englishmen must have poured out their souls in tales of those swift ships that darted like serpents and blazed like fire rafts.

Anecdotes told fifty or a hundred times may yet be so told that their moral is half hidden. It is true that Hull was courteous to Dacres; that Bainbridge did all that in him lay to comfort the dying Lambert; that the sailors of the Hornet shared their clothing with the crew of the Peacock; that Perry and Macdonough

dealt humanely with their prisoners; that Allen scrupulously guarded private property, and that many British captives spoke manly words of gratitude for kindnesses shown them. But so many deeds of mercy hint at something more than mere good humor; they breathe a pride, a sense that the American navy was a service of almost boundless possibilities. We forget this, and yet it was recognized by thoughtful Englishmen. Old Admiral Jarvis lay awake all night after hearing of the capture of the Java. "A frigate now and then must be lost," he said, "war is a lottery and must have its blanks. What worries me is the stately manner in which Bainbridge, badly hurt as he was, visited the dying Lambert and gave him back his sword. It does not suggest a young country, new and swaggering; it shows the dignity of an old Spanish grandee with twenty noble ancestors." Perhaps Jarvis imagined that Bainbridge would squirt tobacco juice over the bloody deck of the Java, and say, "Well, I reckon them Johnny Bulls larned something this time."

Peace be to Jarvis, and, to do him justice, there have been offensive specimens of vanity among our countrymen. He may not have known that Bainbridge (a direct descendant of Sir Arthur Bainbridge by the way) had passed through a far nobler experience than the knighting at a royal levee or the purchase of a title. A dozen years before, although this country was then at war with France, Bainbridge had begged the Dey of Algiers not to enslave the unfortunate Frenchmen in his power. The Dey mockingly granted the French forty-eight

hours in which to leave port; he knew that no Algerine captain would help them; he did not dream that an American would show mercy to the enemies of his country, and he fancied that his prey was in his grasp. Bainbridge took the French on board the *George Washington*, landed them all in safety, and received a letter of thanks from the First Consul, whose name was Napoleon Bonaparte.

The fortunes of war change, and in 1803 Bainbridge ran aground before Tripoli. During his weary captivity he hit on a plan so remarkable that even today a reader holds his breath for a moment. He had in his crew a number of Englishmen, and he expressed a wish that Nelson would insist on their release as British subjects. If this request was granted, so he probably thought, it would be easy to ransom the rest of the crew. If it was not granted Nelson might sail into the port of Tripoli and knock the batteries into splinters. Nothing came of the plan, second thought disapproved it, but it is one of history's many oddities that Bainbridge and Preble gravely weighed the pros and cons of a scheme which unquestionably granted the favorite claims of England—first that one born a British subject never ceased to be a British subject, and second that an English seaman could be taken from the vessel of another nation.

We have no right to say that Admiral Jarvis was in duty bound to study Bainbridge's record, but the facts are given to show that Bainbridge was no mere Jack tar, with his darling pleasure a night's carouse and his highest ideal a bag of prize money. He was a man who had

been reared in the house of a country physician, who knew the fore-castle and the cabin of the merchant service, who had endured French and Tripolitan captivity, who had thought deeply on international law and on the customs of different nations. A Sultan had treated him with courtesy, a vizier had been his friend, a Dey of Algiers had threatened him with violence, a French consul had sent him a letter of thanks; he had heard the guns of his own countrymen strike his own prison wall, he had felt the agony of seeing the "Philadelphia" run aground and the delight of seeing her blaze while her guns fired into the Tripolitan batteries. It does not amaze us to read that Bainbridge showed dignity in the hour of conquest, for he had learned patience in the hard school of a dungeon.

Had Jarvis known what every schoolboy ought to know, that Bainbridge and Stewart were, morally speaking, entitled to a large share of all the credit won by the navy of 1812, he would have been amazed. The entire Cabinet had decided to lay up our vessels in harbor because it was deemed hopeless to struggle against resistless British. Bainbridge and Stewart wrote to the President, pleading for the navy, declaring that harbor service would ruin its morale, urging that it be given a chance, and the chance was given. We shall never see the letter. It perished when the British burned our Capitol, but certain results that followed the letter are memorable.

Now can anyone imagine Jarvis or any other British admiral hearing all this? There were in the English merchant service many good seamen, many sturdy fighters, many

who might have entered the navy as excellent boatswains or even sailing masters. Fifty years before there had been a number of officers who had come from the merchant service. But eighteenth century England assumed that its admirals would come from fine old country houses, from neat villas, from parsonages or from the residences of thriving lawyers. There was a roar of laughter at the bare idea of Captain Jenkins (he of the mutilated ear) making the fine speech attributed to him, "I commended my soul to God and my cause to my country" It was generally believed that a merchant captain must be socially inferior to a man of quarter-deck training. We may be fairly certain that Admiral Jarvis had never known a man reared in the merchant service who had given a banquet at Constantinople, received a letter from Napoleon, suggested a policy for Nelson, been on friendly terms with a Danish consul, and visited a dying captain of the British navy. An American merchant captain became Secretary of the Navy, but no Englishman who had handled cargoes of rum and sugar became First Lord of the Admiralty.

Indeed the American navy was marvelously like the English, and quite as unlike it. Side by side with hatred of the press gangs and dislike of a nobility, there was an intense pride in the great triumphs of England, a sense that we had inherited them along with the common law and the Bible of 1611. Captain Jones, he who took the Frolic, had noble blood in his veins, but he carefully melted down his old silver lest his family should see the armorial bearings—his rank in the United

States navy was all his heart craved. Yet we suspect that if one of Captain Jones' forbears had fought with Blake or cruised with Anson, he would have counted that as a legitimate cause for pride. The navy prized all the traditions of Hawke and Rodney; it was not boyish and silly enough to declare that English ships could be easily beaten, but it prepared itself for a fight, and it was ready when the storm broke.

From first to last we have cause to be proud of our countrymen who went down to the sea in ships. Halt a dozen cruisers pursued Hull, and yet he escaped from them all. As the Guerriere neared he suffered torture indescribable lest his English-born sailors (about half his crew) should be afraid of the halter that menaced them if taken prisoners, but the Englishmen were as steadfast as his best native seamen. Lawrence, his own ship barely scratched, and the Peacock going to the bottom, deserved the praise he won. Blakely seemed to play in the most perilous waters. It was sport for him to seize his prey under the guns of a mighty ship; he left a sinking vessel to prepare for another opponent. His daring in waters swarming with British craft recalls Dundonald's cruises along the coast of Spain. Biddle, chased by his giant foe, almost captured, and yet making his escape after all, what shall we say of him? Could a Paul Jones himself have cut up the commerce of the Pacific as Porter did; was his fight off Scarborough better than Porter's noble, though fruitless resistance to the hopeless odds against him? No doubt there were manly English officers at Halifax, but they would not have given Lawrence so impressive

a funeral had they not admired him with the admiration no brave fellow ever yet concealed. The honors paid to Broke for taking the Chesapeake show us that England looked on the capture of an American frigate as a trophy well nigh equal to a French fleet. Rodgers cruised in Scotch waters and came near capturing a jolly party containing a man who wrote "Waverley" and other novels. With this daring, the Americans blended a regularity, a subordination, a discipline that surprised British officers. Stewart's quickness in his fight with the Cyane and Levant is not more creditable than the promptitude with which he cut his cables, and steered out through the fog, just in time to avoid odds too heavy for resistance. England had beaten the gallant seamen of Holland because she had better ships. She had taken beautiful French ships because she had better seamen. Here on a shore recently freed from colonial leading strings, she found ships as graceful as those of France, seamen even better than those of Holland, and a gunnery that was simply diabolical in its effect.

Strong or weak, disciplined or undisciplined, the American tar seemed to aim and to aim wherever he could do the most damage or spill the most blood. Whinyates said, after surrendering the Frolic, that he had not twenty sound men left on deck. Hull had the odds on his side, but how he increased those odds by his terrible fire! Lawrence in the Chesapeake was barely out of port, yet he made a good showing with his guns. Porter was hopelessly overmatched, and still the damage he did with a few small guns never faded from Hillyar's memory. Un-

able to account for the marvelous efficiency of American cruisers and crews the British fell into the habit of saying that our frigates and sloops were manned with picked seamen. They said this in all honesty, because they believed it, verily they said it so often that some Americans believe it, but it was not true, and could not be true. Will the reader of 1912 pause and consider what a picked crew means?

An English fleet might hear that a pirate of exceptional speed, with an able captain, and an expert crew was off St. Kitts. She was, we will suppose, burning and sinking merchantmen till the underwriters were frantic, and not an hour was to be lost. A fast schooner, not drawing too much water, was ordered to go after her, a well-trained officer was placed in command, and he was allowed to have a picked crew. The flag ship would give him twenty men, all sober, obedient, capable—not one of whom had ever been put in irons or tied up at the gangway. Beside the flag ship lay a razeed; she would give him a dozen of her best sailors—the fellows who were quickest in the rigging, shrewdest at the guns, most expert with the cutlass. Half a dozen other vessels would each give him the cream, the men whom the first lieutenant sighed to lose, the men who naturally rose to be gunner's mates or captains of foretops. In a short time he would have the best of the fleet, the men who were naturally submissive to their officers and only terrible to their enemies. A rivalry might spring up—that is, the men from the *Foudrayant* might seek to prove that they were better seamen than their messmates from the *Indefatigable*, but such rivalries

are beneficial, not injurious to a ship's company. There was no difficulty in selecting picked crews from a navy of seven hundred vessels, but a navy of seventeen vessels could not offer the same advantages.

Cooper declares that only once in the whole contest did any of our vessels possess a crew extraordinarily superior to the average of the navy. The *Constitution*, on her two last cruises, seems to have had a crew of rare excellence. But generally a frigate or sloop took what she could get, and made the best of it. The fact is that the average was high, that as a rule an American was a trifle quicker in the rigging and a great deal more deadly as a shot than an Englishman. An American crew was more intelligent, quite as brave, a shade better disciplined, and far more adaptable to circumstances than an English crew. The Englishman naturally supposed that we had picked crews because he had them; we had them not, first because we could not have them, and second because we did not so urgently need them. When we broke off from Great Britain we left picked crews as we left monarchy, the peerage and the Established Church, the purchase of commissions, the woosack, and the coats of arms. The mistake was pardonable, but the explanation should be decisive.

Less than a generation lay between the acknowledgment of our independence and Perry's triumph on Lake Erie. Only fifteen years after Washington's death and Macdonough was victor on Lake Champlain. Less than ten years after the *Leopard* fired into the Chesapeake, and we had followed up our victories over the English by sending a squad-

ron to Algiers. It seems beyond the possibilities, and yet we can see that the navy of 1812 was a navy from which it was reasonable to expect a great deal.

On the seven hundred cruisers of Great Britain there were men who had been seized by press gangs, and dragged from seashore homes. There were men taken from the merchant service who longed to get back to it. Hundreds, or rather say thousands, had been coaxed into the service after a jorum of rum punch. Contrast them with the sailors who had chosen our flag because they believed in the cause or because they had been deprived of employment by the Embargo. The difference is in favor of the Americans. Without claiming that the average officer was equal to Bainbridge, yet the South had few better representatives of the Cavalier type than Shubrick. Stewart was a man of strong intellect. Porter wrote a respectable book on his voyages. Decatur's conversation had won the heart of Coleridge and Irving. Jones had practiced medicine and held a court position. Macdonough was a man of impressive personality. Blakely had read to some purpose. Morris was a man whose autobiography one can hardly afford to leave unread. Lawrence had the education that befitted the son of a good lawyer. Assume that all these men had been captured, and that Admiral Jarvis had met them. He would have been convinced that the young American navy was a very respectable institution. Forecastle for forecandle, gunroom for gunroom, quarter deck for quarter deck, it well stood the comparison with the giant navy of England.

The last man of all that gallant little navy has gone to his long account. In that service Fenimore Cooper was trained. The effect produced by a strong nautical type on a far inlander still remains for those who read the account of Commodore Rodgers bequeathed to us by Thomas H. Benton. Irving so loved that navy that he wished to go with Decatur to Algiers. Rough as were the conditions of sea life, yet men of those days lived to read Mackenzie's descriptions of his cruises, and to see Maury digging out navigation from a Spanish text book. Under the canvas of 1812 Farragut developed a mind that seemed to have an ostrich-like greed for science and marvelous quickness in acquiring foreign languages. Within a generation after the war of 1812 Annapolis threw open her doors, and scientific education began in earnest. In any view of what we vaguely call "American life" space must be found for the seafaring American,—the old-fashioned seaman who could fight the pirates of Tripoli and grapple with the tars of Great Britain; as commercial as if he had only known the counter; as hard a fighter as if he had yearned for stars and garters from his cradle; the man injured to fogs and gales, calm in dark and off reefs; the sailor who could win and not be brutal, who could be wrecked and not forget discipline. The echoes of their guns sound through the verse of Holmes and Longfellow, and their deeds are retold in the stately pages of Mahan.

A Tariff for revenue may raise sufficient revenue, and yet be so low as to deprive American workers of American wages.—St. Mary's (W. Va.) Leader.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

The financial editor of the New York Sun writes as follows under a recent date: "The figures of the thirteenth decennial census show that, as compared with the state of affairs at the preceding census, the population of the country has increased 21 per cent., while the quantity of farm crops has increased but 1.7 per cent. What has taken place with us is of the same nature as that which has taken place in other countries under similar conditions in the past, and is to a certain extent taking place there today. The development of our country in this period has been almost exclusively along industrial lines, and the population of the world has enormously increased. People have flocked from the farms to the cities, mostly to engage in work in mills and factories, and they have become consumers rather than producers of foodstuffs. They have not only become consumers, but consumers on a larger scale, living far more luxuriously than did their fathers and grandfathers. What the outcome of these tendencies will be no one will say, but it is to these tendencies and not to any increased gold production that the higher cost of living is due."

The Rochester, New York, Post Express says: "The so-called necessities of life, which now include so much that was never formerly considered necessary, cost more today than ever before in every civilized land on earth, and it is coming to be seen that very many causes contribute to this result. No thoughtful man who is not talking for political effect maintains any longer that any one cause or any five causes are

solely responsible for the increasing cost of the things we buy. It is easy to see, however, that if all of us are getting better pay for our work than formerly, as is undoubtedly the case, the things that all of us make or raise must cost more to all of us when we buy them. . . . Food is higher everywhere because it is scarcer; consumption is outrunning production; and if we can still keep wages up by our protective tariff we can better afford to pay high prices than the people of lands where labor is less well paid. Food is as high with them, but they eat less of it, and, for the most part, the less desirable and less expensive foods. They have to; their wages are so much lower than ours."

PROSPECT OF THE INCOME TAX.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

One result of the election may be the ratification of the income tax amendment of the Federal Constitution before the beginning of the new administration of the National Government. It requires the favorable action of the legislatures of thirty-six States, or three-fourths of the total number. The Secretary of State has already received notice of ratification by thirty-two States and of rejection by only four, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Utah. Two, Ohio and Louisiana, have taken favorable action, of which official notice has for some reason not been yet received. This leaves only two necessary to complete the ratification, and there are ten States which have not taken decisive action. These are Delaware, Florida, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Ver-

mont, Virginia, West Virginia and Wyoming. Virginia is the only one of these which does not have a legislative session the coming winter and at least four of the legislatures which do meet are expected to ratify. These are Massachusetts, New Mexico, Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

The amendment gives to Congress the power "to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration." Objection was raised to this by Governor Hughes in this State on the ground that it would give Congress power to tax the income derived from State and municipal bonds, which would adversely affect the credit of States and cities and increase the rates of interest which their obligations would have to bear. This objection prevented the ratification of the amendment in this State until there was a change in the control of the Legislature, and has undoubtedly delayed it in other States. It is a valid objection, and "there are others," the chief of which applies to the income tax in any form, as working inequitably in practice, however just it may seem in theory.

It is pretty certain that the income tax amendment will be ratified before the new Congress comes into power. Then it will depend upon that body whether the power to impose the tax shall be exercised, and, if so, in what form and to what extent. It is to be considered that State legislatures already have the power to impose such a tax and there will be a chance of a double taxation of incomes. A revision of

the tariff which will materially reduce the revenue from that source will present a temptation for making up the deficiency by taxing incomes, but there are other available means which are less objectionable. There is nothing simpler, more effective and more certain and economical to collect than a moderate stamp tax, which is quite free from the objection to an inquisitorial, annoying and uncertain income tax. It is a matter that will call for more thoughtful consideration than it has yet received before Congress acts.

DEATH OF WILLIAM E. JOSLIN.

We regret to announce the death of William E. Joslin, one of the Vice Presidents of the Home Market Club for several years past, who died at his home in Providence November 18, at the age of 70 years. He was president and treasurer of the Joslin Manufacturing Company; a member of the Squantum Association, the Providence Board of Trade, and of Ancient Lodge, F. & A. M. of Nashua, N. H. He was born in Johnston, R. I., on March 13, 1842. He established the business of manufacturing shoe and other laces in Richmond, South Scituate, in 1865. The concern was incorporated in 1892 and consolidated in 1899. In 1893, Mr. Joslin established a finishing plant in Providence. He was also founder of the William E. Joslin Company, later known as the Elmwood Mills. Mr. Joslin was married in Providence to Miss Theresa Brown on July 21, 1865. One son, William H. Joslin, was born, who is vice-president, assistant treasurer and general manager of the business founded by his father.

PROTECTION AND PROSPERITY.

BY WALTER J. BALLARD.

Do you know that in the past fifteen protective tariff years our national wealth has increased from seventy-seven billion dollars to one hundred and thirty billion dollars, a gain of fifty-three billion dollars.

Do you know that in the ten protective tariff years, 1900-1910, the value of our farms and farm property rose from twenty billion dollars to forty-one billion dollars, a gain of twenty-one billion dollars?

Do you know that in the past fifteen protective tariff years our business has been so large that our yearly bank clearings have risen from fifty-four billion dollars to one hundred and sixty billion dollars, an increase of one hundred and six billion dollars a year?

Do you know that in the ten protective tariff years, 1900-10, our yearly factory output rose from thirteen billion dollars to twenty-one billion dollars, a gain of eight billion dollars a year; that the wages (salaries not included) paid in 1910 amounted to three billion four hundred and twenty-seven million dollars, a gain of ten protective tariff years of one billion one hundred and five million dollars a year?

Do you know that in the past fifteen protective tariff years our yearly exports have increased in value from one billion and fifty million dollars to two billion and two hundred and four million dollars, a step forward of one billion one hundred and fifty-four million dollars a year?

Do you know that in the past fifteen protective tariff years our yearly imports (mainly of materials

for factory use) have increased from seven hundred and sixty-four million dollars to one billion six hundred and fifty-three million dollars, an increase of eight hundred and eighty-nine million dollars a year?

Do you know that in the past fifteen protective years our money in circulation has jumped from one billion six hundred and forty million dollars to three billion two hundred and seventy-six million dollars, a jump of one billion six hundred and thirty-six million dollars?

Do you know that in the past fifteen protective tariff years the deposits in our banks have risen from five billion dollars to sixteen billion dollars, a gain to our bank depositing people of eleven billion dollars, of which gain over three billion dollars belong to our workers?

Do you know that in the past fifteen protective tariff years the yearly value of our farm products has increased from less than five billion dollars to not quite nine billion dollars, a gain to our farmers of over four billion dollars a year?

THE SPECIAL SESSION.

From the New York Tribune.

Everybody must admire the new President's courage in summoning Congress to revise the tariff, with the recollections of other Presidents before him. Mr. Taft called an extra session for this purpose, and from the moment the task was accomplished, his party seemed to have struck a toboggan. Mr. Cleveland led the Democracy in tariff revision and saw it "snowed under" as soon as the voters could get at the ballot boxes, with a fury that knew no parallel. Harrison revised the tariff, and tin pedlars became the most effective of all opposition campaigners. The only President who had revised the tariff and escaped popular wrath is McKinley, and it took a foreign war to save him. The peace

commissioners were then negotiating in Paris, and the cry to stand by the government sufficed to carry the House, although by a greatly reduced majority.

Tariff making is, therefore, extra hazardous. Mr. Roosevelt never showed himself greater as a politician than in letting that enterprise alone. With this history Mr. Wilson is perfectly familiar, and yet he embarks on the task with a cheerful heart and a party majority so great as to make his veto of little or no potency. Mr. Cleveland allowed his tar-

iff bill to become a law without his signature. Mr. Taft was widely upbraided for not vetoing a measure, whose leading schedule he had publicly declared indefensible. Mr. Wilson may have a third alternative. If the Progressive Republicans are willing to work with the Democrats in the Senate as they did last winter, it is possible that his administration may be responsible for a tariff bill passed over his veto. That would be a restful position, viewed in its strategic aspects.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

From an Address by Hon. J. B. Foraker, of Ohio.

The ordinance of 1787 had scarcely been adopted when a demand for a new Constitution resulted in a convention of delegates from the thirteen original States which assembled in Independence Hall in Philadelphia. It was a most remarkable body of men. They were well fitted for the work they were to undertake. As colonists they had studied their charters, and as revolutionists, fighting to establish an independent government, they had a responsibility to discharge that had made them earnest students of the science of government. They were familiar with the democracies and the monarchies and the oligarchies of antiquity, as well as with the history of their own governments of Great Britain and the Colonies. Many of them had already had experience in the making of governments for their newly created States. Benjamin Franklin had been President of the Convention that framed a Constitution for the State of Pennsylvania in 1777. At the head of this body of Convention makers was George Washington.

Associated with him were Alexander Hamilton and James Madison and James Wilson and Gouveneur Morris and Charles Pinckney and other statesmen, whose names are illustrious in American history. They realized the serious character of their work. They realized that they were to frame a government that would have jurisdiction over the many millions of people who were to occupy this vast territory. They realized that the American people were on trial before the world; that they had fought a successful war for independence, and were next to demonstrate whether man had capacity for self-government; and whether in governing themselves by a popular form of government they could unite the American States in a common Union and create over them, without destroying them, a national government and invest it with adequate power to preserve its nationality and to maintain its place among the nations of the earth.

Their first act was to make George Washington President of the

Convention. They did this by a unanimous vote, just as by a unanimous vote of the Continental Congress he had been made Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army, and just as, later, in the first Electoral College, he was unanimously chosen to be first President of the United States, and again by the second Electoral College was unanimously chosen to be his successor.

It is not necessary to dwell on the character of his associates in that Convention. Their names and their distinguished services to the American people are familiar to all. Suffice it to say no more capable body, no body of men better qualified by wide and varied experiences, no more patriotic body, no more conscientious, faithful, devoted body of men ever assembled for the accomplishment of a great work for a great nation.

With the experiences of the whole world before them for their instruction and their guidance, they brought forth a government for which there was no complete precedent. They created a federal power, to be supreme over States and people alike, as to the powers conferred upon it, and these powers they expressed in a written Constitution. Their experiences had made them distrustful of centralized power, and at the same time had taught them the necessity thereof. As a result of all their study, debate and discussion, they finally brought forth an organic law, which, unlike the Articles of Confederation, was to be the law of the people, instead of the law of the States of the Union. Always therefore every common effort was put forth by States as such, co-operating

and supporting each other. The Articles of Confederation provided for a confederation of the States of the Union. The very first sentence of the Constitution declared: We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The Federal Government thus created by the people was then given all the powers deemed necessary to enable it to discharge the purposes of its creation; and to avoid the dangers that might flow from a superior controlling federal authority, on the one hand, and hasty and ill-considered action by the people, on the other, a system of checks and balances was provided by the creation of three, independent and co-ordinate departments of government—the legislative to legislate—the executive to execute—and the judicial to decide whether in any case, where it was so charged, the limitations and restrictions of the Constitution were violated, and if so, to restrain such violation.

It was further provided that all these powers should be exercised by representatives of the people, directly chosen by the people, for the express purpose of representing the people in the discharge of their official functions.

We have now lived under that government, since it was put into operation in 1789, nearly a century and a quarter—long enough to become familiarly acquainted with its character. During this period we have grown from a few small, sparsely settled States on the Atlantic seaboard to a great nation occupying an imperial domain of ter-

ritory that stretches across the continent from ocean to ocean. Our population of a few millions has grown to near a hundred millions. From thirteen States we have grown to forty-eight. We have acquired possessions in the far distant seas and have extended our jurisdiction over them. We have passed through wars with other nations and through the bloodiest civil war of all time. Through all this period, in war as well as in peace, we have steadily gained in strength, in honor, in renown, in influence, both at home and abroad. We are today the greatest Republic on earth. We are today the happiest, the richest of all the nations. By every test you may make to determine whether we have progressed, you will find that we have been successful. It can be safely said, therefore, that according to the highest and most crucial test, representative government has not been a failure, but, on the contrary, the most triumphant success of all the ages.

Nearly every civilized people in the world has adopted a written constitution as the basis of its government. Only a few weeks ago the leaders of the movement for the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty in China and the substitution of a popular government, requested our President and Secretary of State to recommend to them some American competent to advise them in the making of a Constitution, modeled after the constitution of the United States. In a word, all over the world, where men are struggling for greater self-government and a greater security for life and liberty, there is an inspiration to pattern as near as possible after us.

From the work of that little band of constitution makers, with George Washington as its head, has come forth, therefore, an inspiration under which not only this country has grown great, and prosperous, and powerful, and rich in honor and good name, but an inspiration that has spread throughout the world, causing mankind everywhere to struggle to occupy higher planes and to secure the enjoyment of greater rights and privileges and liberties; and yet, while this is true, while all the world is paying us this tribute, and this honor, there are men here at home, who do not seem to appreciate these institutions,—men who criticise representative government as a failure and seek to make radical changes. This is not the first time our government has been assailed. The assaults of today, although in different form, are but in keeping and in line with other assaults that have been made heretofore.

The greatest assault, the most menacing of all our history, was made in 1861. It was made in the name of secession, a doctrine advocated by the statesmen of the South in the interest of human slavery.

They early foresaw that the free states were rapidly outgrowing them in population and industrial wealth and political power, and that the day would come when they would be in the ascendent in the councils and government of the nation. Fearing for the safety of their institution when that time should arrive, they brought forward this doctrine, that under the Constitution of the United States it was constitutional for a State of the Union, acting as a State, to break up and destroy that Constitution by simply declaring the Union

at an end, so far as it was concerned, and seceding therefrom. They did this in the face of the declaration in the Constitution that that instrument was the organic law of the people of the United States and supreme as to the powers conferred upon the Federal Government over all the States and all the people alike.

It was thought by most of us when we emerged from the Civil War that all the great troublesome questions pertaining to American politics had been permanently settled. In the light of the history that has since been made that belief seems simple and child-like; for, notwithstanding the growth of our population, the splendor of our development and the increase of our power and glory as a nation, we have been passing through one struggle after another of a political character that has appeared for the time being to be of vital consequence.

First, there came the great contest about the reconstruction of the States; about what their statal relation should be to the Government they had undertaken to destroy; the status of the freed man, whether he should be enfranchised and what should be his rights and privileges; the rehabilitation of our finances; the creation of a new and better banking system to be substituted for what were known as the Wild Cat Banks, that prevailed prior to the war; then the fierce controversies that arose about the payment of the bonded indebtedness created by the Government to preserve the life of the nation; whether it should be paid in lawful money of the world or in greenbacks to be ground out by the hundreds of millions, as occasion might require; and, finally, before

quitting this subject of money, the last great contest with respect to our standard—whether it should be gold or silver; and running through it all, a constant war and contention and battle as to whether the industries and the labor of this country should be protected by tariff duties from an unjust competition with the industries and the labor of the older countries of the old world, where they have grossly unjust labor conditions.

One after another, all these questions have been met. One after another they have all been debated. The people have, through these debates and discussions, become educated with respect to them, and to the credit of the American people, be it said, they have all been settled consistently with, not only the honor, but also the prosperity and best interests, in every respect, of the American people.

As we passed through these struggles we were constantly growing stronger as a people, and stronger in our faith in our institutions. It was with a pride it would be difficult to exaggerate that, after a hundred years of experience, we celebrated the establishment of our institutions, celebrated our form of government, celebrated the demonstration we claimed had successfully been made, of man's capacity to successfully govern himself; proclaiming to the world that America was not only independent as a nation in the family of nations, but that she had become great and strong and powerful under her form of government, which she had tested and with which she was thoroughly satisfied.

Our example is regarded with disfavor only by monarchies. We are the hope, the light, the inspiration of

the rank and file of humanity everywhere. It is only when we look about us at home, here in our midst, that anybody can be found to criticise our institutions, our form of government, its operation or the results that have been realized by us through the experience of a century and a quarter of governmental history.

It is only here that anybody has been found who has the temerity to tell us that representative government has, according to our experience, proven a failure. It is only here in our midst where the rich blessings of our experience are enjoyed that we hear loud clamors for radical changes; that we are told that the Constitution of the United States, the Constitutions of the States modeled thereafter, have become in large part obsolete; that they are not the living, expansive instruments they should be, responding to the new ideas and the new wants, the new ambitions of the critics, who style themselves "the people."

We are told that we can improve our representative system of government by taking away from the judiciary its independence and by setting up, as a check on our Legislatures, a new Legislature composed of the whole body politic to legislate under the forms of the Initiative and Referendum, without debate, without amendment, without official responsibility, and without the sanction and responsibility imposed by an oath of office.

In the name of all our achievements, let us be careful not to make radical changes that have not been well considered; let us not adopt provisions changing our organic laws

that would practically inaugurate a different form of government from that under which we have been living, simply because some constitutional convention has proposed them.

George Washington and his associates have been dead, it is true, for more than a century, and during this long period great changes have been wrought, but the Constitution they made dealt simply with general principles, and the form of government they established had regard for those conditions of life that are permanent and was so framed as to wisely leave to the legislative power they created the duty of dealing with the vicissitudes of life and the changing circumstances and conditions of progress and development.

The more we study their work, the more we will learn its wisdom and the more we compare those men and their work with modern conventions and the men who compose them, and the results of their labors, the more our confidence will be strengthened in that what we already have.

Necessities will arise for changes of provisions in our organic laws, but there will not come any necessity for change as to the fundamental principles upon which our organic laws are based. No necessity will come for a change in the form of our Government; on the contrary, as time passes, according to all indications, representative government will become more and more appropriate and applicable, not only to this country, but to other countries.

Let us, therefore, make improvements where necessary, but be careful not to sap, or undermine, or weaken or destroy in any way the foundations of the great superstructure our fathers reared. It is our

happy privilege today to realize that our struggles were not in vain, that our enemies rejoice with us in the victory we achieved; that they have become in good faith once more a part of this Union; that they love it, are willing to fight for it, are willing to die for it, and all because we have, as Mr. Lincoln said at Gettysburg, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

When Mr. Lincoln spoke those immortal words he was talking about the kind of government George Washington and his associates established; the kind of government under which we have been living. He didn't seem to know any radical changes in our form of government were necessary or desirable. He was satisfied with the form of government that old constitutional convention gave us, and with the single exception of the amendments necessary to abolish slavery and restore the Union and make all men free and citizens, he was satisfied with the Constitution they framed. As we revere the memories of our revolutionary ancestors, as we appreciate the statesmanship of the men who created our Government, as we revere and appreciate the memory of the men who saved us from disunion and perfected the Constitution our fathers gave us, let us strive to preserve and perpetuate unimpaired the great heritage it has been our good fortune to inherit.

The Free Trade policy or Tariff-for-Revenue-only, is an assault upon American industry and strikes a blow at the prosperity of every individual within our borders. Carried into effect it would remove every vestige of protection now afforded by the tariff to the American producer and American worker.

TAFT'S DEFEAT AND RECI- PROCITY.

The Regina Leader endeavors to construe the defeat of the presidential author of the Reciprocity Pact as a victory for that pact.

That is surely the funniest contention ever, declares the Halifax Herald. If Mr. Taft had been elected, everybody knows how the Laurier organ would have shouted out: "There is victory for Reciprocity; its author sweeps the country in the presidential elections."

But now that Mr. Taft has been defeated, and not once but twice, not by one man but by two men, neither of whom favored Reciprocity, when the Reciprocity man is "at the foot of the poll," the Laurier organ would construe the result as a victory for the fad! But what can be expected of an organ that talks of a revival of Laurierism in the face of continual defeats at the polls?

The Regina Daily Province, replying to the Leader, discusses the question: "Is Mr. Wilson's victory an endorsement of Reciprocity?" The Baltimore platform on which he was elected did not contain any reference to the "adjunct" policy. If Mr. Wilson is in favor of reciprocity, the Leader will be able to publish some statement of his in which he endorses the dead trade issue. There are statements made by the president-elect which convey the opposite view. In its wild hurrah over Mr. Wilson's victory, the Leader should certainly furnish evidence to justify its statements.

The Democrats are committed to tariff reform, but Mr. Wilson's statement of his views does not hold out any promise of immediate radi-

cal changes. There will be a revision of the United States tariff, but any reductions will be gradual. No political party in the United States or Canada is going to risk annihilation by radical changes during periods of prosperity. Mr. Wilson's election is generally regarded with favor in Canada, not because it will lead to trade treaties between the two countries, but because he is a sane statesman and his trade policy is a gradual lowering of the tariff without asking Canada to make entangling engagements which would lead to this country becoming an adjunct of the United States.

WEBSTER ON PRESENT CONDITIONS.

Daniel Webster in the U. S. Senate in 1833.

There are persons who constantly clamor. They complain of oppression, speculation and pernicious influence of accumulated wealth. They cry out loudly against all banks and corporations, and all means by which small capitalists become united in order to produce important and beneficial results. They carry on mad hostility against all established institutions. They would choke the fountain of industry and dry all streams. In a country of unbounded liberty, they clamor against oppression. In a country of perfect equality, they would move heaven and earth against privilege and monopoly. In a country where property is more evenly divided than anywhere else, they rend the air, shouting agrarian doctrines. In a country where wages of labor are high beyond parallel, they would teach the laborer that he is but an oppressed slave.

In the value of their out-put the mills and factories of the United States equal those of Great Britain, France and Germany combined. Protected by a reasonable tariff the surplus products of Europe cannot be dumped upon the American market.

ANARCHISTS AND FREE SPEECH.

From the New York Times.

About the easiest way to get fooled is to accept at face value the statement of a Socialist, an Anarchist, or any disturber of the peace as to why he was arrested. They are indignant at what they call a police outrage, their blood boils at the denial of the right of free speech. Ettore Lawrence was striving to secure better conditions for factory operatives. Is that a crime? But at the trial a witness testified that in a speech at strike headquarters he heard Ettore say, "We will keep the gunshops busy. I am going to buy a gun myself." John Most was very solicitous about the Constitution and freedom of speech, but he went in strong for breech loaders. There was a dreadful outcry over Ferrer. We are told that he was a great educational reformer, that his modern schools were models. The truth was that Ferrer was an Anarchist and openly preached anarchy and the overthrow of government.

Now Mayor Lunn of Schenectady uplifts his voice for the great cause of free speech. There is a strike at Little Falls, and Mayor Lunn, as an active Socialist, went over there to talk to the strikers about their rights. He has been arrested and put in jail. He concludes, therefore, that "liberty is dead." "I do not want to live any longer if I may not speak in public places," he says; "if this is possible in America, America is as bad as Russia." And this sort of stuff from the Socialist mayor of Schenectady furnishes the text for homilies about the outrageous behavior of the police.

What are the facts? Mayor Lunn went to Little Falls, and he and other Socialist orators attempted to make speeches to the strikers in the public streets without a permit, although an ordinance of Little Falls prohibits public speaking in the streets without such a permit. When arrested, Lunn refused to furnish a bail bond of \$1,000 and was sent to the county jail at Herkimer. Meanwhile the mayor's wife was escorted out of Clinton Park at Little Falls, where she had attempted to read to the crowd an article from a New York paper. So it appears that the question of free speech is not involved. It is a question of breaking the law, of violating a public ordinance. It was the duty of the police at Little Falls to arrest Mayor Lunn and his fellow Socialists for violating the ordinance. More than that, their Socialistic addresses directly tended to provoke rioting, as was the case in Lawrence. Yet these common law-breakers, as soon as the police took them in custody, began to prate about the freedom of speech, their Constitutional rights, and to make the familiar Socialistic comparison of America with Russia.

England, with no Tariff, has more poverty than the United States. That stubborn fact must be explained before the Tariff is abolished.—Philadelphia Telegraph.

One of the things which really concern us is whether we shall continue or abandon the policy of Protection to home industries.—San Francisco Chronicle.

If foreign products can undersell our home products on our own soil, then our home factories must go out of business and our laboring men must go out of employment.

INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE IN ENGLAND.

An article in the Daily Consular and Trade Reports for October 19, under the title of "Housing the Poorest," shows how England with its appalling free trade poverty, is trying to solve the problems of social and industrial justice.

It is proposed to supplement the British housing and town-planning act, which has been operative about three years. A new Housing Commission is planned in bills being brought forward in Parliament, and an English paper anticipates that—

"A new housing policy which shall directly deal with the problem of the poorest poor—in town and country—will be framed and will receive the support of the leading members on all sides in the House of Commons."

In order to state clearly the views of many British housing reformers the Committee of the National Housing and Town-Planning Council has issued a memorandum giving the reasons for the decision which has been taken by the council to support the proposals that financial help shall be given by Parliament to municipalities in the task of rehousing the poorest and that a new Housing Department shall be brought into existence for the purpose of stimulating action where local authorities are not active.

It is urged that the present Local Government Board should insist that the local authorities—whether these be rural district, urban district, county or county borough councils—should build cottages where needed, and failing action by these local authorities machinery should be devised for seeing that the cottages are actually built.

The committee urges strongly that the Government lend for this special purpose, and under certain well-defined conditions, money at 2 1/2 per cent. (savings bank interest rate) and that the local authority in taking these loans at this low rate of interest should satisfy the Local Government Board (a) that the houses are built either to replace destroyed houses or to house those whose need is pressing, and (b) that the tenancy of these houses shall be limited

to the poorest. The local authority would also be required to pay the sinking fund on the ground that the property will ultimately be a source of income, and the total loan charge entering into the rent will thus be 2 1/2 per cent.

Under these favorable conditions the annual cost of a \$1,000 rural cottage (covering cost of land and building) will be \$25, and as rates and other charges in a rural district are not high it should be possible to let such a cottage with half an acre of land at a rent of \$35 to \$40 annually.

Evidently conditions in England under a tariff for revenue only are far from ideal. Cheap lodgings would not be so sadly needed if the unemployed could find work and the low wages of England could be raised to the American standard.

THEODORE JUSTICE ON TARIFF TINKERING.

Theodore Justice, an expert on the tariff on wool and a wool merchant, says: "Tariff tinkering, in my judgment, has increased the cost of foodstuffs in this country. That is one reason for the present high cost of living.

"In the administration of Grover Cleveland we had a tariff for revenue, but it did not produce revenue. As a consequence, President Cleveland was compelled to issue \$250,000,000 worth of bonds in time of peace. And that is a reasonable state of affairs.

"Under the present tariff law 53 per cent. of all our imports are already free. They are mainly articles we do not produce—coffee, tin, etc. They do not affect American labor. The other 47 per cent. of the imports are dutiable. They are things we do make at home; they are articles in which American labor is employed in the manufacture.

"For a tariff for revenue they propose now to cut those things down, so that involved in this is the difference of labor cost of production, which will result in lessening the purchasing power of American labor. And by taxing the 53 per cent. of the products which are now free they will increase the cost of living, especially as to flesh food that is supplied by the sheep and mutton.

"The tariff has increased wages 35 per cent. (see July report of the Bureau of Commerce and Labor) since the Dingley tariff act was passed in 1907. It has lessened the cost of everything made in factories, protected industries, everything from steel rails to clothing. Fashionably cut, well-tailored, ready-made clothing was never so cheap in the history of this country. Factory-made clothing in the United States is as cheap as tailor-made clothing in Europe, taking cloth of like kind and quality.

"So, while the tariff has increased wages and lowered the cost of commodities which labor buys, the La Follette bill proposes to upset all of this—to lessen the wage and narrow the purchasing power of labor."

What would be the gain if your wages were cut in half or if you lost your job by a "tariff-for-revenue-only"?

If foreign combinations should get possession of our markets, what assurance have we that they would not raise prices, and if they should raise prices what redress have we?

The cost of living is high, of course, but not high enough to induce American workmen to emigrate to Europe where nothing is lower but wages.—Pittsburg Gazette-Times.

WANTED—MORE RESPECT FOR
THE CONSTITUTION AND
LAWS.

From the Boston Herald.

Now that the campaign is over one prevailing fashion ought to be changed. That is, the fashion of berating the constitution, the law and the courts. The extent to which men of apparent good sense in their general walk and conversation have been joining this perverted clamor is hardly creditable to the period in which we live.

The simple elemental truth ought to be recognized that the constitution is not "a worn out rag," as one perspiring statesman recently called it, nor yet a code of minute statutes, descending to the trivial details of legislation. It is not "a relic of the days of the stage coach," as the leader of Ohio's recent crazy-quilt state constitution committee called it, nor will it yield to unfamiliar searchers any specifications as to the regulation of ash-barrel removal.

The howling at the courts is almost as discreditable. One thing which impedes the courts most is the meddling interference of statutes—the criss-crossing of laws, already ridiculous in number, but added to greatly by the clamor which insists that every Tom, Dick and Harry should have a finger in the making of new ones. We were already lawless enough without having demagogues slyly, speciously, by plausible and popular arguments, teaching further disrespect. American lawlessness is not a theory. Last year's record shows one hundred and ninety-eight murders in New York, while in London there were nineteen.

Respect for law needs to be taught by every possible means. An anarchistic disrespect for it is infectiously spread when demagogues talk of "tearing to pieces" the very foundation of all our law, and insidiously suggest to the unthinking that the constitution is a clog to their progress and a bar to the enjoyment of their rights—instead of be-

ing the great national charter of rights and liberties.

COST OF LIVING IN DIOCLE-
TIAN'S TIME.

From the New York Sun.

Diocletian had issued his famous edict to reduce the cost of living in the Roman empire by fixing the maximum prices of the necessities of life. The barons of the beef trust, the grain trust, the oil trust, the leather trust and the other Roman captains of industry stood trembling in the prisoners' dock. They were charged with disobeying the imperial proclamation, for which the penalty was death.

The attorney for the defense arose. The case seemed clearly against him. Witness after witness had testified for the prosecution.

The attorney for the defense waived cross-examination. Was he mad? He called no witnesses of his own. Did he intend throwing his clients on the mercy of the court? As well send them to the lions, with that howling mob in the forum threatening to lynch the judge who might show lenity.

The attorney for the defense raised his hand in graceful gesture, and there was silence. Calm, smiling, debonair, he faced the jury.

"Gentlemen," he said, "civilization has not yet invented the protective tariff. How then can any one be guilty of increasing the cost of living?"

He sat down. In deep gloom the jury, unable to withstand his relentless logic, acquitted the prisoners. But as the attorney was leaving the forum the infuriated populace seized him and threw him into the Tiber. His death was a warning to all attorneys for all future time to refrain from helping the trusts to evade the law.

Hence he had not died in vain.

For many years the policy of protection has needed no stronger argument than the labor argument.



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Free Raw Materials for Export Trade

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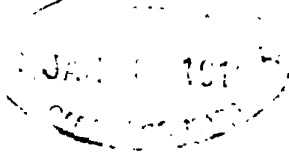
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Vol. XXIV. No. 9.

10 Cents Each, \$1.00 a Year

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THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress.

THOMAS O. MARVIN, Editor.

Signed articles are not to be understood as expressing the views of the editor or publishers.

VOL. XXIV.

JANUARY, 1913.

No. 285

METHODS OF TARIFF MAKING.

Progress Has Been Made—Tariff For Other Purposes Than Revenue—Protection is Constitutional—Advantages of a Commission—Principles More Important Than Methods.

An Address before the Economic Club of Portland.

By Thomas O. Marvin.

We have had 123 years' experience in tariff making, yet it would be rash to claim that we have evolved even yet the final and perfect method of devising that complicated product of statecraft known as a tariff law.

Progress is the law of nature and it marks the course of human life. All of the activities of mankind are subject to its sway and even so prosaic an undertaking as tariff making will feel in some degree the throb of that great impulse which vivifies all of the affairs of men.

We have high testimony to substantiate the claim that progress has marked the development of our tariff legislation. Of our present tariff law, the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909, President Taft said that it was the best tariff law ever passed. He has been criticised for making the state-

ment, but he is not alone in holding that opinion. In a speech at Sioux Falls, S. D., Sept. 3, 1910, ex-President Roosevelt said, "I think that the present tariff (meaning the Payne-Aldrich law) is better than the last (the Dingley law) and considerably better than the one before the last" (the McKinley law), and he was satisfied well enough with the Dingley law to allow it to remain in force during the seven years of his administration.

If progress, then, has been made in tariff legislation it is merely what should be expected in a nation whose whole career is marked with progress.

Since the first tariff law which was passed on the fourth of July, 1789, 261 tariff acts have been enacted by the American Congress, and in the formation and enactment of those

statutes some method, necessarily, must have been employed.

In an autocratic government, law-making is the simple process of proclaiming the sovereign will. In a republic, with limited governmental powers, the process of law-making must proceed along certain definite and restricted lines. Under our form of government the power to enact tariff measures is derived from the provisions of the constitution empowering Congress "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises;" "to regulate commerce with foreign nations," and from a broad construction of the "general welfare" clause.

The constitution not only grants the power to make a tariff law, but it specifies the method of making tariff laws. Tariff acts are designed to raise money, they are revenue measures, and the constitution provides that "all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives."

Tariff making by a commission, therefore, is impossible without an amendment to the constitution.

In a government of unlimited power tariffs might be made by a commission of experts, by a board of butchers and bakers and candlestick makers or by a direct proclamation of the king. In Canada, frequent changes in the tariff laws are made, as recently in the case of the cement duties, by Orders in Council. In the United States, tariff laws cannot be made by an appointive board or commission, they must be made by the duly elected representatives of the people; and how could the varied interests of 100,000,000 people better be conserved than by

a body which represents our entire electorate?

Surely that is a reasonable method, and if the results have not always been satisfactory, it is not the fault of the method but the fault of the men.

Need Able Men, Not More Commissions.

Were all the congressional districts of the country represented by men of the calibre of William McKinley, Thomas Brackett Reed and Nelson Dingley our tariff laws, as well as other legislative enactments would be as nearly perfect as even the best possible Tariff Board could make them.

If the legislation of Congress does not suit you, you are to blame, for it is you who send the men to Washington to make our laws. If men of high character and ability, men of sound judgment and broad experience, men who know something of the problems which they will be called upon to solve, were sent to Washington from every congressional district, there would be far less talk of delegating the powers of our national legislative body to a board or a commission.

It is that spirit of "Let George do it" which is responsible for many of the ills which beset us. If each voter performed his duty more conscientiously and more intelligently, there would be more satisfaction with the methods and also with the results of legislation, and the cry of "Let a Commission do it" would be heard no more in the land.

There is an appealing persuasiveness in the suggestion that our tariff making should be put in the hands of a board of experts. But

we have it on the authority of the new leader of the Democratic party that there is no such thing in all of our land as a tariff expert.

The report of an expert is supposed to be authoritative and unimpeachable and to win the ready acceptance of those who are less informed and less enlightened.

The attention which has been paid and which will be paid to the able and illuminating reports of the Tariff Board indicates that the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee considers himself better fitted to qualify as a tariff expert than any member of that historic board; and it would be a rash man who would gainsay him. There is no better training school for a tariff expert than the Ways and Means Committee. Service for years on that great committee should familiarize a man with the methods of tariff making and equip him for the task of preparing a tariff bill.

The tariff laws of this country have been made for over a century along well defined methods.

Tariff laws are enacted to raise revenue for the support of the government, to regulate commerce with foreign nations and to provide for the general welfare.

The first tariff debate in the American Congress was opened by James Madison.

In presenting a resolution in favor of levying duties on imports, he declared that there were two points for consideration, the first being the regulation of commerce, the second the raising of revenue.

The men, today, who claim to be the political followers of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison have forgotten that our tariff legislation

was inaugurated for the purpose of regulating commerce, as well as raising revenue, and they declared in their latest platform adopted by the convention at Baltimore, that it is "a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government under the constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue." And Woodrow Wilson frankly endorsed this view in his letter of acceptance when he said, "Our own clear conviction as Democrats is, that in the last analysis the only safe and legitimate object of tariff duties is to raise revenue for the support of the government."

There are crises in national history when the revenue features of a tariff law are deemed wisely and justly of supreme importance. Such an occasion was our second war with England, when increased revenue to prosecute the war was absolutely necessary, and on July 1, 1812, an act imposing additional duties of 100 per cent. upon all goods and merchandise imported from any foreign country was passed.

Another such occasion was the passage of the act of Aug. 5, 1861, which increased the duties, levied a direct tax of twenty millions and imposed an income tax, in order that the government might obtain means to prosecute the war. Tariff laws have been passed to reduce the revenue, not to increase it, a notable instance being the McKinley law of 1890, the preamble of which declared that it was "an act to reduce the revenue and equalize the duties on imports." But in most cases the revenue feature has been only one of the objects of tariff legislation.

If the theory proclaimed by the

Baltimore platform, that the federal government has no right nor power to impose tariff duties except for revenue, is correct, then the act of 1792 "for raising a further sum of money for the protection of the frontiers" was unconstitutional.

Unconstitutional, also, were the acts "to protect the commerce and seamen of the United States against the Barbary powers"; and the act of 1813 "for reducing the duties payable on prize goods captured by the private armed vessels of the United States," an act specifically designed to encourage privateering, a once flourishing industry of New England.

If the government has power to lay duties for revenue only, then it had no right to pass the act of 1823 levying a penalty of 50 per cent. additional duty on goods imported below their true value; and it had no right to pass the acts regulating commerce with the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, with the port of Cayenne and the islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre. And yet all of these acts were passed between the years 1792 and 1845 when Congress well knew the meaning and intent of the constitution, and during many of these years there sat in the halls of legislation men who helped to draft the constitution, and some of these acts were signed by Presidents who were members of the constitutional convention.

Thus under the provisions of the constitution and by the sanction of over a century of national legislation, we have power to pass tariff laws for other objects than revenue only.

Protection is Constitutional.

When our first Congress assembled, shortly after the ratification of

the federal constitution, it might have been claimed with much justice that the revenue needs of the government were of paramount importance. In fact, the revenue needs of the central government were one of the prime reasons for the formation of that "more perfect union of the States."

During the first tariff debate following the introduction of the resolution by Madison to levy duties for the regulation of commerce and the raising of revenue, Mr. Hartley, a representative from Pennsylvania, said that it was contemplated by some "to enter on this business in a limited and partial manner, as it relates to revenue only; for my part," he said, "I wish to do it on as broad bottom as is at present practicable;" and he went on to say, "if we consult the history of the ancient world we shall see that they have thought proper, for a long time past, to give great encouragement to the establishment of manufactures, by laying such partial duties on the importation of foreign goods as to give home manufactures a considerable advantage in the price when brought to market. I think it both politic and just," he declared, "that the fostering hand of the general government should extend to all those manufactures that will tend to national utility."

It was not necessary for the members of that Congress to consult the history of the ancient world for precedents for a policy of protecting and encouraging domestic manufactures. They could have found these precedents in the annals of the provinces which later joined in a union of the States.

As early as 1640 the General

Court of Massachusetts encouraged manufactures by a bounty of three pence on every shilling's worth of cotton, linen and woolen cloth, and in 1645 it passed an order to encourage the establishment of sheep as a foundation for woolen manufacturing. In 1667 Massachusetts adopted resolutions advising the people to purchase only home-made goods. Virginia, Delaware and Rhode Island adopted similar protective measures.

Up to the time when the Union was formed and the States surrendered to the federal government all control over import duties, many of the States had their own tariff laws for raising revenue and encouraging industry, and when they transferred this power to the federal government, they transferred both the power to raise revenue and protect industries.

Madison fully recognized this fact and in the debate on the first tariff law he said, "The States that are the most advanced in population and ripe for manufactures ought to have their particular interests attended to in some degree. While those States retained the power of making regulations of trade they had the power to protect and cherish such institutions. By adopting the present constitution they have thrown this power into other hands; they must have done this with the expectation that those interests would not be neglected."

Here is a man, one of the expounders of the constitution, a friend and disciple of Jefferson and who succeeded him as President of the United States, a man, too, who confessed to a belief on general principles that commerce ought to

be free, yet he declared that the power which the States had had of protecting their industries had been thrown, by the adoption of the constitution into other hands, with the expectation that those interests would not be neglected by Congress. While they retained that power they succeeded in developing some establishments which, he said, "ought not to perish from the alteration that has taken place; it would be cruel to neglect them and divert their industry to other channels."

In such a spirit, then, and fully recognizing the power of the federal government to protect and encourage the industries of the country, and granting the right and the justice of doing so, the American Congress in its first session after the adoption of the constitution enacted our first tariff law on goods, wares and merchandise imported and levied the duties, as the preamble of the act declares, "for the support of the government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States and the encouragement and protection of manufactures." This act was signed by George Washington, who presided over the convention which adopted the constitution.

Who is bold enough to challenge the constitutionality of that act?

From that day to this tariff acts for other purposes than revenue have been passed by both parties and signed by Democratic as well as Republican Presidents; and the methods employed in framing these laws have followed in a general way the methods adopted by the fathers of our government and prescribed by the constitution.

The Ways and Means Committee in the House and the finance Com-

mittee in the Senate have considered the measures, reported them and allowed more or less time for debate.

The representatives of the people have discussed these measures from the viewpoint of their constituents, the needs of their districts and the welfare of the country. Every section of the country and all of our people have been represented in these deliberations, and out of these expressions of opinion and by the adjustment of differences the final measure has been evolved and the law enacted.

From time to time it has been suggested that such methods were susceptible of improvement, and the advantages of a tariff commission have been argued with much zeal.

In a small and compact country like Germany the task of tariff making might be left with safety to a representative body of experienced men who have mastered the industrial and commercial needs of the country.

It is conceivable that a tariff commission properly equipped with men and means might cope successfully with the problems presented by such a section of our country as, for instance, the New England States, where somewhat similar conditions prevail throughout the entire area and where one great interest, such as manufacturing, predominates; but the task is complicated tremendously when the duties of the commission embrace our entire country and all of its varied interests.

Add to these duties the almost hopeless task of obtaining accurately the comparative cost of production in all foreign countries and you

pile upon the shoulders of men a burden which Atlas could not bear.

Tariff Commission Not a New Idea.

The idea of a tariff commission is not new in our day and generation.

Referring to the tariff commission of 1882, William McKinley said in a speech in Congress, "I cannot refrain from saying that we are taking a new and somewhat hazardous step in delegating a duty that we ought ourselves to perform—a duty confided to us by the constitution, and to no others. It is true that a commission does not legislate, and, therefore, its work may or may not be adopted by Congress. This is the safety of the proposition. The information it will furnish will be important, and its statistics of rare value, but the same sources of information are open to Congress and to the Committee on Ways and Means as will be available to a commission; and as the former will ultimately have to deal with the question practically in Congress, it has seemed to me, if that Committee were willing to undertake the task and had the requisite time to perform it, it would be the wisest and most certain course to the accomplishment of results desired by all. Certainty and stability are essential elements to the success of trade, and as long as we are doing reasonably well experiments should be avoided."

Thomas B. Reed, in an article in the *North American Review* in 1902, said in reference to a tariff commission, "Can we not have, sitting in perpetual session, a body of men—non-partisan, judicious, wise and incorruptible? Yes, in your mind. You can have anything in your mind.

Imagination is unlimited, and it is very delightful to wander round among possible impossibilities. Just think of a non-partisan free trader sitting on a tariff tax! Of course, he would be above any prejudice except his own. I saw one Tariff Commission sit in 1882, and its report was not enacted into law? All its mistakes were, and the result was satisfactory to nobody."

We have seen another Tariff Board report, and the fairness, voluminousness and value of those reports no unprejudiced man can question, yet they have not formed the basis of any legislation, and have been contemptuously read out of court by the party now in control of the government.

McKinley said of the Tariff Commission of 1882, "The information it will furnish will be important, and its statistics of rare value, but the same sources of information are open to Congress." This is just as true of our recent tariff board, and the sources from which they gathered their information are as accessible to Congress as they were to the officials of the Board.

The investigations of the Board were aided in every possible way by the manufacturers of the country and by the men whose capital and labor produce the raw material for our factories. This same source of information is available for Congress, and neither a commission nor a Ways and Means Committee can obtain this information from any other source.

A commission, then, cannot create a new source of information. It may utilize to better advantage the source that is available, and herein

lies the chief advantage of a commission. It can devote its entire time to a continuous study of industrial and economic conditions, something which a committee of Congress, with a multitude of other duties, cannot do.

Under some other title than a tariff commission, which implies a power over tariff legislation which cannot be delegated under our constitution to any commission, a board of industrial investigation, if properly constituted, could render a service of great value, and its reports would be received by the country with more confidence than reports emanating from a partisan committee holding sessions behind closed doors.

Tariff Principles More Important than Tariff Methods.

But important as are the methods of tariff making, of vastly greater importance are the principles upon which a tariff is made.

From the day when the pen of Washington made our first tariff law effective, our tariff laws have been constructed, with rare exceptions, on the definite principle of encouragement to American industries and protection to American labor.

The results of this policy have made us a great and prosperous nation and have challenged the admiration of the world, and won for us this great tribute from Bismarck: "The success of the United States is the most illustrious of modern times. It is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is due mainly to its system of protective laws."

Is it wise to change this system; abandon an approved and successful policy, and reject the lessons of our

own experience and that of other nations?

It was an English statesman, Joseph Chamberlain, who said, "Those countries which have adopted protection have improved in a greater ratio and more rapidly than we have ourselves."

Is this a time to abandon a policy which has brought success to us and adopt a system which has proved a failure in England?

A change so revolutionary should not be attempted without a clear mandate from the people? The Democratic party won the recent election because those opposed to its economic policy were divided. A majority of 1,200,000 votes were cast for the candidates who endorsed protection. The American people have not voted for a complete change in our fiscal policy. But it has been so interpreted in Europe.

Foreign newspapers comment on the result with a degree of gratification which should cause here a serious and sober estimate of the situation.

One German paper greets with pleasure the prospect of a reduced tariff and rejoices at the prospect of trade relations for which Germany has long been sighing.

Another paper says, "Germany has every reason to be satisfied with the result of the election."

Another German paper says that a downward revision of the tariff would result in a great boon for the German export trade.

A dress goods manufacturer of Saxony declared that the German manufacturer has nothing to fear from American competition, if it were not for "the unsurmountable

tariff duties," and that a reduction of 20 to 25 per cent. on the present duties would be of immense value to the German industries.

He does not fear the superior efficiency of American machinery and American labor, of which we shall hear so much. He does not ask to be placed on exactly even terms with the American manufacturer. A reduction of only 20 or 25 per cent. in our duties is all he asks for and declares that this will be of immense value to Germany.

There is the same expectancy in England of a great boom in manufacturing and in exports. One report from England reads, "English spinners are going crazy over the prospect of business that they are going to get from the States." Another report says that "One hears of contingent orders of enviable bulk being placed in the event of the tariff being reduced to the extent expected."

Under the Gorman-Wilson law, the last tariff revision, on a revenue-only basis, some lines of English exports increased 210 per cent. and others over 500 per cent. Is it any wonder that anticipation of similar opportunities have driven English manufacturers crazy over the prospect of the business which they hope to get?

Is it any wonder that American manufacturers are alarmed at the prospect of the business which they are going to lose? Going to lose? They are already beginning to lose it. A trade paper quotes one man as saying, "You would not believe that business would fall off as it has during the last month."

Is it any wonder that values are

tumbling and that despondency has taken the place of the optimism of a few months ago?

It is a serious matter to overturn the established policy of a country, particularly when that policy has brought to the country an unparalleled prosperity.

We should approach this problem not as theorists but as Americans and patriots.

The party soon to come into power has the welfare of the country at heart. No party can prosper unless the country prospers. A policy which brings prosperity to our competitors and adversity to us cannot endure and any party responsible for such a fiasco will be utterly repudiated.

We have the solemn promise of the party which will soon assume control of the government and also of its candidate for the presidency, that they will not injure any legitimate industry. The country has taken them at their word, and the country must now hold them to their word.

Tariff revision is inevitable, but it should be a sane and safe revision. It should not be undertaken with the rashness of men "wedded to a theory," but with the open mind and patriotic purpose of men who hold, supreme above every other consideration, the welfare of our people and the prosperity of our country.

The United States Supreme Court, on December 16, rendered a decision that the coal railroads were not guilty of conspiracy and of violating the anti-trust law, but ordered the cancellation of the contracts with independent dealers. There is small prospect, however, that the coal prices will be materially reduced.

A PERMANENT TARIFF COMMISSION.

The address of John Candler Cobb, president of the National Tariff Commission Association, emphasizes the determination of the association to fight for a permanent tariff commission.

Mr. Cobb notes the fact that scientific tariff revision, through the agency of a non-partisan commission, has not yet been accomplished, but he derives some consolation from the thought that "the principle of revision by schedule has been accepted by both the great political parties," and rather rashly claims, "it is safe to say that we are not likely again to have a general tariff revision under one bill."

This prediction had hardly been uttered when word was sent from Washington that the Democratic leaders were seriously considering a general revision in one bill instead of schedule by schedule, thus speedily illustrating the pitfalls which beset the path of tariff prophets.

It is true, as Mr. Cobb says, that "the tariff is a great business question vitally affecting the welfare of the entire country," but it does not necessarily follow that the present tariff making system is "absurd." Our tariff making system has been in operation since the enactment of the first tariff law, and a system which has produced results of such widespread and lasting benefit cannot in the nature of the case be wholly "absurd."

In brief, this system provides that tariff measures, as prescribed by the constitution, shall originate in the House of Representatives where the proposed measure is considered by

the proper committee, reported and acted upon by the representatives of the people. Communities and industries affected by the legislation are given opportunities to be heard, and in the light of all the information obtained, the law is finally enacted.

Under the plan proposed by Mr. Cobb's association, exactly the same method must be adopted, but he would have the information obtained by a commission instead of by a committee of Congress. A permanent commission could undoubtedly obtain information which would be of value in tariff making, but there are open to the commission no sources of information which are not already open to Congress. If a commission can utilize these sources of information to better advantage than the usefulness of a commission will be apparent, but it is idle to expect that criticism of tariff methods and of tariff results will be eliminated by the substitution of a permanent commission in place of our present tariff making machinery.

Mr. Cobb apparently shares in the belief that many reductions can be made to advantage and without serious injury to the business of the country, but he appreciates the difficulty of hewing to the line and making such reductions as are demanded without overstepping it and causing business unrest and calamity. "High protection," he says, "is a tremendous stimulus to industrial development, and the lowering of duties tends to industrial contraction," and he recognizes that persistent criticism of tariff schedules has resulted "in a demand from the unthinking and emotional for a radical, drastic

and even retaliatory revision of the tariff, which would only result in a far-reaching business disorganization and calamity."

It is to be hoped that such a calamity will be avoided, but the only way to avoid it is to maintain in all of our tariff measures, the American system of protection.

MIDDLE GROUND ON THE TARIFF.

From the Charlotte, N. C., Observer.

The tariff is an economic question, not a political one. The Republicans deal with it as a political issue and lost the presidential election. If the Democrats do the same next summer, they will be sure to get the same result the first time the people get a chance to speak again.

President-elect Wilson is proceeding on correct lines to assume that there was a demand four years ago for revision and they are yet demanding it. But four year ago the people were not demanding a radical revision upward. Neither are they now demanding any radical division downward. The militant and radical prohibitory tariff man and the consistent and radical free trader should not be allowed to lead the reasonable and fair-minded majority in doing either radical thing in making an extremely high or an extremely low tariff.

If the tariff on sugar be cut until the industry is destroyed, then the sugar planter will raise cotton and the additional production would tend to depress the price of cotton.

So, also, if the tariff on cotton goods be cut until the mills are shut down, then the operative will turn to

raising cotton again and this will tend to depress the price.

It is fully recognized that the Payne-Aldrich revision was all wrong. It disappointed the just expectation of the people, including the wage earners and manufacturers. Our industrial system is not yet adjusted to this latest tariff measure,

and it would seem feasible for the Democratic administration to undo it without serious harm. But our industrial condition long since became adjusted to the McKinley tariff and any radical reductions to a point below the McKinley tariff would seriously disturb all interests and vocations.

BEGINNING WORK ON TARIFF BILLS.

**Full Revision Promised—Short Hearings Not For Information—
Baleful Effects Certain—Holding Democrats in Line.**

Washington, Dec. 20, 1912.

The Democrats are going to revise "every schedule of the tariff, including the free list," according to Chairman Underwood of the House Ways and Means Committee. He and his associates are already at work on the subject, and they have agreed to give hearings beginning with schedule A, on January 6, taking up a new schedule every second day, Sundays excepted, and ending with the free list on January 31. Wood and its manufactures and silk goods will be heard on the same day, January 13, while sugar and spirits, wines and other beverages will be limited to January 15, and possibly the 16th, and tobacco and pulp, paper and books, to the 17th. This only emphasizes the absurdity of attempting to hear "everybody," as Mr. Underwood says, in the time fixed. On the metal schedule alone the Republicans began the hearings on Nov. 17, 1909 and did not complete that schedule until December 4, but the Democrats propose to

limit the hearings on this \$5,000,000,000 schedule—the yearly value of the products,—to a few hours. As Congress will be in session there is no certainty that more than about three hours will be devoted some days to a hearing, which will illustrate the inadequacy of the time allotted to the purpose.

Democrats Not Looking for Information.

Many of the Democrats, including Mr. Underwood, do not think any hearings are necessary; but numerous protests from manufacturers and others have been received against the disturbance to business, and the rates agreed upon in the bills already reported from the Ways and Means Committee, some of which were passed and vetoed by the President. All reported were passed by the House, and Mr. Underwood says that he expects that the rates fixed in those bills will be adhered to in reporting new measures. The new hearings are intended to pacify those interested

rather than to gather information. But the facts will be useful in debate and the manufacturers will be wise to have carefully prepared briefs for presentation to the committee which will be printed, and they will in that way obtain a "hearing."

Penrose Causes Surprise.

Chairman Penrose, of the Senate Finance Committee has thrown a damper on Protectionists by stating: "As a member of the minority I will merely make a formal protest in each case, going on record for future reference. The Democrats have been placed in power, and they have the right to revise the tariff from agate to zinc, as Mr. Underwood has stated. No obstacles will be placed in their way." Some other Republicans think such a course a decided mistake. The proposed measures, in their opinion, should be fought to the bitter end, and all of their defects disclosed for the information of the public. It is certain that Mr. Penrose does not, in that respect, speak for his party. The Republicans, however, have lost a number of their able tariff leaders in both Houses, and will naturally feel the loss when the debate begins. Just when that will be is somewhat uncertain. President-elect Wilson said that he would call the extra session about April 15, but many Democrats want it to begin sooner. They cannot well make use of the short time after March 4 until April 15, and may induce Mr. Wilson to call the extra session at an earlier date.

Small Democratic Majority Probable in the Senate.

Senator Penrose seems to think that there is no doubt of the Democrats having a majority in the Sen-

ate. He says that he has heard that Senators Dixon and Poindexter will support the Democratic tariff measures. As Dixon, the Bull Moose National Committee chairman, will not be in the Senate after March 4, his course is immaterial. Judging from Mr. Poindexter's votes at the last session it would not surprise the Republicans if he were to join the Democratic party. He is a Southern man, born and educated in that section, and that fact naturally has an influence on his political ideas. He voted with the Democrats even when no other Senator elected as a Republican, did so.

There is no question about the passage in the House of any bill reported by the Ways and Means Committee. There has been some speculation as to how those bills will be treated in the Senate. They are not likely to have the support of any "Republican" other than Poindexter, as the Democrats do not propose to compromise to get La Follette, Bristow & Co. to help them. With Poindexter's vote, and probably without it, they will have a small majority in the Senate. Some of their Senators have not always favored deep cuts in rates on products in which their States were interested. That is the ground of the Democratic opposition to Simmons of North Carolina for chairman of the Finance Committee. He voted in the last Congress for a duty of 25 cents a ton on iron ore instead of 15 cents fixed by the Payne bill, and he voted against the reduction of the duty on quebracho, and against free lumber, laths, shingles, doors, building material, common window glass, linseed oil, white lead, etc., which the House Democrats

and nearly all of those in the Senate wanted. He also voted for a 15 cent duty on cattle hides, that imposed by the Dingley act, instead of free hides as provided by the Payne bill. He voted against the reduction of the duty on sawed lumber, not specially provided for, from \$1.25 to \$1 per 1,000 feet, and against other reductions. That is the ground of vigorous opposition on the part of Williams of Mississippi and other Free Trade Democrats. But Simmons was not alone in those votes. Chamberlain, Fletcher, Martin, Shively, Newlands and Smith of Maryland voted with him. But except on free sugar it is now thought that with Wilson's assistance any measure passed by the House will be approved by the Senate.

Colorado Democrats in Line—Shadows Already Appear.

Colorado is as deeply interested in maintaining the protective tariff as any state in the union; all of its leading industries, lead, wool, zinc, iron and steel, etc., are produced under high wages, being dependent on the tariff. The Democrats carried the State, though there was a large majority against them in the total vote. But Senator-elect Thomas of that State, who will represent the Democratic party in the next Congress, says that he is in entire accord with President-elect Wilson on the tariff, and that Colorado Democrats make no reservations. That shows how the wind blows.

Under Wilson they will all be Free Traders, and will vote again to put boots and shoes, printing presses, sewing machines, typewriting machines, machine tools, and many other highly manufactured ar-

ticles on the free list with raw materials dutiable in many cases, as was provided in the chemical bill and others that passed the House last summer. The talk about no harm being done to any industry is Free Trade balderdash. Some of them no doubt believe what they say. But that does not give it any force. The investing public sees what is coming. The day that Mr. Underwood announced his tariff hearings industrial stocks began to tumble and have been going down gradually since that time. The tariff cannot be slashed in the manner proposed by the Democrats in the present House without doing tremendous harm, as was the case with milder measures under Cleveland. No nation offers anything to the United States in return.

Canada Causes Trouble.

Canada will relatively be the most benefited of any country, as it is the intention of the Democrats to put all of her agricultural products on the free list. They are what Mr. Wilson calls "necessaries." But Canada will retain all of her duties on American agricultural products just as she has retained high duties on bituminous coal and other products on which duties were lowered by the Payne law. Her fisheries will profit immensely at the expense of those of the United States.

Canada is at the bottom of all the trouble growing out of the law to give American coastwise shipping freedom of the Panama Canal. The United States owns the canal, and has asked no aid in constructing it, but the Canadian government has instigated the British protest for the benefit of Canadian shipping and

Canadian railroads with steamship lines. Even Secretary Stimson, in his annual report, supports the Canadian contention, though in direct opposition to President Taft's message to Congress on the subject. Mr. Stimson was a strenuous advocate of cutting the tariff rates. The present situation in regard to the tariff is largely the result of work of men like Stimson, MacVeagh, and Dickinson, who have been so-called Republican officeholders.

Destroying American Fisheries—Hurting Farmers to Help Brewers.

Canada pays a bounty to fishermen, gives special railroad rates, pays part of the express rates, and one-third of the cost of cold storage warehouses. With the lower wages in Canada free trade in fish will kill the industry on the New England coast, but that seems to be the plan of the Democrats.

This year some 225,000,000 bushels of barley were raised in the United States worth \$119,000,000. Formerly much of the barley was imported from Canada. As the Democrats propose to put it on the free list, it will come from that country again, which now has an unlimited field in the northwest for its production. The President of the Canadian National Council of Agriculture says that "it is not grown now because there is no market," but with the American market open "it will be largely grown." Who will get the benefit? The rich brewers at the expense of the American farmers. That is the way this Free Trade propaganda will operate.

Striking at the Textile Mills.

Wages in American woolen mills increased 25 per cent. under the

Dingley law and shorter hours were enforced. It takes 3 1/2 yards of cloth to make a suit of clothes. If wool were on the free list that saving in duty would make practically no difference in the price of a suit. The only way lower cost will be accomplished is by reducing wages or importing under low "revenue" duties clothes made in Europe at European rates of pay. Is that what American workmen want? Where will they get the money to pay for the clothes? The experience under the last Democratic tariff answers that question; they will be out of work and will wear their old clothes, until the Republicans come into power, restore the tariff, and give them work. The same will be true in the cotton and other industries, in which imports have largely increased this year under the Payne tariff law.

LARGE MAJORITY FOR PROTECTION.

A majority of the electorate sustains the protective policy. The popular vote for Wilson falls behind the combined vote for his two opponents whose platforms unite in upholding a tariff for protection. The returns show a majority of upward of a million votes in favor of protection and that in the pivotal States Wilson ran behind Bryan's vote of four years ago.

Over a million more persons voted for Colonel Roosevelt and President Taft, both of whom were running on protection platforms, than voted for Governor Wilson, who refrained from giving an exact definition of his tariff attitude. Probably many real protectionists voted for Governor Wilson because they felt that he would be conservative with regard to the tariff. Ample proof has again been given that the great majority of the American people favor the policy of protection.

FREE RAW MATERIALS FOR THE EXPORT TRADE.

By Roland Ringwalt.

In the great Northern manufacturing towns Democratic orators who would not openly call themselves Free Traders often talk of the blessings of "free raw materials," and this phrase is a catchword among those who do not as yet understand that there are no raw materials. Wool may be a raw material to the factory owner, but it is the product of the labor of the grower and clipper. Lumber is the product of labor in the camps. Coal is dragged from deep pits at the risk of the miner's life. Iron ore does not spout up like natural gas; man has to go after it. It has been claimed that there is more actual hardship and danger in the production of so-called raw materials than in more advanced and complicated forms of industry.

But for more than a generation Democrats have been telling us that if they had full control they would give our manufacturers free raw materials so that they could compete with foreigners in the markets of the world. The promise was alluring. Even granting that the home producer needed some degree of protection it might be a great advantage to the exporting manufacturer to get the crudest of his materials free of duty. The Democrats were going to give the manufacturer this aid, but the McKinley tariff they so denounced did give it to him. For many years it has been a feature of

Republican tariff legislation that a manufacturer who imports wool, iron ore, or articles in what we call the raw state, works them up into finished products and ships them abroad is entitled to a practical remission of the duties paid. This concession has done much to enlarge our shipments of manufactures; it is well known to business men, but it is not well known in the sparsely settled regions wherein none but Democratic papers circulate. What the Democrats promised the Republicans have performed.

In this sense the raw material talk is practicable, for it has been translated into statutory English, and sincere, for years of experience attest the sincerity. The vague talk of "free raw materials," the boast of suddenly withdrawing all protection from industries employing thousands of men and millions of capital is not sincere. It cannot be put into practice, and if such an attempt were made perhaps the most desperate resistance would come from Democratic States. While manufactures in the South are advancing, the South is still behind the North in this respect. She is, in many communities, a producer of materials for skilled industry rather than an employer of skilled industry. The sudden, inconsiderate expansion of the free list by placing thereon all the articles Northern Democrats call

"raw materials" would be felt in every home below Mason and Dixon's line. It would, in many a Southern community, strike down half of what labor and capital have built up since the war. It would strike at the fruit growers of Florida, the iron workers of Alabama, the rice growers of South Carolina, and the laborers in Georgia's quarries. Should it be tried, the Democratic party would be more odious to the merchants and farmers of the South than the Republican party was in the worst days of carpet-bagery.

The two parties have made records on this question. It has been Democratic policy to talk about a system of free raw materials which is so evasive that it means nothing, and which, if it did mean anything, would mean wholesale bankruptcy from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico. It has been Republican policy to maintain the duties on crude articles so as to benefit the home producer, while allowing a rebate to the manufacturer who sends his goods abroad. In New England and the Middle States the Democrats have played for votes by proffering what they would not dare to give. At every port the Republicans are giving the actual and valuable feature of the raw material policy to the manufacturer who seeks to enter the markets of the world. Talk on the one side, and delusive talk at that, has been met by action on the other.

Every step in the development of our manufactures from the days of Jackson to those of Taft has met with open or covert Democratic hostility. The mighty iron industry, the great textile industry, the potteries

and the glass factories have all grown up in the face of elaborate arguments that they were impossible. Within a quarter of a century the country rang with the cry that our manufacturers could never sell goods abroad unless they were aided by free raw materials. If the American manufacturer who sells goods abroad is aided by a rebate of duties he does not owe that rebate to David A. Wells or Parsee Moore, to Roger Q. Mills or William L. Wilson. That concession has come from the party of Protection and not from its opponent.

PROBLEMS OF LABOR.

From an interview with William Whitman in the Boston Post.

"There are no new problems of labor and capital," said Mr. Whitman. "The situation is the same today as it was when I was a boy. If the professional agitators were eliminated and labor tried to give full value for the wages received, most of these supposed problems would vanish.

"The most humble wage earner has the same opportunity for success as the greatest business man in this country, if he will devote his energies to improving his labor, rather than expending his efforts in grappling with abstruse problems of economics and socialism.

"I would like to find a man today whom I can pay \$25,000 a year. But I can't find him. Such men are produced under the competitive system. They get their business training in the small enterprises. I am opposed to great combinations of business. The competitive system is better for capital and better for labor.

"Your inquiry of my views on the labor question carries me back to a meeting of the Commercial Club of Boston on the 16th of October, 1886, at which I presided.

"On that occasion addresses were delivered by the late Alexander S. Wheeler, the Hon. William B. Weedon of Providence, R. I.; the Rev. John Graham Brooks, General Francis A. Walker and the Rev. Minot J. Savage.

Views Still Unchanged.

"At that time, the question was as burning a one as it is at present. During the 26 years that have elapsed since that time I have seen no reason to change the views expressed by me as chairman of the meeting at its opening.

"The question is not a new one; it is probably older than human history. Labor is a condition of existence. This natural law is co-existent with creation. Not only man's existence, but all that he enjoys, all earth's bounties, as well as all human attainments and culture, are dependent upon labor.

"I look upon labor as a blessing, and not a curse.

"The highest and best social conditions can be secured only by the fullest employment of labor. The right to labor is a natural right, and every means should be taken to protect the individual in this right.

"I am in favor of trades unions. They have their faults, but these faults can be remedied. It is for the interests of trades unions to remove such objectionable features in their organizations as will prevent them from securing the best possible results from their organizations.

"I do not recognize any difference of interest between capital and labor, nor am I willing to acknowledge that there is, in fact, any real difference. Capital is regarded as the accumulation of past labor, but in my judgment the present labor is equally entitled to be regarded as capital, and is equally essential in the conduct of business.

"If it be true that capital is 'that part of a man's stock which he expects to afford him revenue,' a definition given by a famous economist, then what I have said must be true.

"Local differences or disagreements between employers and employes are not of great consequence. A common interest must necessarily lead to correct adjustment. Labor disturbances in a given industry cannot be regarded as a conflict between labor and capital, but, it seems to me, must be looked upon, if justified, as a complaint against their wages in comparison with the wages afforded in other industries."

"Will you state, Mr. Whitman, how this labor disturbance can be avoided?"

"It seems to me the fundamental question is not between labor and capital, but the relations between the labor of the one industry and the labor of other industries. In other words, the removal of inequalities of compensation which exist in the different departments of industrial life.

"I believe that the only way in which these relations can be established is by the application of a fundamental law, namely, the law of supply and demand.

"Twenty-six years ago this question seemed to be the burning question of the day, and 26 years of effort on the part of philanthropists

and other well-meaning men, have not secured any better results. There is a natural law in the business world, as there is in nature. Shall we pretend to control all those corrective features in nature—storms, change of seasons, earthquakes, hurricanes, whirlwinds and all the frightful things that come in nature, but which, after all, are so corrective and beneficial in their results? Nature is never at rest. It is in a constant state of change. This state of change is going on for the purpose of, I should say, for the purpose of equalization.”

Profit-Sharing Impracticable.

“It has been suggested that inasmuch as labor and capital are equally important in industry, therefore, when labor has received its wages and capital its interest on vested money, the profits left should be divided equally between labor and capital.

“I regard all the philanthropic schemes that have been brought forward for the help of the working people to be utterly impracticable, and the idea of profit-sharing fully as much so as any of the others.

“My experience with the laboring men of this country leads me to believe that they are perfectly competent to take care of themselves. They would like to manage their own affairs. They do not want the rich or benevolent to interfere with them. The fact is that all industrial life is interdependent, but it is only existing labor that can give real life to industry, and any man engaged in an enterprise must realize that existing labor is the most valuable asset in such life. We would all be dead but for existing labor.

“I have been directly connected with the management of labor for more than 45 years and have had very little trouble. All that labor has a right to demand, all it should demand is an equal right, and no intelligent employer of labor will fail to recognize this right.

“The highest prosperity of labor can only be secured by full, continuous employment and intelligent application. When this is done, all will secure their equal rights, for the fundamental law of supply and demand will be a bar to unequal distribution of earnings.”

WOOLEN AND WORSTED MANUFACTURERS.

Tariff Discussed at Recent Meeting.

At the sixth annual meeting of the American Association of Woollen and Worsted Manufacturers in New York, December 5, the retiring president, Charles Porter, Jr., in his annual address, said on the subject of tariff revision:

“The tariff rates in the woollen schedule under consideration last summer, if enacted, would have been harmful to our industry, and it has yet to be devised and demonstrated how the plants in this country could operate under the proposed rates. With this being a fact, and the invitation of the party that will be in power for us to demonstrate this fact to them, it leaves only one alternative: “We must through organized channels, with all fairness and sound argument, present our position, embodying one of the largest and most important industries in the country. We must further try to obtain public opinion in our favor, by an educational campaign, that will

definitely demonstrate the importance of legislation that will keep the textile mills of this country in operation; not that we may exact unreasonable prices or profits from our merchandise, as this could not be done on account of the large productive capacity of our plants, causing keen competition among ourselves; but that we may by reasonable profits, continue to operate our plants, and most important, that we may assist to continue the present degree of prosperity by keeping our rate of wage to our operatives on the present basis

"The late demand for the reduction of tariff rates in the woolen schedule, is based on a misrepresentation of facts. It is the general idea that a reduction will bring the cloth or cloths to a consumer at a low price. It is an established fact that with the small amount of cloth in a garment, the greatest reduction in tariff yet considered would not figure in the price to the consumer. Let it be firmly established, the cloth manufacturer is not the one to look to by experts on the high cost of living. The many hands and channels through which the cloth passes before reaching the consumer, is the place for investigation. It is now time for this industry, through its various associations, or by individuals joined together, to formulate plans to guide and assist by every fair means, legislation that will not only be equitable and just to the manufacturers, but to the operatives and varied interests connected with our industry."

In the discussion which followed, a variety of views were expressed. Some thought that a committee with

power to act should be appointed, and that a bill should be prepared that was representative. Others thought the Association should go to Washington as a body and not send lawyers to represent them. Still others pointed to the fact that there are Representatives and Senators who are sent to Washington for the expressed purpose of representing their constituencies, and that they believed that with the many protectionists among the party in power, that the best thing to do was to let the situation alone. The fact that the National Association of Wool Manufacturers was organized primarily to deal in matters of the tariff was dwelt upon, and inasmuch as both Associations have the same membership in many instances, it was urged that it would be inadvisable for the American Association of Woolen and Worsted Manufacturers, which was formed for the purpose of correcting the abuses of the trade, to enter the field of the tariff.

The Washington correspondent of a New York paper notes the evident disinclination of the Democratic leaders to favor any measure that will strengthen the "merit system" and deprive the Democrats of official patronage. He writes: "The President's recent order placing a great body of fourth class postmasters under the civil service, for example, is likely to be revoked at an early date by his successor, on the ground that it was issued only after the places had been filled with Republican office holders and was therefore simply likely to hold a certain group of men in positions they would otherwise lose on a change of administration."

THE PROSPECTS OF PROTECTION IN ENGLAND.

Blunders of the Fiscal Reformers Keep Them From Office— England Tired of Liberals.

London, Dec. 15, 1912.

If the tariff reformers in the House of Commons only keep from making too many silly mistakes, they will have a fair chance of being returned to power at the next election, whenever that comes. But somehow the reformers do not appear to have the knack of doing or saying the right thing at the right time, and indeed they often say and do the wrong thing. For responsible leaders of a great party to go about the country advising people to rebellion and to defy acts of Parliament is not statesmanship and it disgusts quiet folk. Apart from the many blunders of speech and deeds, the Unionists are under a cloud of suspicion throughout the country as regards their tariff reform policy. People believe, rightly or wrongly, that such fiscal reform means an addition to the cost of living. As we know, the cost of every day commodities such as food, drink, rent, clothes and well nigh everything has largely increased during the last ten to fifteen years, and to advocate a policy that has any suspicion of still further adding to the burden is to court disaster. The fear of such an event has been the real reason that has kept the Unionists from power. Britain has almost had enough of the Liberals for a time. Many things have contributed to bringing this

about. But even now, with all the dissatisfaction with the government, people will still vote for them rather than jeopardize any increase in the cost of living. It is a case of

"It's better to bear the ills we have
Than those we know not of."

That is the rock bottom fact of British domestic politics today. Of course it is largely a matter of education. People forget, even if they ever knew, that we already raise some £10,000,000 a year by duties on food stuffs. On tea alone we raise very nearly £6,000,000, on sugar nearly £3,000,000. The rate of duty on tea is 5d (10c.) per pound in weight, and tea costs from 1s 6d (36c.) to 2s (48c.) per pound. Of course there are higher priced teas, but the bulk of that sold is as above. There is a duty on coffee, chicory, cocoa, figs, currants, etc., so you will see that it is difficult to have breakfast without contributing handsomely to the national exchequer.

Our dependence on imported food-stuffs has risen from £124.3 millions in 1875 to £219.8 millions in 1911. The principal items are as under:

	1875 Millions	1911 Millions
Cereals	£56.9	£75.8
Meat	16.7	47.7
Eggs	2.6	8.0
Butter	8.5	27.1
Cheese	4.7	7.1
Sugar	22.0	26.8

The proportion from British possessions and from foreign countries is as follows:

	British Possessions.	Foreign Countries.	% from British.
1885 ..	£19,800,000	£113,800,000	14.8
1895 ..	22,900,000	126,200,000	15.4
1905 ..	47,400,000	157,200,000	23.7
1910 ..	58,500,000	166,800,000	26.0

The whole gist of the fiscal reformers' case is that we raise our millions of duties on foodstuffs on precisely those lines of imported food which we do not ourselves produce in England, and we tax our whole supply of such foods, granting no preference to Colonial supplies. Consequently there is no competition between a taxed and an untaxed supply of such foodstuffs, and this being the case, the price of the whole supply of such foodstuffs is necessarily raised by the full amount of the duty. Tariff reformers propose, therefore, to substitute for much of this heavy existing "free-trade" taxation on non-competitive imports a number of light duties on competitive imports, such as corn, meat and dairy produce, without increasing, but on the contrary, actually diminishing the present burden of our taxation on food. They suggest in thus lightly taxing competitive food imports to give a substantial preference to imports from countries within the British Empire.

It is further held that, owing to the competition involved in such conditions, such light taxation will not raise the price of the articles taxed. The leaders of the Unionist Party, from Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain downward, all gave definite pledges that there would be no increase in the cost of living consequent on tariff reform. But it has all been to no purpose; and today the

old prejudice remains against the policy, simply on this account. If the policy did not touch foodstuffs it would not matter so much because there are immense numbers of free-traders who would not object very greatly to a small duty on some manufactured goods. Mr. Chamberlain proposed that a duty of two shillings (48c.) a quarter (480 pounds) should be imposed on imported foreign corn, with a proportionately higher duty on imported flour. His scheme also included a 5 per cent. duty on imports of other competitive foodstuffs and duties averaging 10 per cent. on imported manufactured goods. He proposed, further, to counterbalance the new taxation on imports of competitive foodstuffs by an equivalent reduction of our existing taxation on non-competitive imports, such as tea, sugar, etc.

Now as regards the most contentious part of this policy, viz., the two shillings duty on foreign corn, the assertion is that it will largely raise the price of bread. But if the duty was applied to all our corn supply, the rise in price would be less than one farthing (half-cent) per loaf of four pounds each. It would, however, only apply to foreign corn, and the two shillings duty would provide just the stimulus to home and colonial production that is necessary to increase the supply. The foreign grower finds his best market here and cannot afford to lose it, consequently he will be compelled to pay the two shillings duty himself by lowering his price in order to continue selling us his wheat. The people generally don't see these points, but it is the duty of the reformers to enlighten them.

F. C. CHAPPELL.

ACROSS THE CONTINENT
AND THROUGH THE
ISTHMUS.

BY ROLAND RINGWALT.

Perhaps we are still half barbarian; at all events the memories of battles and even skirmishes are more durable than the memories of great peaceful achievements. A hill or a prairie that witnessed a struggle between the white man and the red man has its place in history, and probably sends fifty legends down to posterity; while it is doubtful if one person in five hundred remembers that transcontinental railroad service began in 1869.

Yet the fact is surely an amazing one. Our first President found Indian warfare a grim reality in Pennsylvania; Jackson saw the whole region from Ohio to Georgia in extreme peril; Lincoln was a volunteer in the Black Hawk war; and it must have seemed incredible to Grant that a man could ride from the Atlantic to the Pacific. There were, it is true, Indian wars after 1869, but the opening of railroad communication between the oceans meant that the whole continent was won for civilization. Since those days farms have been opened, mines have been worked, forests have yielded their timber, barren wastes have been irrigated, the fruit of California has been carried to the Atlantic coast and the invalids of the eastern seaboard have been carried to the "Golden Gate."

In the annals of the European race on this continent perhaps no one chapter is of greater importance than this. Had Canada remained French instead of English civilization would still have been

dominant. Had the thirteen colonies remained British colonies they would have developed, though less rapidly than they developed after gaining their independence. Had the Louisiana territory remained under the French flag growth and improvement would have come. But when the iron links bound the Atlantic to the Pacific the days of crawling and stumbling were over, civilization leapt over barriers that once seemed insurmountable, the lengthening cords and strengthening stakes went hand in hand. To this day one glows over Burke's eloquent tribute to the rapid growth of the colonies, and yet their progress was a snail's pace to the sweep and rush that followed the opening of a railroad across the continent. Western pioneers, not usually poetic or sentimental, were awed as they thought of Thomas H. Benton in another world contemplating the highway for which he had toiled so long.

This road, so important to progress, so necessary to Caucasian supremacy, was opened in 1869, and the terrible struggle for the Union had ended in 1865. In 1861 came the burst of war; in 1862 Washington was in peril of seizure by the insurgents; in 1863 Lee was on the soil of Pennsylvania; in the summer of 1864 many still feared for our cause; in 1865 Lincoln was assassinated; then came the troubles of Reconstruction and the impeachment of a President, and yet within five years after Lincoln's re-election the continent was traversed by steam. A little boasting may be pardoned to the orators of the great party that was then in power. Our civil war thrice threatened war with

England and very nearly involved us in war with France; during its continuance we had the terrible Indian outbreak of the Northwest; after the war we had the trouble along the Mexican frontier, the vast army to disband, the freedmen on the hands of the government, the Alabama question to be settled, the Alaska purchase, the Constitutional amendments, the treaty with China, the fight between the stubborn Johnson in the White House and the volcanic Stanton in the War Department; and yet with all these distractions the railroad was pushed across the continent. There are men, not in lunatic asylums, who declare that the building of a transcontinental railroad was a greater event than the war.

After the most celebrated engineer of modern times had failed to dig a canal through the Isthmus our government took up the work. The Suez Canal was dug by bondmen, the Panama Canal represents the labor of free wage earners. Never before have such pains been taken to guard workmen from the perils of an unhealthy climate. The progress already made is encouraging and the powers of the Old World recognize that the American waterway ought to be in American hands. It is a mighty work that lies before us, but the completion of the railroad in 1869 was a stimulus to every future task civilization may impose.

One who recalls the grotesque experiences of recent Democratic Congresses—the insane shrieks against Reed's decisive measures and the humiliating acceptance of his rules as necessary to the transaction of business; the "pop-gun tariff policy" of Springer; the utter failure of the

Wilson measure; the startling lack of concord between President Cleveland and the party leaders in Congress, may question if the Democrats would have built the Pacific railroad in a generation, or if they could have constructed the Panama Canal in fifty years. Certainly their record since Douglas was in evidence has not shown much capacity for leadership. Randall was a great Speaker, but he showed his ability principally in thwarting the Free Trade tendencies of his own party; he had little hope of great positive achievement. What the Pacific railroad has been and is to us should appeal to thoughtful voters. What the Panama Canal may be to us is a reflection that should bring many a ballot to the Republican party.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGES AND DEPARTMENT REPORTS.

President Taft has followed his practice of a year ago of sending his annual messages to Congress on the installment plan. His first message, transmitted on December 3, dealt exclusively with the foreign relations of the United States. He outlines his policy as to the diplomatic and consular service. He asserts that the chief object sought in our dealings abroad has been the extension of American trade, and that it is largely to this end that the State Department has been reorganized. Our efforts to keep the peace in Central America are bound to be of two-fold benefit to the United States, and to this end Mr. Taft again urges the passage of the loan conventions with Nicaragua and Honduras, now before the Senate. An important rec-

ommendation was that the maximum and minimum provisions of the tariff law be extended in order to give the President, in negotiations, a still stronger weapon to prevent any discrimination against American trade or American citizens. The success of this new policy, says Mr. Taft, is shown in the fact that no less than \$50,000,000 in contracts have been secured under the present Administration, and that our trade with Japan has grown at the rate of over \$1,000,000 a month. The President regrets the failure of Congress to pass legislation against the introduction and use of drugs, and urges that this matter be dealt with immediately. The conclusion of the fisheries agreement with Great Britain is also announced.

In his second message, sent to Congress, December 6, the President announces that he will make no further effort to have Congress reduce the tariff, but leaves this question to Mr. Wilson and the new Congress. Other points in the message may be thus summarized:

Recommends currency reform on plan outlined by the Monetary Commission. Proposes amendment of corporation tax law, to lessen the penalty imposed when corporations inadvertently disobey its provisions. Advocates approval by Congress of army reorganization scheme prepared by the War College. Indorses the bill increasing the pay of militia in the field. Would grant citizenship, but not statehood, to Porto Ricans. Contends that it is not yet time to grant autonomy and independence to the Philippines. Sees no need of radical changes in the Sherman anti-trust act. Advo-

cates regulation of water power grants so that navigable streams may be improved by water power companies. Urges promotion of Colonel Goethals, builder of the Panama Canal, to a major generalship. Recommends a return to the policy of two battleships a year by the appropriation for three battleships this year. Would grant authority to the United States Supreme Court to make rules of procedure in common law cases in federal courts to expedite and lessen the cost of litigation.

Treasury.

The annual report of Secretary MacVeagh strongly urges reform in the present banking and currency system. He warns Congress that the federal government, as long as the present scheme exists, will be exclusively responsible for the commercial, industrial and social disasters which flow from panics and attack, directly or indirectly, every home in the nation. The present system promotes and develops panics, and legislation is urgent. Aside from affording flexible and elastic currency and reserves, such a revision, he says, should bring the banks into organized co-operation and provide for a central agency through which they could work together, free of political or trust control. According to the estimates of the Treasury Department, the Secretary foresees a deficit of \$22,556,023, exclusive of Panama Canal expenditures, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, the first fiscal year of President Wilson's administration. Including the canal expenses, the deficit is estimated at \$52,730,455.

The canal expenditures, he adds, however, may be paid under the law from bond sales. The estimated receipts for that year are \$710,000,000, while the ordinary appropriations are estimated at \$732,556,023 and the canal expenditures at \$30,174,432. Undoubtedly having probable tariff revision in mind, the Secretary announces that these estimates are based on present conditions and laws.

War Department.

Unsparring condemnation of those who would from "misplaced sentimentality or lazy self interest" cast the Filipinos upon the world in the state of helplessness and before they had acquired the full benefits of American civilization, is a feature in the annual report of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. Many other subjects of interest are treated in the report, such as the relations of the National Guard to the army, the improvement in the army tactical methods, the inadequacy of the present reserve law, the crying need of citizenship for the Porto Ricans, the conservation of the national water powers in navigable streams and the advisability of amending the Panama Canal Tolls Act so as to reimpose tolls on American coastwise shipping leaving the water way.

Dealing first with purely military subjects, the Secretary states the strength of the regular army at the beginning of the present fiscal year at 82,305, an increase during the year of 189 officers and 7,834 enlisted men.

In treating of the morals of the army Secretary Stimson asserts his belief that the so-called anti-canteen legislation has been responsible for

much vice, a statement which he supports by a recital of the results of his own inspection of forty-nine of the mobile army posts, where he found the military reservations adjoined by dives and ill-resorts of the vilest character.

Navy.

In his annual report, Secretary Meyer says the United States must be prepared to meet any chance of war; and he pleads for three new battleships this year, and declares that this country soon will fall from second to fourth place in the relative standing of naval powers if it continues the policy of building only two ships each year.

International peace has been brought no nearer, the Secretary declares, so far as a limitation of armaments is concerned. To guard its coasts and protect its commercial activities the United States needs a permanent navy of forty-one capital ships—battleships and battle cruisers. The present strength of the navy in battleships is about thirty-three, but four ships will soon be retired as obsolete.

Secretary Meyer expresses skepticism as to the abolition of war in the near future. Wars come with little or no warning, he says, and only by the possession of an efficient fleet of adequate size will the country be safe from attack and free to work out its own destiny in peace and without hindrance.

Agriculture.

After sixteen years of service in the Cabinet, Secretary Wilson makes his last annual report, which gives a summary of the advance of the country in agriculture during his

long term of office. The record begins with a yearly farm production of \$4,000,000,000 and ends with \$9,532,000,000. Sixteen years ago the farmer was a joke of the caricaturist; now he is like the stone that was rejected by the builder and has become the head stone of the corner. The tillers of the soil were burdened with debts, but prosperity followed and grew with unexampled speed. Beginnings have been made in a production per acre increasing faster than the natural increase of population. There has been an uplift of agriculture and of country life. During the last sixteen years the farmer has steadily increased the wealth production year by year, with the exception of 1911. During the sixteen years the farmer's wealth production increased 141 per cent.

The prices at the farm are generally profitable and will continue the prosperity that farmers have enjoyed in recent years. The total production of farm wealth is the highest yet reached by half a billion dollars. The grand total for 1912 is estimated to be \$9,532,000,000. This is more than twice the value of the farm wealth in 1899. More than \$105,000,000,000 is the grand total of farm wealth production, the report says, during the last sixteen years, an amount equal to about three-quarters of the present national wealth.

Over a billion dollars is for the fourth time the value of the exports of farm products, with cotton leading. They are sufficient to pay the expenses of the national government.

The dairy cow is one of the principal producers of wealth on the farm, and the value of her products

in 1912 is estimated at about \$830,000,000, an amount which exceeds the value of the cotton lint and is nearly equal to the combined value of lint and seed. The wheat crop is worth only three-fourths as much as the dairy products. The magnitude of the poultry industry is set forth. An egg may be worth only a cent and three-quarters, and yet 1,700,000,000 dozen eggs are worth \$350,000,000, and these are the estimates for 1912.

The animals sold from the farm and the animals slaughtered on it together number about 111,000,000, and the farm value of these animals is estimated at \$1,980,000,000. The total value of the animal products of the farm in 1912 is estimated to be \$3,395,000,000. While animal products are about one-third of the wealth production on farms in 1912, the crops are about two-thirds. Their value is \$6,137,000,000, an amount which is vastly above the highwater mark of total crop value in 1911.

Attention is given to the trend of farm prices of farm products during the last forty or fifty years. The concluding observation is that there was a general downward movement of prices from the Civil War until it was arrested in the 90's. The subsequent elevation of prices has sometimes carried them to about the level of the earlier years under review, and sometimes higher. But, "it may be noticed that, if comparison is made between present prices and the extremely and abnormally low prices of the 90's, the present period of high prices is made by force of comparison to occupy a

relatively higher place than it does if comparison is made with the high price periods preceding."

Attorney-General's Report.

The Sherman anti-trust law is proving its adequacy as a civil statute, and there is no necessity for the much discussed proposed amendment particularizing unlawful practices in restraint of trade, according to Attorney-General Wickersham. He does not pass judgment upon the efficiency of the anti-trust act as a criminal statute. He merely says: "The experience of the last year in endeavoring to enforce criminal liability under the Sherman law has not been encouraging."

The Attorney General defends the Commerce Court, the abolition of which was attempted at the last session of Congress.

Drawing conclusions from the decrees of dissolution and injunctions which have already been entered under the Sherman law, Mr. Wickersham maintains that the federal courts are exercising in equity suits a power to restrain which is co-extensive with the evils against which the Sherman law was enacted. The courts have found no difficulty, he adds, in applying the terms of the law to enjoin the continuance of any form of unfair competition which has resulted in imposing an undue restraint upon interstate commerce or which makes for monopoly.

Commerce and Labor Report.

The principal features of the report of Secretary Nagel of the Department of Commerce and Labor, are as follows:

Powers of the proposed commis-

sion to regulate big business should be well defined and restricted. Opposes giving such commission authority similar to that of Interstate Commerce Commission. It should not be empowered to fix prices. Self-regulation of business, to greatest extent consistent with public welfare, should be guiding principle of legislation. Corporations should be compelled to make automatic reports regarding capitalization, business, profits, controlling interests, etc. Bureau of Corporations should assist Federal courts in recognizing concerns dissolved under Sherman anti-trust law. Approves an international conference to secure greater safety of life at sea, and raises questions whether United States Government should take over all sea coast wireless stations. Suggests creation of board of arbitration to settle railroad labor disputes. During fiscal year 1912, 838,172 immigrants admitted; 70,000 aliens naturalized.

Interior Department.

Secretary Fisher, of the Department of the Interior, makes these principal recommendations:

Adoption of comprehensive water-power policy for all streams in United States. Comprehensive classification of public lands, and administration in accordance therewith. Enlarged application of leasing principle to the public domain generally. Amendment to mining law, giving prospector exclusive right for a term of years of possession and prospecting within limited area. Legislation for development of transportation facilities and coal lands of Alaska. Comprehensive leasing law for coal, oil and other

mineral lands. Withdrawal from entry of public lands in West to protect headwaters of streams. Legislation for retirement and pensioning of civil employes of the government.

Most of his recommendations are in renewal and emphasis of those made in his previous annual report.

WEAVERS' WAGES.

J. E. Bailey, in New York World.

In a recent editorial you remarked of Samuel Lipson, a Lawrence weaver:

"His wages from the Woolen Trust average as much as \$9 and \$10 weekly when work is steady, so he has testified before a Congress committee, and all of \$3 and \$5 when work is unsteady.

"When Lipson said this he misstated the facts. Following him on the stand came the paymaster of the Wood Mill, who stated from the books of the mill that Lipson's average earnings for an average week of 52 $\frac{4}{6}$ hours were \$11.52, an average per hour of \$0.2207. Under date of Lawrence, Mass., March 2, 1912, is an affidavit: 'The foregoing is a correct record of wages paid to Samuel Lipson for the term from week ending Nov. 9, 1910, to the week ending Jan. 10, 1912, inclusive, and is taken from the payrolls of the Wood Worsted Mill. F. A. Sherman, cashier; Paul Hempel, pay clerk.'

"This statement is sworn to and the actual payrolls of the mill were offered in evidence.

"Your editorial attack on the protective tariff is therefore based on a false assertion. You profess to desire only the truth. I trust, there-

fore, that you will print this statement, and with it this exact, official comparison of American and English weavers' wages from page 826 of Volume III of the Tariff Board report:

Occupation.	Sex.	Am.	Eng.
Woolen weavers, male...		\$10.63	\$6.21
Woolen weavers, female..		10.54	3.83
Worsted weavers, male ...		12.36	6.12
Worsted weavers, female..		9.55	3.59

"These figures tell their own story of the difference between a tariff for revenue and protection and a tariff for revenue only."

MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM TARIFF.

From President Taft's Message.

The importance which our manufactures have assumed in the commerce of the world in competition with the manufactures of other countries again draws attention to the duty of this Government to use its utmost endeavors to secure impartial treatment for American products in all markets. Healthy commercial rivalry in international intercourse is best assured by the possession of proper means for protecting and promoting our foreign trade. It is natural that competitive countries should view with some concern this steady expansion of our commerce. If in some instances the measure taken by them to meet it are not entirely equitable, a remedy should be found. In former messages I have described the negotiations of the Department of State with foreign Governments for the adjustment of the maximum and minimum tariff as provided in section 2 of the tariff law of 1909. The advantages secured by the adjustment of our trade relations under this law have continued during the last year, and some additional cases of discriminatory treatment of which we had reason to complain have been removed. The Department of State has for the first time in the history of this country obtained substantial most-favored-nation treatment

from all the countries of the world. There are, however, other instances which, while apparently not constituting undue discrimination in the sense of section 2, are nevertheless exceptions to the complete equity of tariff treatment for American products that the Department of State consistently has sought to obtain for American commerce abroad.

Necessity for Supplementary Legislation.

These developments confirm the opinion conveyed to you in my annual message of 1911, that while the maximum and minimum provision of the tariff law of 1909 has been fully justified by the success achieved in removing previously existing undue discriminations against American products, yet experience has shown that this feature of the law should be amended in such way as to provide a fully effective means of meeting the varying degrees of discriminatory treatment of American commerce in foreign countries still encountered, as well as to protect against injurious treatment on the part of foreign Governments, through either legislative or administrative measures, the financial interests abroad of American citizens whose enterprises enlarge the market for American commodities.

I cannot too strongly recommend to the Congress the passage of some such enabling measure as the bill which was recommended by the Secretary of State in his letter of Dec. 13, 1911. The object of the proposed legislation is, in brief, to enable the Executive to apply, as the case may require, to any or all commodities, whether or not on the free list from a country which discriminates against the United States, a graduated scale of duties up to the maximum of 25 per cent. ad valorem provided in the present law. Flat tariffs are out of date. Nations no longer accord equal tariff treatment to all other nations irrespective of the treatment from them received. Such a flexible power at the command of the Executive would serve to moderate any unfavorable tendencies on the part of those countries from which the importations into the United States are substantially confined to articles on the

free list as well as of the countries which find a lucrative market in the United States for their products under existing customs rates. It is very necessary that the American Government should be equipped with weapons of negotiation adapted to modern economic conditions, in order that we may at all times be in a position to gain not only technically just but actually equitable treatment for our trade, and also for American enterprise and vested interests abroad.

Business Secured to Our Country by Direct Official Effort.

As illustrating the commercial benefits to the Nation derived from the new diplomacy and its effectiveness upon the material as well as the more ideal side, it may be remarked that through direct official efforts alone there have been obtained in the course of this administration, contracts from foreign Governments involving an expenditure of \$50,000,000 in the factories of the United States. Consideration of this fact and some reflection upon the necessary effects of a scientific tariff system and a foreign service alert and equipped to cooperate with the business men of America carry the conviction that the gratifying increase in the export trade of this country is, in substantial amount, due to our improved governmental methods of protecting and stimulating it. It is germane to these observations to remark that in the two years that have elapsed since the successful negotiation of our new treaty with Japan, which at the time seemed to present so many practical difficulties, our export trade to that country has increased at the rate of over \$1,000,000 a month. Our exports to Japan for the year ended June 30, 1910, were \$21,959,310, while for the year ended June 30, 1912, the exports were \$53,478,046, a net increase in the sale of American products of nearly 150 per cent.

Tariff for revenue only makes good times for the man who has money to loan; and hard times for the man who works, who owes and who borrows.—
St. Marys (W. Va.) Leader.

**MANUFACTURERS WHO
WANTED TARIFF
REVISION.**

**They are Beginning to Worry About
Their Own Schedules.**

From the Kansas City Journal.

When Woodrow Wilson went to his office in the state house at Trenton recently, he found a great crowd of people to see him, each of whom had important "personal business" to discuss. The first visitor received was Nathan Hirsch, a member of the Democratic State Committee of New York, a Presidential elector and, what is of more immediate importance, a manufacturer of cotton goods. He asked anxiously what Mr. Wilson intended doing about the cotton goods Tariff and intimated that before anything was done in that direction the President-elect should inform himself thoroughly about the cotton goods conditions, etc., etc. Governor Wilson promised that nothing "radical" would be done to cotton goods.

The next caller was a very nervous man who boasted that he was a Democrat and an ardent supporter of the governor, but said that he was in the woolen manufacturing business and was very desirous that nothing be done about Tariff revision as it applied to woolen goods until the President-elect should inform himself thoroughly about the woolen goods conditions, etc., etc. And so the procession kept up intermittently until Gov. Wilson had been interviewed by a dozen or more manufacturers, each of whom was extremely solicitous that nothing radical should be done to his own particular business until the Presi-

dent-elect should inform himself thoroughly about conditions in that business.

There is no particular moral to this incident except that it casts an interesting light on the great problems that confront the man who was elected President on a Free-Trade platform. The Tariff has always been a fatal political trap for statesmen. Of the millions of men who voted for Woodrow Wilson probably a majority considered the Tariff as applying only to the other fellow. The cotton manufacturer doubtless is strong in his convictions that the Tariff ought to be reduced on woolen goods, but he has a panic when he thinks of the Tariff being reduced on his own output. Yet Governor Wilson is committed to the policy of a Tariff for revenue only, which is as near Free-Trade as he can get. Such a policy cannot be made applicable to one industry and not to another. Under a revenue Tariff all Protected industries must suffer together.

Mr. Wilson says he has made up his mind what ought to be done about the Tariff. His plans are formed. There need be no further investigation and Congress has no cause for further worry. Just what this program is must remain a mystery until the President-elect chooses to disclose it. But it is as certain as the sun will rise on the morrow that the reduction of the Tariff to a revenue basis will bring despair to hundreds of thousands of men who voted for Wilson with their eyes shut. The manufacturers are now becoming alarmed; later it will be the workingmen; then the merchants and farmers.

EXCESSIVE PROFITS OF
MIDDLEMEN.

From the Halifax Herald.

The excessive profits of middlemen are just now coming in for a little inquiry, and so far as the investigation has gone it has strongly suggested that the middlemen are very largely responsible for the high cost of living.

The Winnipeg Telegram is trying to figure out how it is that a barrel of apples, for which an Ontario farmer received 70 cents, retails in Winnipeg at \$5.25 without somebody or other making enormous profits.

The freight is 76 cents per barrel, and the barrel itself cost 30 cents—a total cost of \$1.76 for the fruit laid down in Winnipeg.

This leaves \$4.94 for somebody so far unknown.

Having failed to locate the whereabouts of the discrepancy, the searcher might try something easier. In the case of a potato shipment from Stonewall to Winnipeg, a distance of 20 miles, the farmer, it appears, got 30 cents a bushel; the freight was 3 1/3 cents a bushel; the potatoes sold at wholesale at 55 cents at Winnipeg, and the local consumer paid 65 cents.

The producer and the railway received practically one-half that amount for growing the bushel and carrying it to market. Who got the rest of the 65 cents?

Such facts remind us that some years ago, when there was a small duty of some four cents a gallon on kerosene oil, a great row was raised over the retail price of such oil in Canada, and the whole blame was cast on the tariff.

The present writer made a little investigation into the kerosene oil trade in this city, and found that, to the retail seller, the net price per gallon of kerosene oil, after return of the empty cask and allowance therefor, was only a small fraction over 18 cents.

At the same time the retailers were handing out oil at 9 cents per quart or 36 cents per gallon,—an advance on the cost price to them of almost exactly 100 per cent.!

No doubt similar things are being done by middlemen today, and the blame being put on the farmers as unjustly as the blame was put years ago on the small duty on kerosene oil.

LOWER TARIFF TO BENEFIT
FOREIGN PRODUCERS.

From the Bristol (Pa.) Courier.

It seems to be taken for granted that the United States will soon become a universal benefactor and furnish a thriving market for all the rest of the world. Not only France, but Germany, England and minor commercial countries of Europe hail Democratic victory with acclaim. The spirit abroad is that we are to become a kind of pie counter for all Europe.

Now, no one objects to a bit of philanthropy here and there, but absolute self sacrifice has never become a popular virtue. Every sale of foreign goods in the United States made possible by tariff reduction will exclude from our home market an equal portion of goods with an American manufacturer's trade mark and every hour of foreign labor expended in their production will be

balanced by labor lost and idle on this side of the ocean. That is fact. If foreigners can sell against us in our own country, and they are sure they can under prospective tariff reductions, then where will the American manufacturer find a market? Driven out of his own stronghold, he will be powerless to compete abroad. The only result must be curtailed production in America, inversely proportioned to the increased sale of foreign-made goods. That means curtailed wages and less employment. Let the laborer look to his ballot when he votes again.

THE ASSAULTS ON BUSINESS.

From the Boston Advertiser.

The men who are just now ram-paging around at Washington, who are uttering denunciation of the "greedy wealth of the country" and who are hunting for new excuses daily, upon which to base some fresh attack on American business, are certainly not the friends of the American people. They are doing all they can to hurt the people, and to bring poverty and distress upon the people. These frenzied worthies are friends of the stock-market jobbers who are reaping immense fortunes from the shock to business caused by their congressional allies. The Washington demagogue is the friend and ally of "the unscrupulous rich" and the worst enemy the American wage earner has, today. Professing his love for the people, and his hatred of the rich evil doer, he is the best friend the stock-market gambler has, today, and the biggest menace to labor, in this country.

The Republican party will lose

nothing by standing up for the prosperity of the land, which is giving labor good wages and steady employment, such as have not been known for a good many years. The Republicans will lose nothing by meeting these assaults on business resolutely, and by exposing the evident alliance between the stock jobbers and the Democratic agitators. Although less than seven weeks ago the Republican party suffered a crushing defeat, the way is already open to a triumphant, and sudden, and striking reversal of political conditions. The Democratic policy threatens the wages and work of the great body of Americans. The Republican party, by meeting those threats boldly and determinedly, can soon show which party best deserves popular support. The threat to business should be resisted unanimously and insistently by the entire Republican vote in both houses of Congress.

THE JEWELRY INDUSTRY.

The manufacture of jewelry owes its prosperity to the tariff. The wages paid in this industry in Oriental countries is a mere trifle as compared with those paid in the United States; and the difference between the wages paid in this country and in Europe is enormous. By giving protection to American workmen and manufacturers this industry has grown to such an extent that the product in 1909 was in value \$80,350,000, of which \$43,675,000 was added by manufacture in this country. Formerly nearly all jewelry was imported. Now it is made at home, and \$24,196,000 is paid out in wages and salaries, while \$63,811,000 is invested as capital in the industry. An increase of 51 per cent. in the value of the product in five years illustrates the benefits of the protective policy.

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid
To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

JANUARY, 1913.

Florida orange growers have combined to hold back shipments of oranges in order to keep up the holiday prices.

It is becoming evident that the Democratic leaders, in revising the tariff, will have little use for facts, but will base their work on theories and assumptions.

The Department of Agriculture estimates the cotton crop of 1912 at 14,311,300 bales, inclusive of lint-ers. The total value of the crop, inclusive of cotton seed, will be about \$986,920,000. The crop in 1911 was 15,546,000 bales.

Great Britain's formal note of protest against that section of the Panama Canal act which exempts American coastwise shipping from paying of tolls, was presented to Secretary Knox on December 9. No denial is made of the right of the United States to subsidize American vessels; but the note gives warning that another protest will be forthcoming if an attempt is made to enforce that section of the Panama act which prohibits the use of the canal

by railroad-owned or trust-controlled ships, so far as it would exclude British vessels.

Canada proposes to add three of the most powerful battleships afloat, at a cost of \$35,000,000, to the naval defence of the British Empire. These vessels are to be built in Great Britain, and will form part of the British fleet, but they can be recalled to form part of a Canadian navy should such a step be necessary.

The London Mail, in an article on the rise in prices and the "growing extravagance" in living in England, says that "not only have food prices in the restaurants risen but there is an ever widening circle of people ready to order and pay for expensive food, and once they acquire the habit of doing so they keep to it as long as they have money or credit."

The San Francisco Chronicle notes that since the Democrats have elected a President and will control both houses of Congress, they no longer talk about "Republican extravagance" and the necessity for economy in public expenditure, but are preparing extensive raids on the treasury for river and harbor and other improvements on a large scale.

It is finally settled that Roosevelt carried California (on the highest elector) by 174 votes, though he will have but eleven of the State's thirteen electoral votes, Wilson getting the other two. The Electoral College now stands: Wilson, 435; Roosevelt, 88; Taft (Utah and Vermont), 8. Roosevelt got his 88 votes from Washington, Michigan.

South Dakota, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and 11 of 13 in California.

The Daily News, Greenville, S. C., proffers this wise advice: "If the Democrats would keep their record clean they must recognize fully the intimate relation of business and the tariff and institute the greatly needed reforms in such manner that the country will not suffer. Mature deliberation and a careful study of all conditions should precede any alterations of the tariff."

The Textile World Record reports mill construction for 1912 as follows: Woolen and worsted, 23, as against 17 in 1911, and 47 in 1909, the record year. Thirty-seven cotton mills, with 533,100 spindles, and 9,774 looms. The spindleage is less than half of the record of 1909, 1,206,496. Forty-seven silk mills were erected, as against 38 last year, and 51 in 1907, the record. Of knitting mills, 112 were built, as against 113 last year, which was the record.

On the Northeastern Railway in England there has been a strike of the locomotive engineers, for which the only cause was the discharge of an engine driver for being drunk when off duty. There were about 8,000 men out for a time, besides the "thousands engaged in the iron and coal trade and other industries, who were thrown out of employment by the cessation of the train service." Finally, a "higher authority" in the union organization "called off" the strike, on the ground that it had not been properly authorized, but probably for the better reason that the rule enforced by railroads of not employing men in responsible positions

who get drunk is sustained by an overwhelming public sentiment, and this proved effective in terminating the strike.

According to a writer in the Nineteenth Century, "the greatest beneficiary of the canal will probably be the rapid expanding cotton industry of Japan. Cotton, grown in the South-Eastern States of North America, is shipped in enormous quantities to Japan from the Pacific ports, whither it has to be carried by rail over a distance of 2,000 miles. This long journey not only increases its price very greatly, but causes long and unforeseen delays, which are ruinous to the Japanese cotton manufacturers. The opening of the Panama canal should greatly benefit industrial Japan, and should considerably increase Japan's cotton exports to China and India."

The conference of leaders of the "Progressive Party," at Chicago, December 10, was largely attended. Roosevelt, who made the principal speech, made it plain that no terms would be made with the Republican party. He said in effect that the new party had come to stay and expected eventually to attract to its banner the "progressives" who still gave allegiance to the Republican and Democratic organizations. Progressives in Congress and in the State legislatures were urged to get together and push progressive legislation, but they were also counselled to support legislation that would carry out the principles of the new party, regardless of what party might introduce it.

On December 17, President Taft sent to the Senate the nominations

of the nine members of the Industrial Commission created by Congress to investigate the relations between labor and capital. The men named were: Representing the people—Senator George Sutherland of Utah, George B. Chandler of Connecticut, Charles S. Barrett of Georgia. Representing capital—Frederick A. Delano of Chicago, Adolph Lewisohn of New York, F. C. Schwedtmann of Missouri. Representing labor—Austin B. Garretson of Iowa, John B. Lennox and James O'Connell of the District of Columbia. The commission will choose its own chairman.

The death of Whitelaw Reid, American ambassador to Great Britain, which occurred in London, December 15, brings to a close an active and honorable career. He started as a newspaper man in Ohio, where he was born in 1837, and never broke his connection with the public press. He was associated with Horace Greeley in editorial work for many years, and after the latter's death he was editor-in-chief of the Tribune, and later became the principal proprietor of that journal. He was United States Minister to France from 1889 to 1892, and was the Republican candidate for Vice President in 1892. He was appointed Ambassador to Great Britain in 1905.

In a brief decision, the United States Supreme Court has ordered the dissolution of the merger of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railroad systems, thus sustaining the contention of the government that it is a combination in restraint of in-

terstate commerce, and in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. The court makes this declaration: "While the law may not be able to enforce competition, it can reach combinations which render competition impracticable." The action of the court is interpreted generally as another step in the direction of making the anti-trust law an effective check on illegal combinations and as putting a damper upon talk of further anti-trust legislation.

The Board of Arbitration between the railroads and their 30,000 engineers, who demanded an increase of wages, made their report on November 25. The Board does not grant all of the engineers' demands, but establishes a substantial increase on most of the roads. The award is retroactive, running for only one year from May 1, 1912. This means that within five months the railroads of the East probably will be confronted by further demands from the engineers and again may have to meet the possibility of a strike. The award probably brings the railroads face to face with demands for increased wages by the firemen and other employes. It also will probably cause a renewed attempt on the part of the railroads to raise freight rates.

The New York Journal of Commerce is apparently much worried about the movements of what it calls the "protectionist Democrats." It says: "It is not surprising that protectionist Democrats are planning a kind of tariff league in Congress whose object it shall be to prevent the drastic reduction of rates of

duty. This is entirely in line with what had been expected. Ever since it became evident that there was good reason to look for a Democratic victory, protected interests have been hard at work to prevent the development of low tariff ideas. Reports that some of the Western men have already formed a combination or agreement with respect to wool and ores are denied, but the fact that the disposition of many Democrats is to resist reductions, and that they are ready to resort to such political methods as may be necessary to carry their notions into practice, is unquestionable. The methods employed in reshaping the House tariff bills in the Senate last year gave abundant evidence of the point of view of these legislators."

OFFICERS' MEETING.

A meeting of the directors and other officers of the Home Market Club was held at the Parker House on Tuesday, Dec. 3, 1912.

President Dowse presided and the following officers were present: John Hopewell, Louis B. Goodall, W. H. Pridee, W. H. Chase, H. Carlton Slack, Channing Smith, Richard S. Russell, F. B. Macy, Charles Sisson, L. D. Cole, Lew C. Hill, Lyman B. Goff, Charles H. Hutchins, D. Webster Dixon and Thomas O. Marvin.

Thomas O. Marvin was re-elected secretary and D. Webster Dixon treasurer.

Hon. Charles H. Pearson of Brookline was elected a vice-president of the Club.

President Dowse opened the discussion on the tariff situation and the way in which the Club should en-

deavor to meet it. Remarks were made by all the officers present, and Mr. Hill moved that when this meeting adjourned it should be to a date early in January.

Upon motion of W. H. Chase it was voted that a committee of five consisting of the president, the secretary and three other members, named by the Chair, be appointed to formulate plans for the tariff action of the Club, such committee to report at the next meeting. The Chair appointed the following officers to complete the committee: Louis B. Goodall, of Goodall Worsted Co., Sanford, Me.; Charles H. Pearson, of Chelsea Clock Co., Chelsea, Mass.; Channing Smith, of Chapel Mills Mfg. Co., Cherry Valley, Mass.

Mr. Lew C. Hill said it would be appropriate for the Club to recognize the able services of its late secretary, Colonel Albert Clarke, by obtaining a picture of Colonel Clarke to be hung in the offices of the Club, and the following committee was appointed to carry out this object: Lew C. Hill, John Hopewell and W. H. Pridee.

THE "POPULAR WILL" AND THE TARIFF.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

The New York Globe asks, "What is the popular will on the tariff question?" Wilson seems to think that his election was caused by a demand for revision of the tariff, or at least professes to believe that it was, but no unbiased observer of events will agree with him. Wilson is a minority President. The combined Roosevelt and Taft vote exceeded his vote by over a million, and the reasonable presumption is that those who voted for those candidates are protectionists and are opposed to any advance

in the direction of free trade. There is also good ground for the belief that many who voted for Wilson are protectionists. As a matter of fact, the issue was not fairly made, and the result can in no sense be regarded as a mandate from the people to strike down American industries. If Wilson acts on the assumption that there is such a demand, he will speedily come to grief, but the fact that he will make others grieve is the chief concern of the American people.

PORTRAIT OF COLONEL CLARKE.

To Be Unveiled in Vermont State House.

The Vermont Legislature has adopted a resolution for a joint committee of the Senate and House to arrange for the unveiling of the portrait of Col. Albert Clarke, the former Secretary of the Home Market Club, with appropriate ceremonies which will take place probably some time after the holiday recess. The portrait, which will be hung in the State House, was presented to the State by Mrs. Ellen L. Pierce, of Rochester, Vt., a relative of Colonel Clarke. The artist is Scott Clifton Carbee of Boston, a member of the Boston Art Club, Copley Society, and the Vermont Association, of Boston, and was painted about a year before Colonel Clarke's death. The portrait is life-size, showing the head and shoulders, and has been pronounced an excellent likeness by all of the Colonel's friends who have seen it.

Mr. Carbee is also a Vermonter, being a native of East Concord. That his work is appreciated in Vermont is shown by the fact that three of his paintings now adorn the walls of the State House, two being

ex-Governors Ormsbee and Prouty, and the other Chief-Judge Rowell of the Supreme Court.

OBITUARY.

RICHARD O. CHENEY, of the firm of Cheney Brothers, silk manufacturers of South Manchester, Conn., and a long-time member of the Home Market Club, died on November 14, aged 71 years. The cause of death was Bright's disease, Mr. Cheney having been ill for some time. Mr. Cheney was born in Manchester, Conn., March 1, 1841, and was the son of Ralph and Jerusha B. Cheney. He was educated in the public schools of that town, and upon his graduation from the Hartford Public High School entered Brown University, where he remained for two years, leaving in 1859 to enter the employ of Cheney Bros. He was connected with the several departments of the company, finally becoming manager of the yarn department. As the business expanded Mr. Cheney was made a director of the company, holding that office at the time of his death. He was also president of the South Manchester Railroad, which was built by Cheney Bros., and was a member of the Veteran Association of the Hartford City Guard. Mr. Cheney is survived by his widow, three daughters and one son.

ROBERT KNIGHT, said to be the owner of more cotton mills than any other individual in the world, died at his home in Providence, R. I., November 26, at the age of 86. He was born in Old Warwick, R. I., Jan. 8, 1826, and was the son of Stephen and Welta (Brayton) Knight. One of his brothers, the

late Stephen A. Knight, was prominent in the affairs of the Home Market Club for several years. Robert's first mill employment was as a bobbin boy in the Cranston Print Works. His brother Brayton opened a small store in one of the mill towns and prospered. He took Robert in as a partner. The future mill owner was thrifty. He had saved much and was in comfortable circumstances when he took a position as a clerk in a Pontiac cotton mill. His employer was elected to the United States Senate. Mr. Knight rented the mill for \$5,000 a year. At the end of a few years he bought it out for \$14,000. This was the nest egg of his tremendous fortune. Thereafter Mr. Knight was connected with the industry, either as operative, manager or owner, until his death. With his brother, Benjamin B. Knight, he took control of many of the mills operated by A. & W. Sprague, which failed for \$25,000,000 in 1873. Since his brother's death, fifteen years ago, Robert Knight came into control of twenty-two spinning, weaving and finishing establishments. The mills have more than half a million spindles, 12,000 looms and 6,500 operatives. He is survived by two daughters and two sons—Clinton P. and Col. Webster Knight—who are in the same business as the father.

CYRUS ELDER.—On Saturday, December 14, Cyrus Elder passed away. He was one of the old line Pennsylvania Protectionists. During his youth, his uncle, William Elder, was a leading editorial writer on the New York Tribune, and subsequently an effective lance on behalf of the Morrill tariff. Cyrus Elder served in the

Union army, wrote "Man and Labor" and furnished other Protectionist ammunition. He was for many years in the legal service of the Cambria Iron and Steel Company. The flood of 1889 numbered his wife and elder daughter among its victims. Of late years Mr. Elder lived a comparatively retired life, wrote poems of decided merit, translated fragments from the German and prepared an edition of Spurzheim. A man of his wide experience, plus being the nephew of William Elder and the brother-in-law of James M. Swank, had a knowledge of Pennsylvania,—legal, business and journalistic, equaled by few.

CONGRESS IN BRIEF.

The final session of the present Congress opened on December 2. No business was transacted, as both houses adjourned early out of respect to the late Vice President Sherman and deceased Senators and Representatives.

Dec. 3. Bills were introduced in the Senate for the abolition of the Electoral College and the direct election of Presidents and Vice Presidents; to extend the drop letter one-cent postal rate, which now prevails in small towns, to all cities; the Fowler financial bill; and pensions of \$10,000 yearly for ex-Presidents and \$5,000 for their widows.

Dec. 4. In the House, a bill was introduced to establish free mail delivery in cities having second and third class post-offices. The legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill was reported in the House. It carries \$34,897,105.50, a decrease of \$319,027.88 from the bill of the previous session. An item

making ex-presidents members-at-large of the House, with a salary of \$17,500, was stricken out; also an appropriation for the continuance of the Commerce Court. The House passed the Adamson bill for the physical valuation of railroads. The bill came over from the last session and was up before the House on a special rule arranged in the last session. It has been regarded as simply a measure for political effect and is still regarded as political buncombe and it is expected that the bill will get no further in Congress.

(From Dec. 5 to Dec. 10, the proceedings in either house were of little public interest, the Senate being occupied almost exclusively with the Archbald impeachment trial.)

Dec. 10. Senator Sutherland introduced a bill to allow pecuniary indemnification to persons wrongfully convicted of crime in United States courts. In the House, Mr. Hanna introduced a bill to place all fourth-class postmasters on a minimum salary of \$400.

Dec. 11. The Senate interstate commerce committee was instructed to frame anti-trust laws. The House passed a bill to repay Southerners for property seized by the Government after June, 1865. Also, adopted resolution for holiday recess from Dec. 19 to Jan. 2. Mr. Rodenberry introduced a joint resolution to prohibit intermarriage of negroes or persons of color and Caucasians.

Dec. 12. The post-office appropriation bill was reported to the House. It carries \$281,791,508 for next year's expenses. The bill contains no provision for the repeal of the act of last session which requires newspapers to file statements of circula-

tion, owners, stockholders and bondholders. Representative Bowman, of Pennsylvania, whose seat was contested by Geo. B. McLean, Democrat, was unseated by a vote of 152 to 118, but at the same time the House refused to seat the contestant by a vote of 88 to 181. It was charged on the floor that the latter had been guilty of the same practices as were alleged against Bowman. The seat from the 11th District will be vacant until March 4, when it will be filled by John J. Casey, a Democrat, elected in November.

Dec. 14. In the House, Mr. Mott, of New York, introduced a bill to eliminate the objectionable features of the newspaper publicity law.

Dec. 16. In the House, Mr. DeForest introduced a joint resolution proposing a constitutional amendment to make terms of Congressmen four years. Mr. Berger (Socialist) of Wisconsin, introduced an absurd bill, providing that the Government condemn and buy the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad properties.

THE TEXTILE WAGE.

From Fibre and Fabric.

It would be difficult to classify men and women compelled to work for a living, so that all classes would be satisfied. But the workers in our textile mills are in a distinct class, and owing to the perfected machinery employed in our textile mills the unskilled workers are naturally in one of the low classes. There is no more reason for paying a green mill worker \$15 a week to perform \$6 worth of labor than in paying an unskilled street laborer \$30 to \$35 a week which is the wage of a skilled

brick-layer. The man laying bricks has a profession and a responsibility that is important. Mind as well as muscle must be employed and he is paid for what he knows as well as for what he does, and the laborer shoveling dirt has no care except his own personal safety.

In the mills the automatic machinery has practically removed the mind work of the operative, and good eyesight and strong limbs are the chief requirements of the unskilled hands. In some departments skilled help is absolutely necessary and where so necessary it is paid a wage that is entirely satisfactory to the operative if not to the labor leader and his following of irresponsible green hands.

A family of five Italian workers, a father, mother, two boys and a girl earned about \$1 a day in their own country. Two years ago they came to America and the whole outfit went into a textile mill. The first week's wage was \$24. They were a thrifty family, all except the mother went to night school, and at the end of two years they are in the same mill and the mother receives \$50 to \$54 every pay day. An unfortunate relative of the family keeps house and takes care of two to four boarders and over \$2,000 stands in the mother's name in the local savings banks.

The two boys and the girl are fast becoming skilled workers, a marriage is in prospect and then the family will break up, the father and mother going to a farm that is to be purchased before spring and the daughter takes the mother's place in running the old home. The parents know that they could never become

skilled and they turn to the soil where they will make a fine living and put away money. No labor agitator can reach this family. But, unfortunately, such help is in the minority. The majority seem to have no idea of value gained by education, and naturally their wage is based upon what they produce, and no argument will hold that calls for a higher wage.

SPITEFUL TARIFF ACTION LIKELY.

To the Editor of the Protectionist:

According to reports from Washington, there appears to be little change in the attitude of the Democratic leaders toward the shoe tariff. It is said the Democratic Congressmen from various sections still insist that the duty shall be removed from shoes. The shoe trade may as well be alive to the actual situation. A strong fight will undoubtedly be necessary if the small protection which now exists is to be retained.

No logical reason has been advanced by anyone as to why this industry is aimed at. Shoes have never been sold at an exorbitant price and it can readily be proved that none of the important staple articles of wearing apparel cost the consumer less, considering cost of production.

If only as a principle of fair play it is the duty of the Democratic leaders, or the proposers of the new tariff bill, to give reasons why the shoe industry of the United States is to be discriminated against. Is it a mission of spite? Is it their purpose to obtain lower priced shoes for the consumers, or what is the motive be-

hind it all? There surely is one, now what is it?

The shoe manufacturer, or the shoe worker, would be the last to complain if all industries were accorded similar treatment. It is the act of being discriminated again at which the shoe trade may justly complain.

The results to be netted by this

Democratic bill at its best would not be lower priced shoes, but the likelihood of demoralizing the industry. This blow would fall most heavily on the person least able to bear it—the employe in the shoe factory. Shoes will never be much cheaper in this country while producing costs and materials are on such a high plane. EDWARD S. GROVER.

A REVENUE TARIFF.

Hon. Andrew Stewart, a representative from Pennsylvania, in a speech delivered in opposition to the Walker Act of 1846, which is quoted in Mr. George B. Curtiss' great work on "The Industrial Development of Nations," presents a clear and able exposition of the "Revenue Standard" for fixing tariff duties. Mr. Curtiss speaks of it as the only extended discussion of the subject to be found in our tariff literature, and we quote it below:

"Here was the rule by which the duties were to be laid. The moment an American manufacturer had succeeded in supplying our own market, and began to thrive in his business, that would be a proof that the duty was too high for revenue. It was no longer a revenue duty, but a protective duty, and it must forthwith be reduced. As the American furnished more goods to the country, less foreign goods would be imported, revenue would be dismissed, and the duty must come down; that was the rule. And now, Mr. Stewart would ask, under such a

rule as this, what man in his senses would invest a dollar in manufactures? What was the prospect before him? The moment when, by industry and enterprise, he would succeed in getting the better of his foreign competitor, down with the duty. If a shoemaker or a hatter, by making better or cheaper hats or shoes, had got possession of the market, the eye of this free trade system fastened on him like a vulture. The Secretary found he was doing too well, and the duty must be reduced to let in the foreigner. Such was the plan of this administration. The mechanic, finding his protection thus diminished, and having no other resource but his business, would go on to work longer and to work harder than before, and when, by working out of hours, he had contrived to get over the opposition of his own government, and began to get together a little profit, the same doctrine would repeat the process; the duty would be evidently too high; down with it. The "poor man" would now take his children

from school and bring them into the shop. They, too, would now work, while the man himself worked harder and harder. But what would be the result? It would only bring him under the Secretary's rule; the duty must be again lowered, and still go on to be lowered, more and more, till at last this free-born American must be ground down by the action of his own government to the degraded and wretched condition of an English pauper or Russian serf. The moment an American laborer succeeded by his exertions in shutting out foreign competition, the foreigner must be let in and put over him. What sort of rule was this? For whom would one suppose it to be made? For the American manufacturer, or the European?

Clearly it was a rule for the benefit of the foreigner. And could an independent and intelligent American consent to live under such a rule? The moment the American rises to his feet, in this struggle with foreigners for the American market, he is to be knocked down by this executive poker. And this was their American system. Mr. Stewart insisted it was a British system. It was just such a system as Sir Robert Peel would have recommended, could he have spoken through President Polk as his trumpet; its practical, its universal operation would be what he had just now described. And would the House endorse a system like this? This was the far-famed "Free-trade" system, now for the first time promulgated by an American fiscal officer. Oh how this tender-hearted Secretary did love the "poor man." His love was so great that he would bring him

down to a level with the British paupers.

Since the improvements in steam, the cost of transportation is comparatively nothing. Take off the duty, and the British workshops would be brought to our door. Suppose these British laborers were in Alexandria, working at twenty-five cents; was any man so blind as not to see that they must soon break down the workmen of Washington? The employer would soon begin to talk to them in a very intelligent language: "My competitors in Alexandria get labor for twenty-five cents a day, and you must take the same or quit." Now, where was the difference, whether the distance was a little greater or a little less? The practical operation of the system would be just the same. And this was the blessed system of free-trade. The workmen of England and France would work cheaper than ours, and free-trade doctrine held that we must buy wherever we could buy the cheapest. Down went the duty, in came foreign goods, out went American money; and out and out it went till we had no more money to send, and the people and their government became bankrupt together. And now Mr. Stewart would ask the members of this committee, and his countrymen generally, whether the adoption of such a plan would not be equivalent to passing a law that henceforth no further capital should be invested in manufactures? It was of the nature of a notice beforehand, and it ran in this wise: "Gentlemen, you may invest your money in such a way as you deem best; but we here notify you that, as soon as you have sup-

plied the American market, and we find that, in consequence of your success, imports begin to diminish, the duties must be reduced, and foreign goods must be let in, until we get revenue enough to pay all government officers."

With such a notice before him, who would engage in manufactures? Who would invest the capital he had received by inheritance, or had accumulated by his own enterprise and toil, with the certainty before his eyes that, just as soon as he began to gather a little strength, to acquire a greater skill to improve the modes of labor and to realize its reward by getting the better of foreign competition, he must be knocked down, and the foreigner let in to ruin him? The doctrine was this: we must have revenue; our salaries must be paid, and revenue must be had; and you (the people) must not manufacture, because, if you do, we shall not get as much revenue. He put it to gentlemen to show him whether this would not be the plain operation of the rule.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF BENEFITS.

BY THEODORE JUSTICE.

Wages average 40 per cent. higher than during the four years of the last Democratic administration, which is in strong contrast with conditions prevailing through Cleveland's last term when wages were so low. One of the most astonishing features of this contrast is in the fact that everything that is now manufactured in the so-called Protected industries, even with the 40 per cent. higher wage, is cheaper than ever before in the history of this nation.

The only thing bought by labor that costs more today than in 1896 is food, yet, notwithstanding the higher cost of food, the average cost of all commodities, including food, is no higher now than then. A day's labor will purchase more for the comforts of life here today in the United States in 1912 than ever before in the history of this country, and from two to five times as much as in Europe.

In the recovery from the panic conditions, under the Payne-Aldrich Protective act we find the savings of the labor and salaried classes, despite the higher standard of living now enforced by them, have swelled to an incredible amount and within one year over two and three-quarter billions have been expended for articles of luxury unknown to the laboring classes of the rest of the world. For some of these trifles our people have spent, say, \$25,000,000 for such a useless article as chewing gum, \$78,000,000 for confectionery, \$322,000,000 for soda water, \$800,000,000 for jewelry to gratify the desire for personal adornment, and \$1,524,000,000 for tobacco.

What greater evidence would anyone want than these circumstances which show that beyond any question the Protective benefits of the Tariff go almost wholly into pay envelopes of the laboring classes who are enjoying under the Payne-Aldrich act many luxuries that are beyond the reach of laboring people of other nations.

Contrast the United States with England, which pays the highest wages in the world outside of the United States under a system of Tariff for revenue which is the idol of the Democracy. According to the

evidence of an eminent British economist, one-third of the population of Great Britain is now facing poverty.

WHAT THE TARIFF DID FOR FLORIDA.

BY F. G. R. GORDON.

Some time ago I made a visit to the land of flowers and took the occasion to investigate a bit of the great cigar industry of that State. I found, for instance, that over 100,000,000 cigars are produced daily in Key West and 300,000,000 a day in Tampa. Before the cigar industry came to these two Florida cities Tampa was a little one-horse town of six to eight thousand people and Key West was almost nothing. This country is the chief market for what are known as Havana cigars. The tariff on cigars is high; the tariff on what is known as Havana tobacco is low. The reason for this from a protective tariff standpoint is, first, that very little real Havana tobacco can be raised in this country, and Havana cigars can be manufactured in Florida as well as in Cuba. Since the Dingley tariff bill was enacted a large number of Cuban cigar manufacturers have moved their business to Florida. Key West has grown to over 20,000 population and Tampa has become a city of nearly 40,000. The thousands of cigar makers receive just about forty per cent. higher wages in both Key West and Tampa than they did in Havana. The consumer pays the same price for his Havana cigar, so no one is harmed, except directly, Uncle Sam loses a little revenue, which he would get from imported cigars, but our

big Uncle more than makes up this loss from the revenue which he receives indirectly from such live cities as Key West and Tampa. This cigar business has added more than 40,000 people to Florida. These people are large consumers of the products of other labor in the United States; for instance, we sell four or five pairs of New England shoes in Tampa now where we sold only one pair before the cigar factories came in, and this is true of all products.

In a nut-shell: Labor has been benefitted 40 per cent.; Florida has largely added to her wealth and prosperity; the United States has a greatly expanded home market for her products; Tampa has become a modern up-to-date smart city and Key West is coming fast; the consumer has not been harmed either in price or quality, and the protective tariff did it.

THE GREAT CONSTRUCTIVE DEMOCRAT.

When John T. Morgan died the whole country felt that a genuine student, a tireless worker and a clear-headed patriot had left the world. Even though the Isthmian Canal is following the Panama instead of the Nicaragua route, Morgan is in no slight degree entitled to the credit of the movement. For years he never allowed a session of Congress to pass without a powerful deliverance in favor of the Nicaragua plan, and these speeches, though a superficial critic might deem them fruitless, were among the most effective this generation has heard. Congress might have railroad questions, financial problems,

tariff measures, pension bills, and twenty other matters on the carpet, but it could not adjourn without hearing from Morgan that we ought to have, that we must have a waterway across the Isthmus. He was not a mere partisan orator, "a good enough Morgan until after the election," but a statesman who never wearied. He might speak to a throng or to a handful; his language was sometimes eloquent, at other times his sentences reeled under statistics and his paragraphs swelled into long editorials. Nevertheless he kept the great issue of trans-Isthmian communication before the country, and his name in history stands beside that of a still greater Democrat, Thomas H. Benton, who spoke so long and so ably for the Pacific Railroad he was never to see.

Every student of political affairs, every bright boy in a debating school, would put Morgan high on our list of statesmen. Without questioning his claims, claims that cannot justly be questioned, it may be said that Morgan owes no small share of his reputation to the fact that he was a constructive man in a party poorly supplied with constructive material. The Democratic party, it is true, once had plenty of constructives. Jefferson brought in the Louisiana territory; Jackson brought us Florida; Cass transformed Michigan from a French settlement into an American State; the Democratic party annexed Texas; tyrannically as it treated Mexico it still worked for a greater United States; even in its worst days before the war it was trying to construct, though it was building in the interests of slavery. General McClellan, the accomplished railroad engineer

and the matchless organizer of troops; De Witt Clinton the wise and painstaking champion of a great canal system, represented the older, stronger, constructive types of the Democratic party.

But since the war the Democrats have had very few men whose names are linked with great constructive measures. Tilden was an astute railroad lawyer and a speculator of uncommon shrewdness; General Hancock's experience was purely military, though he had surveyed an excellent route and had the management of a department to his credit. Mr. Cleveland's fame is not due to any remarkable measures he favored, but to the fact that he headed off the follies of Democratic radicals. Mr. Bryan's record is rather kaleidoscopic. Since the days of their downfall in 1860 the Democrats have given to Congress the sparkling wit of Sunset Cox; the legal knowledge of Allan G. Thurman; the Parliamentary skill of Randall and Carlisle; the eloquence of Hendricks and Vest. They have had well-read lawyers and partisan orators in plenty; Bland has talked for silver; Reagan has tried to crush the railroads; Morrison and Mills have led anti-tariff movements; but Democratic ability has shown itself in negative, not positive channels. The financial system, the tariff system, the Homestead Bills, the Pacific railroads, the Panama canal bear witness to the positive tendencies of the Republican party. It has been the part of the Republicans to give us deeds, deeds, deeds, and the part of the Democrats to give us words, words, words.

It is only a partial answer to this

to say that the Democratic party has usually been unable to control legislation. When it was in control its leading achievement was a tariff bill so unjust and unfair that David B. Hill voted against it and Grover Cleveland refused to sign it. Had the Democratic party been strong in constructive men it would have been in control more than half the time

since the death of Lincoln. It has been lacking in the constructive, and for this reason Morgan towers like a giant among most of the leaders of his party. His abilities were marked, his learning was encyclopaedic, but he owes his fame largely to the scarcity of constructive material in the ranks to which he adhered.

R. R.

VARIOUS VIEWS OF THE PENDING REVISION.

Improve the Opportunity.

Early in the new year the present committee on ways and means will begin hearings on tariff revision. The Democratic members of that committee, who will prepare the actual bills to be submitted first to a Democratic caucus and later to the next house, overwhelmingly Democratic, profess already to be pretty well informed on the matter, but they are willing to hear anything the country's industries—sometimes known as "interests"—have to offer. This opportunity New England manufacturers are urged to improve, as it is generally understood that the committee has precious little sympathy with the industries of this section. The cotton and shoe trades especially are concerned with the rates which may finally be written into the new law. It is contended that they would be put out of business by the Underwood bills passed at the last session and it is up to them to get the best terms possible in the new ones. How successful their representatives will be in impressing the committees we shall know when the measures are reported.

—Lowell Courier-Citizen.

No "Offhand" Tariff Revision.

The Democratic members of the ways and means committee are evidently not of President-Elect Wilson's alleged

opinion, as reported by the Associated Press just before his departure for Bermuda, that the task of tariff revision downward can be accomplished as it were offhand and "without extended hearings."

The committee announces that beginning on Jan. 6 it will devote every Monday, Wednesday and Friday to tariff hearings, and hopes to be ready to formulate a tariff bill by the end of the month, by giving not more than two days to any of the fourteen schedules. That is certainly little enough time for some of them.

We venture the opinion that the committee will find public sentiment demanding so much more consideration of tariff questions that it will be barely ready to report anything like a complete tariff bill to the extra session which the president-elect has promised to call.

Anyway it is consoling, in view of what always has been the effects of the Democratic tariff tinkering on the country's prosperity, to learn that it will not be undertaken in quite the offhand manner that Mr. Wilson's views presaged.—Chicago Inter-Ocean.

Without Injustice to Industries.

The tariff will be revised in the interests of the consumers, and without doing an injustice to any of the great

American industries.—Pueblo (Colo.) Star-Journal.

Effect on Connecticut Industries.

There are several industries in Connecticut that will be seriously crippled if the new Congress should pass, and President Wilson approve, tariff bills such as the House passed a year ago. Bridgeport has several such industries. If the Southern tariff bills become a law these industries will surely close down, for a long time at least, only to reopen with a big cut in wages. There is no doubt about it and the man at the head of these concerns should go to Washington and make their statements, even if they think it will do no good.—Bridgeport (Conn.) Post.

The Command of the People.

If the Democrats, after the command given by the people, do not destroy this iniquitous system and devise new tariff schedules which will increase the revenue by stimulating importations at the prices by which the general consumer will benefit—if they fail or falter in the execution of the unmistakable command laid upon them they will be driven from power just as certainly and as impressively as the Republican party has been. Nothing can be more certain than this.—The New Orleans States.

A Proposed Tariff Policy.

No one wishes any radical change in the tariff. That it has produced a bad artificial state is true, and to adopt a logical system at once would tear things to pieces. So we must get into a new and better state of affairs gradually, just as a sick man by slow stages emerges from his ill health into a normal condition.—Santa Cruz (Cal.) Sentinel.

Intolerable Confusion.

The Democrats are showing ominous signs of division among themselves in the matter of the tariff, and the dispute between the conservative and radical wings is a worse menace to the nation than the prospect that duties may be lowered, however sweepingly. The outcome may be speedy agreement, chaos

of mere negation of all action, but whatever it is to be the nation should know it as soon as possible. A very few months of stumbling about in the dark will cause intolerable confusion and probably some nasty tumbles in the industrial community.—Christian Science Monitor.

Heresy.

The rapidity with which Democrats are getting away from the Baltimore platform's declaration that a tariff for revenue only is the only constitutional tariff deserves the attention of Mr. Bryan, who made the platform and is, we believe, entitled to wear the decoration which Governor Wilson conferred upon him as "the one fixed point in the Democracy." Here is the "Charlotte Observer," which ought to be orthodox, saying, "We favor a moderate middle tariff which will raise some revenue and also give some protection where it is needed, and which benefits all the people."

What is the matter with our Tar Heel friend? Didn't it learn from Governor Wilson during the campaign that protection couldn't possibly benefit anybody, not even the protected manufacturer? And can there be a loyal Carolinian of such latitudinarian principles that he would violate the constitution to secure protection, even if it would be beneficial? We are shocked at such heresy in a Democratic paper. "The Observer" couldn't do worse if it were a Republican protectionist, with its talk about "protection where it is needed." Mr. Underwood ought to be on guard against such advisers.—New York Tribune.

Has Eye on Southern Democrats.

The highest tariff rates do not mean the highest wages. Statements and pledges of purpose by the Democratic leaders, from Governor Wilson to members of the ways and means committee, indicate that the hearings are to take place and the tariff bills are to be framed on the principle that the tariff is a tax, felt in proportion to its amount, and inuring to the benefit of

the manufacturer by the limitations which he can place on his wage payments. Consequently, the changes which are to be made will be only of a character to afford consumers price reductions which they sadly need. A few Southern Democrats would proceed in a less educative and soothing manner. But they are not likely to have their way.—Providence Journal.

Wilson's Pledges.

It may be that some of the radical element in Mr. Wilson's party will insist upon sweeping, drastic changes in our fiscal and economic policies, involving an upheaval of our industries and grave uncertainty as to our financial methods. But we believe that President Wilson can be trusted to demand that the solemn pledges on which he secured his election by the aid of hundreds of thousands of Republican votes shall be carried out faithfully.—Leslie's Weekly.

Wilson and Panics.

Somehow the country is not likely to worry very much over the possibility of "artificial panics" such as President-elect Wilson defies with such spirit. The money devil who revels in panics is indeed a familiar ogre of the nursery tales of back country regions, but nobody has ever identified him, nor discovered just who it is that would be so much better off with a panic than without one that there would be a motive for instigating a panic.

Mr. Wilson is a little sensitive about panics. Tariff revision always unsettles business, and when the revision is expected to be drastically downward it operates as a check to plans for very far ahead. This might show itself as a little slackening up of the prosperous activity that has been going on up to the present month. But nobody now expects the assembling of the new Congress next spring to revise the tariff will do more than make business a little slow in some lines, and it may not do even that.

The only possibility of really bad times would lie in the possibility of a really bad tariff law being enacted. President Wilson will be able to attend

to that. He has made promises enough that prosperity shall not be disturbed by any tariff revision in his administration.—Brooklyn Standard.

Sobered by Responsibility.

So long as the Republicans were able to thwart any move to reduce the tariff as proposed in Democratic platforms, the Democrats went forward bravely to put their professed principles in practice, knowing, as Underwood had said, that their bills would not become law. Now that they are soon to have the opportunity to make their bills law, they are already balking. Can Wilson drive them or coax them to take the jump, knowing as they do that the majority of the voters, though divided on other issues, was of one mind in favoring protection? If Wilson can do this, he has greater power to bend men to his purpose than was displayed by the strong-willed Cleveland or the strenuous Roosevelt.—Portland (Ore.) Oregonian.

Protection to Remain.

Senator Simmons, of North Carolina, is entitled, by right of seniorage, to the chairmanship of the finance committee. It is this committee which will take the house tariff bill in the extra session and do with it that which it wishes and thinks best. Senator Simmons for all he is a Democrat and for all that he subscribes to the Democratic pronouncement that the Constitution prescribes that a tariff for revenue only is alone lawful, is a protectionist. He supported not only every schedule which affected the interests of his state, but also many other schedules touching industries in which his constituents were not interested. There is no reason to believe that Senator Simmons has ceased to be a protectionist. As chairman of the finance committee, he will have more power than ever to protect his state. That he will use the power it would be foolish to question.

The instance of Senator Simmons indicates two things: That the Democrats have only a historic or academic interest in the tariff-for-revenue-only idea; and that there is no reason for anyone to dread lest the Democrats will destroy

the country's prosperity and themselves by revising the principle of protection out of existence.—Toledo, O., Blade.

Statement of Ownership, management, etc., of *The Protectionist*, published monthly at Boston, Mass., required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912. Editor, Thomas O. Marvin, 77 Summer St., Boston, Mass.; Publisher, Home Market Club, 77 Summer St., Boston, Mass.; Owner, Home Market Club, incorporated under Massachusetts laws, but has no bonds or stock. As *The Protectionist* is devoted to the science of political economy, it should be classed as a scientific publication and we claim exemption under the law; known bondholders, mortgagees, or other security holders, none.

THE PROPOSED INCOME TAX.

It is a Sectional Tax to Benefit the South and West at the Expense of the East.

From the New York Tribune.

If we must have an income tax why should it be confined to incomes exceeding \$5,000 a year? Those who are drafting a measure in anticipation of the early acceptance by two more states of the pending constitutional amendment are planning to exempt incomes of smaller size. But if an income tax is a good thing why shouldn't practically everybody bear his share, though it be a trifle, and be made to feel his sense of responsibility for the government? One of the chief virtues of a direct tax is its stimulus to individual interest in the expenditures of the government. Indirect taxes, such as customs duties and excises, exert no pressure on the voters for economy. Neither does a direct tax which operates only on comparatively few,

and they the ones who would be least likely to take an interest in the personal saving which might result from administrative economy.

An exemption of \$5,000 would free from the operation of the income-tax the vast majority of the voters of this country and encourage them to support reckless waste at the expense of the few. Outside of the large cities incomes exceeding \$5,000 are comparatively rare. If the purpose of the law is merely to levy upon a particular class and section the proposal can be readily understood and its adoption would go far to justify the charge that its aim was not greater equality of taxation but exemption of the vast majority of the people from taxation at the expense of the inhabitants of the chief cities. Throughout the larger part of the country the man with an income of \$5,000 is well to do. A few years ago he would have been thought rich. He enjoys all the luxuries of civilization in the village or small city. In New York, however, and to only a less degree in Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, such an income means far less. High rents and the excessive cost of living in a great city leave its possessor with a much smaller margin for comfort or for saving than the recipient of the same income elsewhere enjoys. That is one of the difficulties of an income tax levied in so extensive a country as this, in which local conditions differ so much. It is bound to operate unequally, placing a disproportionate burden on residents of sections where money will purchase the least. This disproportion is exaggerated when the exemption is placed so high as practically to free

from the tax the abundantly prosperous of the country taken as a whole, while including in its scope those who can live far less amply in the centres of population.

Perhaps the Democrats in Congress want to penalize the people of the great cities, especially in the East, for the benefit of the well to do in the Southern and Western States. The old Populist notion that the cities of the East were the homes of vice and predatory wealth is influential, and maybe the design is to throw almost the whole burden of the income tax upon them. A small exemption is proper to save expense of administration in collecting trifles and to relieve those who in any section would find the tax a real hardship. But there is no justification for the entire exemption of those who throughout the greater part of the country are capitalists, and for all practical purposes of comfort and luxury much further removed from the struggling masses than the dwellers in New York apartment houses who find themselves just comfortably poor on incomes which would mean handsome homes and automobiles in a country town.

THE WOOL TARIFF.

From the Textile World Record.

Throughout all the agitation over the textile tariff during the last four years wool manufacturers have been unanimous in their support of a tariff on wool. There have been sharp differences between them regarding the form which the wool duty should take, but, so far as their public statements were a guide, they have been as firm in the support of a duty on wool as on wool goods. This was

the basis on which the issue was presented to the voters, and on which the new administration received its mandate to revise the textile schedules. Any attempt now to secure a revision of the tariff on a free wool basis would come into conflict with the understanding of wool growers, wool manufacturers and the public. Moreover a duty on wool is not only part of the general understanding, but it is an essential part of any fair revision of the woolen schedule. Despite the figures which are advanced to prove that wool growing in this country is a declining industry, there can be no question but that the United States is suited by nature for the production of wool in great variety and large quantity. These conditions make a duty on wool as necessary as one on goods.

The wool duty is not only justifiable from an economic standpoint, but it is a political necessity. Wool is a product principally of the Middle and Far West. It is consumed principally in mills located in the East. That being the industrial situation any demand from the East for free wool would be accepted in the politically dominant agricultural sections of the West and South as proof of their oft repeated charge that the East is mainly interested in getting everything free that goes into the mills and everything protected that comes out of the mills.

While this talk of pensioning ex-Presidents is going on it might be remarked that, desirable as it is that some provision should be made for them by the Nation, it has not so far been recorded that any of them have ever been in actual want.

THE FREE TRADER AND THE
RUSSIAN.

Now and then Free Trade editors inform us that the artisans of Protectionist Russia receive lower wages than those of Free Trade England, and ask why the Russian tariff has not elevated the operatives to the British level. There are several reasons.

Three hundred years ago serfdom was almost dead in England, and the Russian masses were serfs fifty years ago. England's tariff duties were for long periods extremely high, or, if tariff duties were not sufficient, special legislation was passed to aid the home producer. For instance, the export of raw wool and the import of woollen cloth were both prohibited, while at one time law decreed that no dead body should be laid in the ground without a woollen shroud. Russia's forward movement is a thing of yesterday, and she cannot in a few decades reach the point that England has reached after centuries of growth. A detailed study of the numerous, the severe, even the cruel Acts of Parliament in bygone years will show how Great Britain developed her industries, and neither Russia nor any other country can imitate the prophet's gourd that grew up in a night.

Furthermore, Great Britain was for generations a refuge for the skilled workmen of the Continent, iron workers, brass workers, wood carvers, weavers, painters, masons and carpenters who dreaded the Spanish tyrants in the Low Countries fled to England. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes sent

thousands of the best workmen of France across the Channel. With one hand beckoning expert mechanics into her ports, England with the other shut off all opportunities of leaving her shores. For long periods skilled artisans were not allowed to emigrate or were forbidden to take their tools with them, and even after all these restrictions were abolished it was still a penal offence to export British machinery. The country which gladly welcomes skilled laborers into her borders and did all she could to prevent their departure, built up an industrial system which newly enfranchised serfs cannot, in a half century, equal.

The sympathy of the Free Traders for the Russian workman is oppressive. At times we are pathetically reminded that men have toiled in Russian factories for thirty cents a day, but it is not said that these operatives, when they were agricultural laborers, rarely earned more than ten cents a day. The growth of manufacturing towns in many portions of Russia and the investment of American capital in Russian enterprises are rarely mentioned by the Free Trade editors. It is safer to dwell on the impossible and lament because Russia has not reached it than to acknowledge that Russian development under the influence of Protection has been so amazing that "all the world wondered."

Men yet living can recall the days in which in Great Britain and America it was a penal offence to form a labor union or attempt to advance wages. It is not long since a long procession of workingmen in the streets of St. Petersburg called

for an old age pension, full pay for the time they were out on strike and an eight hour day. They may not get all they ask at once (few mortals do) but that such demands are boldly made is a striking fact. The son of the Russian serf today asserts himself with a boldness that the Anglo-Saxon of seventy years ago dared not show. His rapid forward march is one of the wonders of history.

"Lest we forget," the Russian, be it said, is not an Anglo-Saxon, not a German, not a Huguenot or a Hollander. Fundamentally he is an Asiatic, and to expect him to bound into Anglo-Saxon conditions is vain. But he is a progressive, a Christianized Asiatic, and he belongs to a great nation. Freedom gave him a chance, and Protection is showing him how to use his freedom. Conceding that he has not reached the level of the long-established workshops of Great Britain, no reasonable person could expect that he would. A better subject for editorial treatment, and we respectfully submit it to our Free Trade contemporaries, would be, "The Russian Laborer and His Grandfather," or "Russia Before and After Emancipation," or "The Effect of the Tariff on Russian Industries." No Protectionist from Hamilton to Carey ever claimed that high duties would work miracles. But Protection here has stimulated industry, rewarded capital, encouraged labor, and built up great manufacturing plants. It is doing the same thing in the lands of the Czar. R. R.

A Free-Trade Republican is no better than a Free-Trade Democrat so far as the saving interests of the country are concerned.—Des Moines Capital.

THE "SAVING" OF TARIFF REVISION.

From the Detroit Free Press.

A. Maurice Low, in his monthly letter to the National Review, of London, says that Congressman Oscar W. Underwood prepared for him a table showing that if all the tariff bills passed by the lower house during the last session of Congress had become law there would have been a gross saving to the people of \$700,000,000 a year.

But, if you will take a pencil or even do a little mental arithmetic, you will discover that there is really no more than an insignificant saving involved for each individual in this vast sum of money. The amount of \$700,000,000 a year, when it is divided among a lot of us, means just about fourteen cents a week apiece. To get this fourteen cents a week we must risk dangers of the gravest sort. The sum, trifling as it appears to the individual consumer, may easily mean calamitous disaster to the producer looking through the other end of the spyglass. If it is saved it comes off either wages or profits, or in part from both. Somebody must lose it if the consumer is to gain it, and the somebody is the manufacturer and the wage-earner.

It is a serious venture to endanger the enormous process of American industry for the sake of fourteen cents a week. Is it worth while to risk bad times for fourteen cents a week?

THE UNDERWOOD TARIFF BILLS.

From the New York Tribune.

The Washington correspondent of The New York Evening Post tells a story which throws much light on the past and some on the future of Democratic attempts at tariff revision. He says:

Several weeks ago a New England protectionist said to Oscar W. Underwood, chairman of the Ways and Means

Committee of the House of Representatives, during a visit to Alabama:

"Don't you know, Mr. Underwood, that if your bill reducing the tariff on cotton textiles had become a law it would have caused a panic in the cotton industry?"

Mr. Underwood did not admit that he knew any such thing, but he said: "We knew that it would not become a law."

There is a world of significance in these two remarks as regards the changed point of approach from which the new Congress will meet the subject of tariff revision. It is serious business now, not politics.

That is exactly in line with what Republicans have been saying about Mr. Underwood's popgun bills and completely justifies Mr. Taft's vetoes. Now that the Democrats face the real work of tariff revision it is evident that their own supporters will not stand for the reductions which they proposed in order to deceive the people. The Southern Democrats, who were perfectly willing to delude the voters with visions of sweeping reduction in the cost of cotton goods and of sugar, are now beginning to consider Southern interests in cotton mills and sugar plantations. The Evening Post correspondent predicts a stronger protest against cutting down cotton duties from the South than from New England. And the sugar schedule, he says, threatens even more embarrassment.

We are far from glorying in the prospect of these troubles. We should like to see the inevitable revision of the tariff made speedily, and result in increased prosperity for the whole country. But Republicans have a right to some satisfaction, in view of the reproaches directed against them, over admissions

that the bills the President was blamed for not signing were not made to be signed, and over the evidence that the Democrats are as much hampered by the pressure of business interests as they were blamed for being.

LABOR AND THE RAILWAYS.

A. Maurice Low, in Harper's Weekly.

The wages of railway employes in the United States during the last few years have kept pace with the extra burden thrown on all classes by the increased cost of living. What this advance of wages has meant can be seen at a glance in comparing the total payrolls for different years. In the last fiscal year the railways paid to labor, in round figures, \$42,000,000 more than would have been required had the wage schedule of 1910 been in effect, and \$69,000,000 more than the wages of 1909 demanded. Expressed in percentages, the 1911 wages were four and three-tenths higher than they were the year before, and seven and four-tenths greater than those of two years earlier. This is all the more striking because there were 31,000 fewer people employed on the railways in 1911 than in 1910, although the railway mileage of the country increased more than two thousand miles in that time. Mechanical and other appliances made it possible to reduce the men necessary to operate trains.

The wages of enginemen and conductors have steadily risen during the last decade; and it may be added parenthetically that when the wages of one class of labor employed by the railways are increased, all other

classes enjoy a corresponding advance. From \$3.20 in 1900, the wages of conductors rose to \$3.90 in 1910, and those of engineers, during the corresponding period, from \$3.70 to \$4.55. This is not the maximum, but the average for the entire country, as there are some engineers making as much as \$2,800 a year, and some firemen \$1,700.

The pay of the engineer has advanced with the retail cost of his food, as the accompanying chart shows. It will be seen that since 1900, with a single exception, there has been a steady advance in the price of living. Prices in 1903 were a shade lower than in 1902, but since then they have every year mounted higher. The same thing has happened with the engineman's wages. From 1900 to 1904 there was a steady advance every year; they were a trifle less at the end of 1904 than they were at the beginning of that year; from then until 1908 they went upward without a check; at the end of that year they were a bit less than at the opening, recovering again in 1909 and going forward to the highest point known.

Of every dollar received by the railways from the public for the carriage of passengers or freight practically fifty cents goes to the labor employed in operating the road and twenty-five cents for the purchase of supplies, to produce which labor, of course, has to be employed. The remaining twenty-five cents is absorbed by dividends, interest, taxes, and improvements, and the last item is also a labor charge. It is interesting to note, as the chart shows, that of forty-nine representative roads selected, only one, the Pitts-

burg & Lake Erie, is able to set aside fifty cents out of every dollar of revenue for dividends, improvements and surplus, while all the other roads consider they are doing well if they can save the quarter for those purposes. The great railway systems of the country, such as the Baltimore & Ohio, the Boston & Maine, the Pennsylvania, the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, the New York Central, the Vandalia, and others divide the dollar evenly with labor. Some roads, like the Buffalo & Susquehanna, and the Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley & Pittsburgh, while they run their labor-cost a trifle below the average, more than make it up in money they have to spend for supplies. Taking the railways of the country as a whole, the persons who profit most by them in the way of actual money received are not the people who own the stocks and bonds, which represent the capital invested in the railways, but the men who operate the trains and keep the tracks in repair and lay new rails, for they get fifty cents out of every dollar, while the stockholders receive between five and six cents.

VANISHING COTTON MILL PROFITS.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

Two of the oldest and best managed cotton mills in New England, the Grinnell and the Wamsutta, have failed to earn their last dividend. Five mills in Fall River have passed their dividends and fourteen have reduced their rate. The average return on Fall River cotton mills, which are conservatively capitalized and free of water, is only 4 per cent. this year, against 5 per cent. a year ago and 6.74 per cent. in 1910. This decline in profits at a time when the coun-

try is supposed to be enjoying exceptional prosperity is of weighty importance. The shrinkage is attributed almost entirely to concessions to labor in the form of higher wages, new legislative burdens, workmen's compensation, etc. And still the agitation for higher wages continues. One of two things must happen. Either the cotton industry must face ruin and extinction if these demands are acceded to, or the labor leaders must come to their senses and realize that they are leading their followers the way of industrial suicide.

SOUTHERN VIEWS OF TARIFF REVISION.

From the Christian Science Monitor.

The South gave its solid electoral vote to Woodrow Wilson, thereby indorsing the platform upon which he stood. To the South, as to the rest of the country, one of the most important planks in that platform has to do with tariff revision. It is only proper to say that southern Democrats, like all other Democrats, are far more conservative when in power than when in opposition. The opportunity of making a sweeping revision of the tariff now presents itself to the Democracy. It will soon have the presidency, the House and the Senate in its hands. It will soon be in virtual possession of the economic as well as the political machinery of the nation. It can cut and slash the schedules, or it can pare and trim them. It is interesting to note what conservative southern opinion, as represented by a conservative southern newspaper, would have the Democratic party do.

The New Orleans Picayune is Democratically orthodox enough to say: "Up to the civil war the tariff on foreign goods furnished the whole of the revenue for the support

of the government. Of course, the national government at that time was not extravagant, for the country was under the political control of the Democratic party, and the doctrine of the party at that time was 'tariff for revenue only.'" This fixes the Picayune's political basic faith with sufficient clearness. In a long and thoughtful editorial it goes over the situation as it stands at present, and finds, among other things, that the tariff is only an incident in current affairs and is by no means responsible for the high cost of living. Prices have been going up all the world over, in free trade as well as in protection countries. There is manifest prosperity in the United States and the burden of the high living cost is not, therefore, felt here as it is elsewhere. It is pointed out that the manufacturing industries of the United States represent a total investment of \$16,000,000,000, that they employ 6,000,000 persons, and that they distribute \$3,500,000,000 in wages annually. These industries, the Picayune says, would have been impossible but for the tariff. And it adds: "These 6,000,000 work people have had employment and been able to live in a certain degree of comfort, if not contentment, through this employment, and it would be a frightful calamity to turn them all out of employment by any sudden blow to the industries in which they are employed."

The South has her industries. They are growing in number and in strength. It is no longer New England, or the East, or the middle West that is affected by tariff changes, or threats of tariff changes. The South is just as sensitive to tariff revision or tariff tinkering as any

other part of the Union. But the Picayune makes no appeal on sectional grounds. It says simply that radical revision would be ruinous to the industries and business of the nation, and it concludes with this admonition: "Then let our wise men study and understand the situation before they plunge the people of this great country and their means of existence into sudden and irreparable ruin." President-elect Wilson has promised to do his part to prevent any such disastrous outcome, and the part he can play will be a great one. He will need, however, and he doubtless will have, the support of the conservative South. What is needed all round is a better understanding of the tariff than that which the people obtain from partisan politicians in the heat of a political campaign.

THE TARIFF AND FOREIGN TRADE.

From the New York Tribune.

The international commerce of the world—that is, the aggregate of the foreign commerce of all nations—has doubled, we are told, in twenty-two years. That is gratifying progress, especially since the population of the world is not increasing at anything like that rate. A hundred per cent. in twenty-two years! In the words of the man on the street, that is surely "going some."

At the same time, as we pointed out the other day, the foreign commerce of the United States has doubled in thirteen years. The foreign commerce of this tariff-dammed land, shut in behind a barrier which was, as we are assured, devised for

the purpose of isolating us from the rest of the world and of barring us from foreign markets, is increasing and expanding nearly twice as fast as that of the world at large. For the whole world a hundred per cent. in twenty-two years! For the protectionist walled-in United States, a hundred per cent. in thirteen years!

Really it is high time for Mr. Wilson to hasten home and lead his followers in a Princeton College yell, a "long locomotive and a tiger," for free trade and against the tariff which holds us back, the great "dam against which all the tides of our prosperity have banked up," in building which we "chose to have as little to do with the rest of the world as possible." Oh, horrid dam!

PROTECTION FOR NEEDLE FACTORIES.

"Of course," says the Boston News Bureau, "like other companies in its class, the Torrington Co. cannot escape if there is to be any radical reductions in the tariff now protecting the industry, but the company's officials are not worrying over the matter, and are disposed to believe that nothing extreme in the line of lower duties will eventuate."

"The necessity of protecting American labor now employed in the manufacture of needles is at once appreciated when it is known that the labor item constitutes an overwhelming proportion of the company's operating expenses. For instance, in the manufacture of a given quantity of needles \$7.60 represents the labor cost, while only 16 cents represents the cost of the raw material. Our wages are double the European scale paid for the same class of work."

The Protective Tariff principle is the foundation upon which our prosperity rests.—Berkeley Springs (W. Va.) Post.

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77 Summer St., Boston.

Vol. XXIV. No. 10.

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THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress.

THOMAS O. MARVIN, Editor.

Signed articles are not to be understood as expressing
the views of the editor or publishers.

VOL. XXIV.

FEBRUARY, 1913.

No. 286

TARIFF PROSPECTS.

An Anomalous Situation—The Effect on Business—Protection
Is Constitutional and Promotes the Prosperity
of the Country.

By Thomas O. Marvin.

Whether or not a realization that a majority of the votes at the recent election were cast for candidates who stood on platforms which endorsed the protective policy will modify to some degree the character of the new tariff measures is still a matter of conjecture. No one can tell how the recent political events will be interpreted. Will the fact that the Democrats received only 40 per cent. of the popular vote sober the more radical elements in the party or will they consider their phenomenal success in winning 83 per cent. of the electoral vote as a mandate to go as far as they like? With a large majority of the people in favor of protection, will the representatives of a minority feel justified in completely changing our fiscal policy?

It is because the situation is anomalous and unprecedented that predictions as to what action will be

taken are exceptionally hazardous. The fact that business has not been more noticeably disturbed indicates that there are many who believe that only moderate changes in our tariff laws will be made. And yet there is no disguising the fact that the future is viewed with apprehension by many men in industries where a considerable lowering of the tariff would invite ruinous foreign competition. Although, as a leading trade paper has said, "all are going ahead as if there would be clear sailing and the Democratic victory were only a bad dream," yet "all are marching up a blind alley, hoping there is a way out at the other end, though none can be seen at present."

The fact that some degree of optimism still pervades business circles is highly creditable to the popular estimation of the President-elect and of the strong man who is to guide the deliberations of the ways and

means committee. It is recognized that patriotism is not bounded by party lines and that the leaders of the new administration have at heart the best interests of the country. If they make mistakes, it will be mistakes of judgment and not of the heart and if trouble comes it will be because their theories are at fault and their policies are wrong and not because their motives are not high and honorable.

Doubt concerning the future does not rise from any fear of the personal integrity of the leaders of the new administration or from any question of their good intentions, but from apprehension of the effects of the policies which they will try to incorporate into law. If the policies which they endeavor to promote overthrow the established system of the nation the measure of the disaster cannot be overestimated.

Business Rests on Protective Tariff Basis.

When President Taft said that "the business of the country rests on a protective tariff basis," he stated a plain and simple fact. The business of the country was placed on a protective tariff basis deliberately and unequivocally. The policy of protection was adopted by the first American Congress and incorporated into the first tariff law passed by the federal government. It was approved by Washington, who said, "Congress have repeatedly directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible." It was approved by Jefferson, who said, "Experience has

taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort," and asked, "Shall we suppress the impost and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures?" It was approved by Madison, who said, "It will be worthy the just and provident care of Congress to make such alterations in the tariff as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture." It was approved by Monroe, who said, "Our manufacturers require the systematic and fostering care of the Government. Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials." It was approved by Andrew Jackson, who said, "The great materials of our national defence ought to have extended to them adequate protection, that our manufacturers and laborers may be placed in fair competition with those of Europe."

Such was the policy adopted by the founders of the government and the framers of the constitution. How brash are those who would challenge the constitutionality of protection. We owe the policy of protection to the men who drafted the constitution. Who are the best authorities on the constitutionality of a protective tariff. Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe or William Jennings Bryan?

And yet the platform which Bryan wrote for the Democratic party and which was adopted by the convention at Baltimore last July declared "it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government under the constitution has no right to impose or collect tariff duties, except

for the purpose of revenue." If that is a fundamental principle of the Democratic party then Thomas Jefferson was not a Democrat and a long line of the saints and martyrs of Democracy are read out of the party. Andrew Jackson must have anticipated Bryan's tariff plank when he said, "The right to adjust duties with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry, if not possessed by the general government, must become extinct, and our political system would present the anomaly of a people stripped of their right to foster their own industry and to counteract the selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations."

Protection Has Brought Prosperity.

Thus, under the provisions of the constitution, which authorizes Congress to levy taxes on imports from foreign countries to raise revenue, to regulate commerce and for the general welfare, it is both legal and proper to pass tariff laws for other purposes than revenue only, and this custom has the sanction of over a century of national legislation.

From the day when the pen of Washington made our first tariff law effective, the tariff laws of the United States have been constructed, with rare exceptions, on the definite principle of encouragement to American industries, and protection to American labor. The results of this legislation have made us the most prosperous nation of the world, and led Bismarck to urge Germany to imitate the tariff system of the United States, "because," he said, "it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly

due to its system of protective laws."

The tariff making power of the government is now in the hands of a party which has only once, since the Civil War, incorporated its economic theories into law. The effects of that one experiment prostrated the industries of the country and banished the party from power.

The country does not desire another such experience, and it is because it is the general expectation that, not the plank which declares protection unconstitutional, but the plank which declares that they "will not injure or destroy legitimate industry," is to be the guiding motive of the Democratic party in the approaching tariff legislation, that the prospect of a new tariff law has not unsettled business to a greater extent.

Mr. Bryan in a recent issue of the *Commoner* asked, "Why all this discussion as to what should be done on the tariff question? The path is clear, immediate reduction along the lines laid down in the platform." But there were two lines laid down in the platform, one would abolish protection and levy duties for revenue only, the other would safeguard our industries. Along which line the legislation will proceed is the transcendent question of the day. One path leads to continued prosperity and development. If the other is adopted, "God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

Negotiations are under way for a merger of the subway lines in London. Would not such a merger be in the nature of a trust, and have we not been informed that trusts are not possible in a Free-Trade country?—*Troy Times*.

SLASHING THE TARIFF.

Democrats Preparing for the Fray—Hearings Will Be Ineffective
—Southern Control in Both Houses of Congress—
Corporations May Go to Canada
and Elsewhere.

From Our Washington Correspondent.

Washington, Jan. 20, 1913.

The work of the Ways and Means Committee of the House in giving tariff hearings this month has been illuminative. It has enabled many manufacturers and others interested in the development of the nation to file with the committee, and have printed, statements concerning the tariff and the leading industries, which ought to be of value in framing a bill, but which are not likely to be given much consideration. Fifteen minutes was the time allotted to the representative of each industry who wanted to be heard. A Democratic member of the committee asserted that they scared away many witnesses by requiring them to be sworn. But there is nothing to substantiate that assertion, as many persons were not heard because of lack of time.

Vetoed Bills to be Made Laws.

Enough cropped out in the way of remarks by Chairman Underwood and others to indicate their purpose to pass again the same bills that were vetoed by President Taft, and to frame others of a similar nature. But Mr. Underwood seems to have learned something since the election, even if his Democratic associates have not done so. His readiness to give hearings is one evidence

of that fact. At the first and second sessions of this Congress he was very positive that hearings were "altogether unnecessary." Now he has given them. But nearly one-half of the members of the committee listening to these hearings will not be members of the next Congress, and the members who will take their places will not have the benefit of the testimony. It appears that there will be about 5,000 printed pages of testimony, many of them in small type. Congressmen, particularly such men as a rule as get on the Ways and Means Committee, will not undertake to read the testimony. It would require too much time. Then it is the purpose to have some of the bills ready soon after the next Congress meets, probably on March 17. Hence the men who will become members of the committee after the next Congress meets will have little or nothing to do at least with the framing of some of the bills.

The Men who Will Make the Bills.

Messrs. Underwood, Harrison of New York, Shackleford of Missouri, Kitchin of North Carolina, Rainey of Illinois, Dixon of Indiana, Hull of Tennessee, Hammond of Minnesota, Peters of Massachusetts, and Palmer of Pennsylvania, have

been reelected and constitute the Democratic majority of the committee, and will unquestionably reaffirm the work that they have done in the present Congress in the way of framing tariff bills, which work has been repeatedly approved by President-elect Wilson. It is strange that it has taken so many seemingly intelligent men so long to appreciate that fact. The Wall Street speculators were nearly all for Wilson. They asserted that no harm would be done to business by Wilson and the Democrats. But industrial, and all other stocks for that matter, have been declining since the election, with big freaks occasionally, such as that which followed Mr. Wilson's Chicago speech. He asserted there that he was "progressive," and that the banking system of the nation had been "convicted," and that monopolies, which he said were fostered by the tariff, must be abolished. Later he said that his Cabinet would be made up of "Progressives," and he has given out other declarations indicating a purpose to "sweep things." Naturally that alarms business men. But they have no excuse, at least those who did nothing to prevent the schoolmaster from being made President.

Who Wilson Confers With.

All of Mr. Wilson's conferences have been with radical Free Trade Democrats. It is generally believed here that Mr. Bryan will be Secretary of State, if he will accept the office, and that the remainder of the Cabinet will be of the Bryan stripe. That means extreme Free Traders. Both in the House and in the Senate there are men working to bring about changes in the organization.

The Southern methods of conducting elections assures the return of practically the same men to each Congress. As a result all of the important committees are under the control of Southern members. The appropriations committee in the only important committee of the House with a Northern chairman, but the majority of the Democratic members of that committee are from the South. Agriculture, banking and currency, census, coinage, District of Columbia, education, foreign affairs, immigration, Indian affairs, insular affairs, interstate and foreign commerce, irrigation, judiciary, military, naval, patents, pensions, post-offices, public buildings, public lands, rivers and harbors, rules, territories, war claims, ways and means and other committees have Southern chairmen, and, as a rule, a Democratic majority of Southern members.

A Poor Showing for Northern Democrats.

Excluding Missouri the Northern States are represented by 108 members and have the chairmanship of only one important committee, appropriations, and of the majority of that committee the South controls. But the South, excluding Missouri, with 107 members controls 25 important committees. The majority from the North will be largely increased in the next House, but the Southern members propose to control the committees as at present. Against that there is an attempt being made by Northern Democrats to get their fair share. But as President-elect Wilson is understood to favor retention of control by the South the effort will probably fail.

The seniority rule in the Senate

may be broken. Under that rule old Southern Democratic members would practically control every important committee. Martin of Virginia, Simmons of North Carolina, who expects to be chairman of the Finance Committee, Smith of Maryland, and some others are suspected of being too conservative. Hence the radical Free Traders such as Gore of Oklahoma, Smith of Georgia, and Stone of Missouri, are at work to upset the Seniority rule, and Wilson has shown his approval by holding frequent consultations with them. The chief aim of the radicals is to carry through the House tariff bills. In that they are likely to succeed, as they expect assistance from La Follette, Poin-dexter and other so-called Progressive Senators. It looks as though Mr. Roosevelt was anxious to help in that work. His open effort to defeat Mr. Burleigh, of Maine, after the latter had received the nomination of the Republicans for Senator, looks to party members here as an exhibition of vindictiveness hardly to be expected from Roosevelt who professes to favor a Protective tariff. The defeat of Burleigh might mean the passage of radical free trade bills, as the Democrats are by no means sure of a safe majority in the Senate.

Tariff Hints from Underwood.

In the tariff hearings Mr. Underwood gave utterance to some of his views, which will unquestionably control in the preparation of the tariff bills. He said that he regarded silks as a luxury on which the duties should only be reduced sufficiently to induce imports, so as to get a

large revenue. In other words, he is ready to sacrifice American labor to get a revenue from imports of foreign goods. When the hearing was proceeding on lumber, etc., the Democrats indicated a purpose to admit free rough and dressed lumber, hewn and squared timber, shingles, lath and fence posts. The necessities of life it was said would be put on the free list, which means meat, and all agricultural products. The Canadians are expecting a great "boom" for them as the result of such legislation. They would have less freights to pay to reach our principal markets than would be the case with the great majority of the American farmers, and they would be protected in their own market. Mr. Underwood thinks that the tariff should be reduced on woolen goods, tin plate, automobiles, and on all other articles so as to induce imports to increase the revenue. Of course everything of that kind imported means that much less produced at home and consequently many Americans thrown out of work, with the wages of all others reduced.

Mills To Go to Other Countries.

The steel trust has announced a purpose to locate and operate a \$20,000,000 plant in Canada. They would then have the advantage of that protected market, and with lower duties could export to the United States. It is explained that they would be able to export from Canada to Australia, New Zealand and other British colonies having advantage of lower rates than they now obtain. There are reports here of the intention of quite a number of other large corporations to move to

Canada, Europe and elsewhere if the tariff is lowered sufficiently to interfere with their present domestic trade.

Mr. Underwood says that the tariff will be reviewed from beginning

to the end, and that separate bills will be prepared. But as to whether or not some of these bills may be combined, and save time in their passage through Congress will be for the Democratic caucus to decide.

WOOLEN MILLS OPERATING WITH CAUTION.

By Winthrop L. Marvin, Secretary and Treasurer National Association of Wool Manufacturers.

The wool manufacture of Massachusetts—an industry in which this state is foremost among all the states—has had a year of markedly active business in 1912. This is not saying that there have been no apprehensions for the future, for there have been fears real and acute. But these have related to the new year and the later months of that year. Underlying conditions in the business world have been such that a fair degree of prosperity among the woolen mills of Massachusetts in 1912 could not very well have been prevented.

The years 1910 and 1911 were relatively inactive and disappointing in this industry, which had been the particular target of bitter political and sectional attack. The course of events in those years was such as to encourage importers and European manufacturers rather than American.

But two years of halting and reduced production had finally left the American market—by far the greatest market in the world for real

woolen fabrics—well-nigh bare of manufactured goods. The people had to be clothed, though times generally were far from prosperous. Old and worn-out garments had to be replaced.

An improvement in the demand for woolen fabrics became noticeable in the closing months of 1911. Mills that had been running only a portion of their machinery had received enough small but urgent orders to justify an increase of production or operation on full time. The year 1912 came in with a briskness and buoyancy of feeling in this industry that has not been felt since 1909.

Business generally had improved. The purchasing and consuming power of the whole American people had become more nearly normal. The manufacturers of ready-to-wear clothing, who supply the needs of probably nine-tenths of the inhabitants of this country, found a vacuum, as it were, to fill in the clothing market, and were encouraged to place orders with the mills for fab-

rics of all values from the cheapest to the finest.

Effect of Lawrence Strike.

Then came the serious strike in Lawrence, affecting some of the largest worsted factories in the country and compelling for two months a considerable decrease in production. When the strike had ended, even increased wages, not only at Lawrence but elsewhere in the textile centres, could not secure a sufficient supply of labor.

During most of 1912 the woolen production of this country has been restricted below a possible maximum by a scarcity of labor to operate cards, combs, spindles and looms. This has been the fact, though American mills pay twice, and often more than twice, as much money for spinning a pound of yarn or weaving a yard of cloth as do similar mills in Europe.

Out of a total production of \$507,219,000 worth of woolen goods in the United States, fully \$137,764,103 worth, or more than one-fourth of the whole, is turned out by the woolen mills of Massachusetts. The active mill business of the year has given prosperity to the great Boston wool market, the most important on this continent and the second greatest wool market in the world. Receipts of raw wool, American and foreign, at Boston for the 10 months up to Nov. 1, 1912, were 333,676,903 pounds, as compared with 204,933,413 pounds in the same 10 months of the year preceding. Not only has this immense amount of wool been received here, but most of it has been sold for consumption. The year closes with a very small stock of wool on hand in the warehouses

of either the merchants or the manufacturers.

Coming Tariff Changes.

If there were to be no tariff revision, or if there were to be a revision undertaken with intelligence and care, the wool manufacturers of Massachusetts and the wool merchants of Boston—most important factors in the trade and prosperity of the commonwealth—would be looking forward tranquilly to another year of active and fairly profitable business.

As it is, no man can know what next summer will bring and the business is being conducted with the utmost caution. There is no disposition in the industry to condemn the new administration in advance. There is some hope that a better revision measure than the wool and woolen bill, twice presented in the House of Representatives and twice vetoed in compromise form by President Taft, may be secured—that the House measure may be broadened and improved before being presented for the signature of President Wilson.

That original House bill was framed by public men who, whatever their personal merits may be, were as a rule wholly unfamiliar with the conditions and needs of the vast textile industries of New England. The Gorman-Wilson tariff law of 1894-1897 had given to American wool manufacturers their raw wool free of duty, and a net protection on their manufactured products of 40 and 50 per cent. Yet this measure, through the ease with which the ad valorem duties were evaded by foreign manufacturers, had turned one-half of the American market over to Europe

and had destroyed the business of one-half of the American mills.

What the Business Fears.

The new Democratic revision of schedule K as presented in 1911 and 1912 by the House of Representatives imposed a duty of 20 per cent. on raw wool and gave to manufacturers a net protection averaging between 32 and 33 per cent.

It is the universal belief of practical men acquainted with the woolen business that such rates as these would bring grave disaster to the industry on which thousands of our Massachusetts wage-earners depend for their livelihood.

This fact has been frankly stated to Congressman Peters, the New England Democratic member of the committee on ways and means. It will be reiterated by leaders of the industry at the hearing which the committee have granted on Jan. 27 in Washington. The position of the manufacturers is not the merely stand-pat one that no revision should be had and that existing law is sacred. Like all men they recognize that a revision is inevitable.

All that they protest against is a surrender to the greed of European manufacturers and their agents in the United States. The Americans who are conducting the great woolen industry of this country do not want confiscation and ruin in the name of revision.

Boston has lately had a period of rejoicing over the fact that a German steamship company, backed by the imperial government, had hired a pier in Boston harbor and was going to send a passenger steamship out of the port twice a month. Such a service, of course, is of real and

unquestioned advantage to Boston and Massachusetts, and as such is worth welcoming. But, as a matter of fact, a foreign steamship sailing twice a month from Boston does not contribute to the welfare of the wage earners and merchants of this state by any increase in the purchasing and consuming power of our own people so much as the smallest woolen mill or cotton mill or similar factory in the commonwealth. And there are hundreds of such factories, large and small, that are menaced with a serious crippling or complete destruction of their business by the public men from the remote South and Southwest who will soon have the dictation of our economic policy in Washington.

PRESIDENT TAFT'S RALLY CALL.

Prominent Republicans of the Eastern States gathered on January 4 at the largest dinner ever held in the capacious Waldorf-Astoria hotel in New York, to honor President Taft, and to demonstrate that the party's defeat in the last election had not taken away its resolution to stand by its principles.

The President sounded a clarion call for the party to forget defeat and get together at once for new victories. He made light of his personal defeat, declared the principles advocated by the Progressives would lead to the confiscation of private property, and declared that the 3,500,000 loyal Republicans who voted the party ticket last November and the 1,000,000 other Republicans who voted for Wilson to bring about the defeat of Roosevelt remained as the backbone of what

would once again be an invincible political organization.

The President reviewed at length the work of his administration. He declared the tariff bill was a real revision downward, that illegal combinations had been relentlessly prosecuted, and enumerated many acts of benefit to the country brought about during his occupancy of the White House. The promise held out temptingly in the Progressive platform could not be realized, he said, until the world had practically been made over and everyone was an altruist. We have space for only a few extracts from this speech, which was of much length.

Some Causes for Defeat.

Although we entered office in the shadow of a recent panic, during the four years of this administration business has revived, confidence has returned, widespread prosperity is at hand, the demand for labor is greater than ever, and the standard of wages for all classes of labor is higher than ever before in our history.

Now, under these conditions, what was it that impeded my progress as a candidate, and what was the political disease of which I died? I am hopeful that when historians conduct their post-mortems it may be found that my demise was due to circumstances over which I had no great control, and to a political cataclysm which I could hardly have anticipated or avoided; but, whether this be true or not, even friendly critics are able to point out personal reasons why it was that, though I went in, I also went out, with large majorities.

It has been charged against me that I am an aristocrat, and that I have no sympathy with the common people, and I have no doubt that this impression has gone abroad and has settled deep in the minds of many people. Now, I don't think it is true. I think I am as sympathetic with the common people, as earnestly desirous of their happiness, as

anxious to see that they have justice accorded them and that they enjoy their rights under the law and Constitution as completely as anyone. I believe most profoundly that popular government is the best government that we can have, and I am greatly concerned that it shall continue and be successful in giving to the people at large the best measure of individual liberty on the one hand and the greatest practical efficiency in government on the other. It may be that in my earnest desire to make government efficient I have not always explained that I believe that to make government efficient is to work directly in the interest of the common people.

My administration has come and gone in a period of unrest and agitation for something intangible which it is difficult definitely to describe. We have lived during the last four years, and are living now, in an atmosphere of strenuous denunciations of certain evils and loud aspirations for an ideal state in which the common people are to become happier, the poor and the oppressed are to acquire property and cease suffering, and much or all of the change is to be accomplished through the agency of the government.

The accumulation of swollen fortunes during the two decades preceding, and many of them by improper means—that is, by a violation of the anti-trust law or the anti-rebate law—aroused a feeling of just indignation and set the tune to public addresses. The notes of denunciation of the malefactors of wealth on the one hand and of promises of rectifying such inequalities by governmental means and increasing the equality of opportunity among the poor rang pleasantly in the ears of the people. They made for the popularity of those who produced the sweet tones, assuring better conditions and a complete social reform, all by means of elections and governmental action.

To the enthusiasts, however, the necessity of turning all the activities of the government into plans for the amelioration of the particular dependents whom they have under their observation becomes exigent, and they look to the government as an instrument for immediate relief.

Now, I am sorry to say that I have been so educated, indeed, I have had so much to do with actual government in the administration of justice, in the working out and building up of a government, as in the Philippines, and in trying to make a government better in Washington, that I cannot join in the glowing promise that government action can remedy all of the evils of poverty, sin and disease and ignorance, as set forth in the prospectuses of an ambitious political party. I cannot help asking by what special means these reforms are to be accomplished. In what way are we to perfect equality of opportunity except by more uniform enforcement of law and by making the government more economical and more efficient? Is there any better way of helping all the people than to have the money collected for taxes spent economically to accomplish the purpose directed by law? Is this not greatly more in their interest than the eloquent exploitation of impracticable theories of reform that can never be carried out by governmental machinery, but must depend for their realization upon the improvement and strengthening of individual character? And thus I find myself out of tune, because I want definite methods pointed out, so that we can direct governmental energy along the lines to be shown.

The Republican Party Still a Force.

The result of the Chicago convention was a triumph for the permanence of Republican institutions, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated, and I wish to emphasize this, in order that it may be known that we meet in no spirit of despair, but rather to rejoice in a victory for law and order and the institution handed down to us by our fathers.

It is true that we were defeated at the polls by our oldtime opponent, the Democratic party. It is true that they are now going to work out again the problem of eating your cake and having it, too, by showing how it is possible to change from a system of protection for manufactured industries to one of a tariff for revenue only without affecting the industries to their detriment and without halting production or lowering wages. It is true that we are to wit-

ness an attempt to satisfy the crying need for a new banking and currency system by a plan which is to embody as many as possible of the features of the Aldrich Monetary Commission plan, disguised as much as may be so as to permit denial of any resemblance. It is true that we are to witness a change of officeholders from Republicans to Democrats, and we are to see how economical the new administration is to be, as compared with the old.

We have been through this before. It may be that this time they can do what they have not succeeded in doing heretofore, and, if so, and they can maintain the prosperity of the country at its present record level, then we can be Americans before we are Republicans and rejoice at their success. If they can vindicate their claim that they will reduce the cost of living to a moderate point by reducing the tariff, then they will be entitled to point to this as an achievement fulfilling their promise and vindicating their policy.

If this was all there was to the situation I doubt if we would have this dinner—I doubt if we would be here in such great number, because this recurrence of the traditional action and reaction between the two old parties in respect to economic policies is not one so exceptional as to call for noteworthy celebration.

The Spirit of Unrest.

It has already been pointed out that there is a spirit of unrest among the people, and that this spirit is what has brought about the division of the Republican party into the present Republican party and the Progressive party.

We are told that the spirit of unrest demands progressive measures that shall bring the people more directly into the operation of their own government; that shall emancipate the poor from the burden of poverty; that shall introduce social justice, relieve oppression, banish dishonest methods from business and establish a society founded on altruism and the highest Christian principles of morality. We enthusiastically approve and adopt all these ideals of society, in which every member is to be prompted by love and charity for his fellow men; in which there is to be no

suffering or poverty, because they are to be relieved through the just and generous conduct of those who have toward those who have not.

But what we contend is that in the progress toward such higher ideals, toward a society governed by purer ethics than those which have obtained, we shall not throw away the limitations of law and the principles of government, which have been attained after thousands of years of struggle, which constitute an assurance to each individual in the community against all invasion by other people, whether many or few, of his life, his liberty, his right of property, his right of freedom of religion, his right of free labor, his right of free contract and his right to pursue happiness in his own way, subject only to the limitations that he yield the same right to others.

Danger in Unrestricted Majority Rule.

It is said that we mistrust the people if we assume that the majority will ever do an injustice. In other words, the contention is that the vote of the majority is always right. Well, as the majority in passing upon a given question determines sometimes one way and sometimes another, in which case is it right?

If the wisdom of our fathers and of the long line of able men who have fought for popular government has led to the introduction into every scheme of government of restraints to prevent injustice by the majority to the minority or an individual, what is there that has happened in recent years to make us feel that a change has come over the character of majorities, so that they may not exercise the tyranny that they have exercised in the past, and in respect of which they have been restrained by constitutional limitation? How are the inequalities of society to be wiped out? How is government to insure happiness to the individual? Is it by equal distribution of property? Is it by taking from one man that which is his and giving it to another who has not earned it? I submit that this is the ultimate result of a thorough analysis of all the theories advanced by the progressive party.

The great and tremendous advantage of the right of property is that it fur-

nishes a motive for man to exercise industry and self-restraint, and the more he improves the general prosperity of the community in which he lives, and so the more he helps his fellows. He gives them an opportunity to labor and to save and thus to increase the general accumulation of capital, its general use and its general product, and with the increase in the general product the opportunity for better material living grows, and with the opportunity for better material living the opportunity for better spiritual living comes. The moment that by destroying the right of poverty you take away the motive for accumulation, the motive for acquisition, the motive for industry and self-restraint, you take away the impulse which has made the world what it is. That is what the history of civilization has shown. No other theory has worked out and has demonstrated its usefulness.

Opposes Sacrifice of Party Principles.

Now, it has been suggested that the Republican party can unite again with many of the Progressive party if only a different rule can be put into force through the convention of the national committee, by which the reduction of Southern representation could be secured and a fairer method of selecting the candidate for President by the Republican party could be had.

I haven't any objection to any method which shall be fair. That is not a reason for joining or giving up the party. It is the principle that the party advocates that should control one in its support. It is not that the Republican party is desirous of holding office or power, though neither is to be despised, but it is that in this crisis we feel that we have the means of preventing the country from taking a step which, if taken, will precipitate us into governmental chaos, will set the country on a chimerical chase for an ideal that is impossible to realize, and that in this chase the country will lose the inestimable benefits of a permanent, popular government that we have developed after a thousand years of struggle and have created, maintained and preserved inviolate for 125 years of national liberty. We are not bitter; we are not cast down; we are not vengeful.

THE PROTECT.

If the people of the United States can stand a Democratic administration for one, or two, or even more terms we shall certainly not object to their capacity for endurance in this regard; but what we wish to assure ourselves of is that, neither through Democratic radicalism nor through the Progressive radicalism, shall the pillars of our noble state be pulled down and the real cause of the people be sacrificed to dreams of demagogues and theorists.

Let us buckle on our armor again for the battle for humanity and the common people that must be fought.

Let us invite those Republicans who

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BRITISH AND AMERIC

From Our London Cor.

London, January 15, 1913.

It is a common delusion that the supremacy of the British mercantile marine is due to Free Trade; but every student of economics and of history is aware that this supremacy was established long before the advent of Free Trade, being in fact obtained under a stringent policy of protection; such protective policy, I may add, being still in partial existence. For example, the two latest steamers of the Cunard line, which now hold the Atlantic record, are subsidized to the extent of £75,000 each per annum by the British Admirality, which thus secures the right to hire the vessels in the event of emergency; while the same company draws a yearly sum of £68,000 from the English Post Office for the weekly mail service between Liverpool and New York. The total amount paid in this way last year was £430,000, which does not seem

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these protectionist measures are quite in accordance with our traditional policy, of which indeed they have never ceased to be essential features. It is quite clear that, so far as our shipping and shipbuilding industries are concerned, we have never completely abandoned protection; and further, it all proves that our predominance in shipbuilding and shipping, instead of being due to Free Trade, is to a large extent due to the non-application of that policy. This is not a matter of theory or of argument, but simply one of fact. It has been noticed and commented on by foreign writers on economics, such as, for instance, M. Rene E. Bousriere in his work on "La Prosperite des Ports Francais," where he mentions that the British merchant marine is adequately "protected" in seven different ways.

It is interesting to note the development of foreign shipping under protection, from the following official table, which shows the tonnage of steam vessels entered and cleared at United Kingdom ports with cargoes only:

Million Tons.	British.	American.
1880	27.1	5.1
1907	65.5	29.9
1910	64.7	31.3

Showing an increase per cent. from 1880 to 1910 of 239 for British vessels, but 614 for foreign ships. The latter have outstripped us by nearly three to one.

The following table shows the proportion of British to foreign merchant shipping in the ports of the world.

Million Tons.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1894	178	167	345
1906	259	328	587
Increase ...	81	161	242

Under our Free Trade system we have thrown open our shipping trade between Britain and her Colonies, and also the large coasting trade between the ports of the United Kingdom, with the following result:

Net tonnage of sailing steam vessels of British and of foreign nationality entered and cleared in the coasting trade at ports of the United Kingdom.

Annual Average in Millions of Tons.				
Years.	Brit- ish.	For- eign.	Brit- ish.	For- eign.
1880-84	75.4	1.8	97.7%	2.3%
1905-08	111.6	7.6	93.7%	6.3%

Most of the leading nations—if not all—take up quite a different attitude to Britain. Neither France, Russia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, or the United States of America will allow a single British vessel to have the smallest share in the coasting trades of their own countries.

It seems odd that shipping is almost, if not quite, the only industry in the United States which is unprotected. Perhaps this accounts for its slow growth. Several years ago an American statesman said in the House of Representatives, "protect shipowning as you have protected railroads, iron manufacturers, cotton manufacturers, woolen manufacturers and everything else, and you will get the same results."

F. C. CHAPPELL.

The National Wool Growers' Association, in their annual convention at Cheyenne, Wyoming, adopted a resolution voicing their unalterable opposition to any tariff reduction to less than 18 cents a pound on scoured wool.

WOOL TARIFF REVISION.

The Probable Effects of a Radical
Reduction of Duties on the Manu-
facturers—Little Benefit to
Consumers.

From the Textile Manufacturers' Journal.

Without attempting to present in detail the effect that would be produced upon world prices for wool and woollens by placing these upon the free list, we may point to a few of the most evident effects. The Wilson bill, with free wool and a 45 per cent. duty on goods, wiped out about a third of our domestic sheep flocks. An equal reduction in the world's wool clip if made today would have a far greater effect upon prices than it did in the 90s, owing to the greater world demand for wool and the present relatively smaller supply per capita. A shortage of about 250,000 bales in this year's Australian clip forced an advance in prices of more than 10 per cent. By wiping out domestic wool manufactures and cutting off the only outlet for domestic wool it would not be unreasonable to expect the domestic wool clip to be reduced 50 per cent., or an equivalent of over 500,000 Australian bales. This would cause a sufficient advance in the world's price of wool to more than offset any advantage to consumers from being able to buy the wool in their clothing on a free trade basis.

There is being produced annually in this country today approximately 325,000,000 yards of woollen and worsted men's wear and dress goods, aggregating in value about \$225,000,000. Wipe out the domestic mills producing these goods,

wholly or in large part, and pile this extraordinary demand upon foreign mills and every item of cost to the latter would be radically advanced. That part of the total cost of production, made up of labor and various overhead charges, is in this country at least double the charge to foreign manufacturers, and is from 40 to 50 per cent. of the total cost of production. If we allow, for the sake of argument, that it is 50 per cent., there would be a maximum possible saving to consumers in the present domestic cost of manufacturing goods of 25 per cent., or a total of \$56,250,000. But we have shown that the extraordinary demand upon foreign mills, due to the crippling of the domestic industry, would be followed by a radical advance in manufacturing costs. In addition, lack of aggressive competition from domestic mills would allow importers to obtain an extra profit. It would be surprising, in fact, if the selling cost of foreign goods to clothiers and jobbers under free trade were half of the maximum noted, or 12 1/2 per cent., less than at present.

But, assuming for the sake of argument, that the maximum possible saving in cost of woollens to clothiers and jobbers obtained under free trade, it would mean only 56 1/4 cents per capita per year, and how much of this paltry sum does anyone conversant with costs and profits of distribution believe would be turned over to consumers? The cost of the goods in a \$15 suit of clothes does not average over 25 per cent. of the cost to the consumer. No one conversant with distributing conditions could be made to believe that the 40 to 50 per cent. saving in

cost due to free trade would ever be participated in by the consumer.

Even if the maximum possible saving due to free trade in wool and woolens of 56 1/4 cents per capita per year could be certain of reaching the consumer, does anyone conversant with industrial conditions, the interdependence of our industries and the workings of basic economic laws, believe that the loss per capita per year to consumers due to the wiping out in large part of such enormous investments as are tied up in domestic wool growing and wool manufactures would not be much greater than the paltry 56 1/4 cents that is at stake? If so little benefit can accrue to consumers from the total destruction of these great American industries, how insignificant and worthless is the objective of low tariff agitators and Congressmen who are now threatening these industries with radical tariff revision!

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE.

From Fibre and Fabric.

There are but two ways to settle the tariff question. Either protect American industries and let them expand and pay good wages to the hundreds of thousands of operatives engaged in mill work, or remove the tariff entirely and reduce labor to the foreign basis and let America take her chances with the world. Free trade is the proper thing if 40,000,000 men and women compelled to work are ready to lower their standard of living to the foreign basis. It is a perfectly splendid idea, and most of our colleges teach free

trade and send out thousands of young men and young women, full to the brim, with the free trade germ. Most of the women and many of the men are well fitted for school teachers, others are trying to force their way into overcrowded professions and mighty few get right down to brass tacks, and work out a living at manual labor. Those in professions develop the free trade germ and hand it along. Those getting the hard knocks lose the germ in a very short time and become satisfied that working conditions are bad enough, without lowering the standard. They, as a class, know from experience. The others know in theory, and never know from any other viewpoint.

We might go back to the Indian plan. Divide up into tribes and live off the land, and permit foreign manufacturers to supply those who would not go back to nature. But who is ready to exchange the American standard for a lower grade? Who is ready to exchange the trolley for the privileges of "hoofing it"? Yet the trolley company takes out of the average American laborer's purse every day as much as common laborers receive for a half day's pay in some free trade countries. Who wants to exchange steam-heated homes, with gas and electric lighting, telephones, elevators and a thousand minor comforts that cost money for the old-time house, wood fires and kerosene lights. The modern scheme suits the people and there would be a revolution if the people were denied these modern conveniences. The American wage, the highest in the world, permits the American people

to have and enjoy these conveniences, and there would be no unrest if the paid agitators could be muzzled.

There may be a low tariff handed out, but its kick will be stronger than that of the mule "Maud" we read about, and if we get a low tariff it will be in force just long enough to eat up the accumulations for old age of hundreds of thousands of America's best people, the citizen worker. Then there will be an uprising that will clean out the low tariff politician, and there will be a new deal. Many of the paid agitators for a low tariff at the present time will be taking pay then for agitating high tariff. They hunt where game is the best, and it's easy money most of them seek, rather than any public good.

WILSON ON PANIC.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

President-elect Wilson's recent speech has the ring of courage and sincerity. He is facing the Presidency with the right spirit. Some of his economic conceptions, however, raise questions that will trouble thoughtful readers. Apparently he wishes to apply the remedy of "publicity" to those who "cause panics." How will he know the person or persons who are thus guilty? What evidence will he have that there are those who desire to cause panics? These are points upon which economists and students of finance, as well as politicians and demagogues, have been working for a great while past, although without reaching any definite conclusions as to the precise nature of panics or their true causes.

It is not likely that the new President has solved the problem of generations so lightly as his remarks would indicate. Such promises are too likely to come home to their maker at an inconvenient time.

From the New York Sun.

When everything else about Mr. Bryan's political career is forgotten, it will always be remembered, and always be clearly written in the chronicles by impartial historians like Woodrow Wilson, that the entire business interests of the United States and the nation's credit in the eyes of the world escaped immeasurable disaster through the circumstance of Mr. Bryan's defeat for the presidency. The great panic he then would have bred was averted because the patriotic cooperation of Americans of all parties, of the business men of all sorts and sizes, of the investors of every grade down to the small holder of a savings bank book, blocked Bryan's way to the White House.

Therefore we regard this as a perfectly fair question to the next President of the United States:

If a panic should be started by the appearance of this same William J. Bryan in a commanding post in the nation's affairs, would President Wilson hang this same William J. Bryan as high as Haman, even if he went to the gibbet from a cabinet chair?

From the Boston Advertiser.

Mr. Wilson has already said, publicly, that if any rich man tries to launch a panic in this country, that man will suffer. Naturally. If any rich man were such a fool as to try

to wreck his own fortune, he would deserve to suffer. But why should the President-elect speak of the panic-monger as a capitalist? The men who are trying to wreck business confidence may be rich men, as indeed some observers believe, but one thing is certain. If they are paying for the work, the work is being done by leading Democratic politicians at Washington, and by some of the leading Democratic newspapers of the country. Should not Mr. Wilson include these prominent Democratic demagogues also among the list of those who should be hung as high as Haman, if they are successful in hurting business?

DEMOCRATIC TARIFF FALLACIES.

BY WALTER J. BALLARD.

The argument of the Democrats, who are soon going to run the government, is that if you reduce the tariff you will reduce prices. Many tests show that assertion to be an utter fallacy. In the present tariff and to satisfy public clamor hides of cattle were put upon the free list and the duty on boots and shoes was reduced from 15 to 20 per cent. On the Democratic theory that prices depend upon the tariff there ought to have been a corresponding fall in the prices of hides and of boots and shoes, but was there? As a matter of fact, hides rose in price after the duty was taken off, and boots and shoes have certainly not declined, but rather have gone up.

We had to pay more for our Christman dinner than we did the year before. If we wanted turkey we found it cost more. "Tariff," say the

Democrats. But the duty on turkeys was not changed. Chickens—the duty on chickens was not changed. How could no change in the tariff have made a change in the price? Beef is advancing. "The tariff," of course, say the Democrats; but the tariff on beef was reduced 25 per cent. Hams and bacon—we know that pork in all its forms is rising. The present tariff reduced the duty on hams and bacon 20 per cent. Tea and coffee—they are both on the free list, where they were before. Sugar and salt—the duty on sugar is unchanged; the duty on salt is reduced, but is salt any cheaper? Vegetables—the duty has been changed on none, except on peas and cabbages, but are peas and cabbages any cheaper? Lard was advanced 11 to 18 cents; but the duty on lard was reduced 25 per cent.

And so we might go on through the list of 20,000 or more dutiable articles, with just the same showing, namely, that the reduction of duties does not reduce prices to the ultimate consumer. Prices are governed by the inevitable law of supply and demand, with which law the Democrats in the present Congress, no matter how much they cut down duties, cannot interfere. They will soon find it out for themselves, as they seem determined to make a speedy onslaught on the tariff.

MONEY TRUST A MYTH.

Money trust investigators are given food for thought in figures compiled by A. Piatt Andrews, former assistant secretary of the treasury. They strongly support the argument that the alleged money trust is a myth. The figures are

Total number of banks in United States	25,176
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In 1900 there was, as reported, a separate bank to every..... 7,357 of population.

In 1912 there is a separate bank to every 3,788 of population.

In Great Britain there is a separate bank to every..... 388,003 of population.

In 1900 New York City's proportion of the country's banking resources was, in per cent. 23.2

In 1912 this proportion had fallen in per cent. to 18.9

In 1908 ten London banks held.. 63. per cent. of England's total commercial deposits.

Four Paris banks held 85. per cent. of France's total deposits, as reported.

In New York today the ten largest financial institutions hold only 7.6 of the country's deposits.

The members of the London Clearing House number ... 18

The members of the Paris Clearing House number ... 11

The members of the Berlin Clearing House number ... 10

The members of the New York Clearing House number ... 64

From the New York Tribune.

Mr. Untermeyer has proved, from Mr. Morgan's own lips, that the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. does a very good business in providing a market for the new securities issues of corporations. That is a long way from showing that it has a monopoly of the supply of capital and can prevent a meritorious undertaking from being financed. We do not see that there is anything inconsistent in what has been brought out with Mr. Morgan's testimony that there is no "money trust." And we incline very strongly to believe what he says about the impossibility of the control of credit falling into any one man's or one trust's hands, not chiefly because he says it, but because of the inherent absurdity of the whole conception.

And we say this in spite of Mr. Untermeyer's tremendous figures regarding

"interlocking directorates" and their control of \$25,000,000,000. These figures are produced in this way: At the centre is J. P. Morgan & Co. Partners in that house are directors in certain banks and other corporations. Some directors in these banks and corporations are directors in other banks and corporations. So the total assets are added together to reach the \$25,000,000,000.

The process reminds us generally of that ingenious method by which, starting with two parents, four grandparents and eight great-grandparents, you work back and prove that at the time of Adam a man of today must have had, instead of the one common ancestor of the Biblical story, many billions of ancestors, more billions even than Mr. Untermeyer has yet been able to figure out in the possession of his "money trust."

A PROTECTIONIST TREASURY.

If twenty fairly-read Americans were asked to mention six remarkable men who in the eighteenth century came to this country nineteen would instantly name Robert Morris, Alexander Hamilton, Albert Gallatin, Paul Jones and, most popular of all, Lafayette. The twentieth man would mention George Berkeley and every one of the rest would say "We should have thought of him."

But while a hundred books quote Pope's saying that Berkeley had "every virtue under heaven," while in every college he is ranked as the greatest philosopher who ever wrote English, how many think of Bishop Berkeley as writing a Protectionist's manual? "The Querist" is not long. It can easily be read in an evening. It is not hard to understand. It is one of the plainest and most concise tracts on economics

ever written. Berkeley's object was to develop industry among the poor of Ireland, but his suggestions blend with all the industrial developments that have been made since his time. Permit one to reproduce a few of the questions:

"Whether human industry can produce from such cheap materials, a manufacture of so great value, by any other art, as by those of sculpture and painting? Whether pictures and statues are not in fact so much treasure? And whether Rome and Florence would not be poor towns without them?"

"Whether those who drink foreign liquors and deck themselves and their families with foreign ornaments, are not so far forth to be reckoned absentees?"

Note on the home market. Berkeley's question.

"What seaports or foreign trade have the Swiss, yet how warm are those people, and how well provided?"

"What right an oldest son hath to the worst education?" is a pithy question, but nothing is too minute for Berkeley. He asks "Whether there be not French towns subsisted merely by making pins?"

Every form of manufactures that could possibly be introduced into Ireland under existing laws calls forth some comment. There seems to be little in the way of trade and production which he had not considered. If one can possibly imagine the shrewdness of Defoe and the homely sense of Franklin, joined with the philosophy of a profound scholar and the piety of a saint, he will be in a good frame of mind to begin Berkeley.

Hidden away among his large philosophical writings, his dialogues and his sermons, one may skim Berkeley without noticing the *Querist*. But the man who finds it will read it. Whether he agrees with Berkeley in religion and politics or not, he will admire the knowledge of eighteenth century conditions, the sympathy for the poor, the dread of unemployed labor, the desire to see work and wages on every hand. The tariff wall so dreaded by Protectionists did not horrify the philosopher who asked, "Whether, if there was a wall of brass a thousand cubits high round this kingdom, our natives might not nevertheless live cleanly and comfortably, till the land, and reap the fruits of it?"

Every cheap Free Trader (and some are very cheap) tells us that the intellect of the universe has pronounced for Cobden. It ought to be known everywhere that the one man whom the whole world counts the greatest philosopher in the English language, has furnished the material for a thousand Protectionist editorials.

R. R.

Differing in many respects, the Prohibitionist, the Socialist and the Progressive are alike in one. Their doctrine is all postulated on the theory that it is possible to make men different by the mere passage of statutes through Congress or the State legislature. They learn nothing from history. They do not realize that a restrictive law, which is merely the expression of the opinion of a minority, however virtuous and high-minded, ceases to have effect unless it has overwhelming public opinion behind it. It becomes not merely a dead letter, but an active instrument of blackmail and oppression, as every student of government, municipal, State and Federal, must realize.—Wall Street Journal.

BAILEY'S FAREWELL
SPEECH.

Senator Bailey, of Texas, who resigned his seat in the United States, January 4, made a noteworthy farewell speech to that body.

"The proposal to change the form of government," said he, "was based on the principle that the senators and representatives of the Government were dishonest and could not be trusted." "The curse of the time is we are appealing to the ignorance and prejudice," he said. "We are teaching the rich that the poor are their natural enemy, and teaching the poor that the rich are their natural oppressors." He added he did not believe "all the rich were rascals nor that all the poor were patriots," but contended that the percentage "ran about the same in both classes." "Let us have an end of this class war," he said. "Let us reestablish in the minds of the people the belief that the men they have trusted have not betrayed them."

Senator Bailey said that the cry today was that the new movement was "Let the people rule." He denounced that as false. "There are the Southern States," he said, "There is not a Southern State that has adopted woman suffrage, and I hope they will not. I cannot understand how any woman wants to step down from the high pedestal upon which man has placed her to mingle in the broils and debaucheries of politics. No, the Southern States believe in the rule of the men people. And not only in that, but in the white men people, and I agree with them."

Much of Senator Bailey's speech was devoted to excerpts and quota-

tions from the writings of men who organized and administered the early years of the American Government, and to students who had in later years discussed the effects of direct legislation upon its principles. From the former he drew what he said was unquestionable proof that the United States began as a representative Government and not a democracy of direct legislation. From the latter, among whom was Governor Wilson, he quoted to show that the opinion of students was that the people were not so well qualified to legislate as were seasoned men selected by them who framed their legislation in deliberative assembly.

At one point Senator Bailey produced a book of 208 pages, which he said represented the thirty-two questions submitted to the direct vote of the people of Oregon in one year. "Now, honor bright," he said, "how many citizens do you suppose there are who studied those questions? How many understood them when they did study them? I do not mean to reflect on the intelligence of the people when I say they could not understand with the opportunity they were given to study them. I could not do it myself."

He declared that in Switzerland the people had become disgusted with the constant necessity of voting on questions of government and had gradually refused to go to the polls. A compulsory voting law, he said, had not succeeded and they had finally determined to pay voters. "Make 'em vote, and if they won't, pay 'em to vote, is the principle suggested," said Senator Bailey.

Senator Bailey declared that in States where constitutional amend

ments had been submitted to the people, but a small proportion of the citizens voted upon them. In Wisconsin, he said, it ran as low as from 24 to 36 per cent. In Oregon, he declared, on a question involving the future of the State's university, in which the public had become keenly interested, only 80 per cent. had voted upon the question.

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE.

From Fibre and Fabric.

The Massachusetts Legislature has its usual supply of proposed measures aimed directly at the textile mills. One in particular is especially malicious in its intent and with a little stretch of imagination it might be in the interests of manufacturers of equipment as well as to preserve the health of mill workers.

The bill referred to makes the industrial accident board a committee to inquire into the extent to which occupational disease is the result of lint, dust and oil particles in the air of mills, factories and workshops. A number of mandatory provisions would mean the expenditure of large sums of money for fans and blowers if the committee so recommended, and periodical examinations of any or all employees exposed to "occupational" disease are permitted.

The same bill seeks to compel the State Board of Health to formulate a list of diseases which, in the opinion of the members, are incident to any given kind of occupation, or which may arise from it. The board also is authorized to define the diseases or illnesses that are due to the use of lead, arsenic, mercury, phosphorus, anthrax and wood

alcohol in manufacturing. It is also provided that the health board may suggest which of these diseases are, in its opinion, "dangerous to the public health" of the state.

The industrial accident board, under the law as suggested, is given power to make rules and regulations to protect workers from the effects of the dust, lint, gases or fumes generated in the course of manufacturing. Their powers in this direction are general, and they may apply to an industry or to a given process in that industry. They may also be applicable to a number of buildings located in different parts of the state, or to one building or to any part of a single building.

The industrial board is compelled under the proposed law to report to the State Board of Health all cases of disease in industrial establishments that the latter board declares to be of the class detrimental to the public health. In this report the name of the patient must be given and his location at the time the return is made.

The proposed law would make a good companion for the shuttle law that must be operative next April, then the "poor" mill workers would be safely guarded from all excepting the prominent cause of three-quarters of their troubles—their own indiscretions.

It is almost getting to a point in Massachusetts where the manufacturer must call in the state police, the State Board of Health, the industrial accident board, the labor leaders, local police, the priest and a few other authorities every morning before starting up his mill, to be sure that some law or local regulation is not being broken. Isn't it

about time to let up for a year so that the mill men can study up the rules and laws already in force?

PROTECTION OFFERS EQUAL ADVANTAGES.

Dr. Thomas Chalmers of Manchester, N. H., noted during a recent trip to the South, "a rather extensive and growing disposition on the part of certain other sections of the country to take a fall out of New England. It was not always easy to get any such frank acknowledgment of purpose, but I ran into that disposition more than once. I tried to get to the bottom of it. They don't know why they want to take a fall out of New England. It became fairly clear, however, that the chief reason is because New England has been too prosperous. Without natural advantages and far away from the sources of her supplies, she has nevertheless kept pace even with the West and has outstripped the South in the race toward the goal of a prosperous civilization. There is an impression that she has been enriched by tariff bounties. In vain did I point out that there is not one tariff schedule available to New England which is not equally available to Virginia or South Carolina.

"'Yes,' said one man, 'but the tariff nevertheless gives New England an advantage because—because—your people in New England are more accustomed to work, to hand labor, to make things. The tariff stimulates it by practically putting a bounty on—on—on labor.' That was a magnificent statement, though it ruined his own side of the argument. Southern labor still suffers

under the curse of slavery. That halting, stumbling statement of his covers the whole issue. Manual toil had so long been shoved off on the black man of the South that the white man has lost the sense of the dignity of labor. The bounty, to be sure, is not offered to one section above another, nor to one class above another. It is freely offered to all men everywhere who have the enterprise or industry to take advantage of it. The tariff undoubtedly needs adjustment, but not such adjustment as shall discount the chief reliance of American prosperity, peace and civilization—the dignity and worth of labor."

RECIPROCITY AND FREE TRADE.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

It is not always possible to know whether Democratic orators and editors who talk about tariff matters are in the abyss of ignorance, or merely imagine their hearers or readers to be there, and think it necessary to talk or write down to their low level of intelligence. But from one cause or another we are getting some very queer stuff from Democratic sources.

Among these odd propositions is one that the Democracy, as a final solution of all tariff difficulties, should, as free traders, go into a general reciprocity gamble. Of course no one would propose such a thing who knew what reciprocity is, or what free trade or a "tariff for revenue" is—unless from a conviction that the masses of mankind are donkeys, and that it is most profitable to give the public what it wants.

Free trade means the abolition of all tariff duties, or, if revenue requirements do not permit that, then duties on imports of articles which we do not produce, and must therefore import. Tariff for revenue means such an adjustment of duties as will secure the largest revenue, regardless of whether we do or do not produce the dutiable commodities. Ordinarily this means a very light duty on nearly all commodities, in no case heavy enough to materially affect importations. It is the refuge of free traders under pressure of revenue requirements. "Reciprocity" means levying a substantial duty on most products and then trading more or less of it off when a favorable bargain, or what someone in authority imagines to be a favorable bargain, can be made with some other country.

Now, under free trade there can be no "reciprocity," because there is no tariff duty to trade off. Nor is it possible under a "tariff for revenue" system, not only because such duties are usually small, but because the tariff, having been adjusted to the necessities of the revenue, cannot usually be changed without defeating the main purpose. Whoever, therefore, proposes to an avowedly free trade Democracy to engage in a policy of "reciprocity," proposes either a surrender of what Democrats say they consider a "vital principle," or an absolute impossibility. To propose a combination of the two doctrines is evidence of mental imbecility, compared with which the mind-working of a fish or a hen is intellectual brilliance.

"Reciprocity" is not impossible on the basis of a high protective tariff to begin with, but the proposal to

permit a bunch of traders knowing nothing whatever about the industries which they are muddling to secretly trade off one industry for the benefit of some other is so manifestly open to intrigue and corruption, so provocative of international ill will, so abhorrent to the fundamental principles of justice and decency, that no real protectionist can contemplate it without loathing and disgust. And we do not care what eminent men—living or dead—are cited as alleged protectionists holding the contrary view. The Chronicle stands pat on the general proposition.

OUR PROTECTED INDUSTRIES.

**Articles of Commerce that are Supplied
by American Industry to All Parts
of the World.**

From the Albany Journal.

How wide is the distribution of the products of American industries that have been developed under the policy of protection is strikingly shown in a bulletin just issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

Barbed wire, fly paper, telephones, boots and shoes, automobiles, wire nails, motion picture films, flying machines, telegraph instruments, locks, hinges, razors, bathtubs, traction engines operated by steam, traction engines operated by gasoline, stationary engines operated by steam, gasoline or gas, electric locomotives, elevators, cotton gins, cash registers, and cream separators—these are a few of the numerous products of American ingenuity distributed liberally over the entire civilized world.

Take wire nails as an example. They went last year to no less than sixty countries scattered over the entire inhabited portions of the globe—Siam, the Canary Islands, the Dutch East Indies, the British East Indies, Russia in Europe, Russia in Asia, Hongkong, Egypt, the French West Indies; and practically every country of North America. South America and Asia know the American wire nail by practical experience, since they as well as many other communities are included in the list of sixty countries and colonies to which the 140,000,000 pounds of wire nails exported last year were sent.

American telephones and telegraph instruments went to such distant places as British Africa, Egypt, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Java, Brazil, Korea, and the Canary Islands. The value of scientific instruments and apparatus, including telephones, telegraph instruments, etc., exported last year was more than \$13,000,000, and the countries to which they were sent were approximately 90 in number, distributed to all parts of the civilized world.

Even so comparatively unimportant an article of commerce as fly paper went to approximately 75 countries and colonies, including Tripoli, Uruguay, Santo Domingo, Turkey in Europe, the Danish West Indies, Malta, Finland, China, Egypt, Roumania and Gibraltar. American barbed wire serves the agriculturist in every grand division of the world. Adding machines, printing presses, aeroplanes, automobiles, clocks and watches, celluloid manufactures, binder twine, dynamite,

gunpowder, locomotives, ice-making machinery, jewelry, kitchen utensils, phonographs, car wheels, cotton cloth, printers' ink, and hundreds of other manufactures which might be enumerated passed out of the United States last year to the value of more than a billion dollars and were distributed not merely to every grand division, but to practically every country in the inhabited world.

But the Democratic party proposes to change all that. It will take protection away, and see to it that the manufactured products of all the other countries of the civilized world, in all which labor receives much smaller compensation, shall have free entry into the United States, and thus not only set back the flow of our exports, but also invade the home markets.

WILSON'S DREAM OF EQUALITY.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

Much mischievous reasoning comes from the doctrine or a perversion of the doctrine that all men are created equal. Whatever may be the true interpretation of that declaration, there is no more conspicuous fact in human life than that men are not equal, either in capacity or in what they are entitled to receive as the result of their unequal efforts. It is their inequality that gives effect to competition, and it is by due restraint of competition that a fair chance is to be given to the weaker in conflict with the stronger. There are adventitious advantages, inherited or acquired, but the essential difference is in capacity and

character. That cannot be obliterated or its effect wiped out. If it should be, progress would stop. In an ideal state of equality, there might be complete cooperation and altruism, instead of striving and ambition, but the human race is far from that goal.

Must all men be treated as though they were equal in capacity and character? The least rational thing that Mr. Wilson said in his Chicago preachment was that "you must put the credit of this country at the disposal of everybody on equal terms." He repeated that "the credit of the country must be opened upon equal terms and with equal readiness upon the same terms to everybody," and he plainly implied that somebody or some combination was monopolizing or controlling the credit of the country and discriminating in allowing it to others. Put in that extreme way this is a rank absurdity. With the area and population of the United States, its billions of wealth, its vast values in property upon which credit rests, the free flow of its medium of exchange, its thousands of banks and credit institutions, any monopoly or control or any considerable restraint in the granting or securing of credit is beyond the bounds of possibility. There may be at some great center of financial operation an accumulation of power which may be abused to the injury of some enterprise or the harm of small interests to the advantage of greater ones, but this is not and cannot be a general condition.

But the idea that credit must be opened to all on equal terms by any "system," or any bank or banker or any combination of such, is too preposterous for serious consideration.

That would imply that all are equal, not only in capacity and character, but in their control of the values upon which credit is based. Credit is a matter of confidence. It may be granted on security deposited sufficient to make it good, or it may be granted on character and capacity alone. It is a matter in which there must be discrimination in the literal sense of the term. If it were indiscriminate, it would lead to an endless series of disaster. The sources of credit are so enormous, the competition in providing it is so wide and free, that talk about monopolizing, controlling or to any serious extent restraining its use is nonsense.

MR. MORGAN'S TESTIMONY.

The Pujoans Caught a Tartar.

From Harper's Weekly.

There were some delightful passages in Mr. Morgan's testimony before the Pujo Committee. The dialogue between him and Mr. Untermeyer gives emotions comparable to those a reader gets out of one of Bernard Shaw's plays. All through there is a proffering of large propositions by Mr. Untermeyer and a trimming of them down to practicable size by Mr. Morgan. Moreover, the dialogue was as full of humor as it was of sense. As thus:

"Does your New York house do a general banking business?" asked counsel for the committee.

We try to, sir, said Mr. Morgan.

Q. Do you take deposits? A. We do.

Q. You do the business that is done by a bank? A. Exactly, as far as we can."

Here's another passage from the press report:

"Mr. Morgan and the counsel then engaged in a discussion of the principles of money and circulation. Mr.

Untermeyer sought to lay the foundation for proving that a money trust exists. Mr. Morgan did not agree with him in the least. He said it is absolutely impossible for any man or group of men to get control of all the money or the credit in the world. It is inconceivable, he said.

Mr. Morgan added:

I know lots of men, business men, too, who can borrow any amount, whose credit is unquestioned.

Is that not because it is believed that they have the money back of them?

No, sir; it is because people believe in the man.

And it is regardless of whether he has any financial backing at all, is it?

It is very often.

And he might not be worth anything?

He might not have anything. I have known a man to come into my office and I have given him a check for a million dollars when I knew he had not a cent in the world.

There are not many of them?

Yes, a good many.

Commercial credits are based upon the possession of money or property?

Money or property or character.

Is not commercial credit based primarily upon money or property?

No, sir; the first thing is character.

Before money or property?

Before money or anything else. Money cannot buy it.

So that a man with character, without anything at all behind it, can get all the credit he wants, and a man with the property cannot get it?

That is very often the case.

But is that the rule of business?

That is the rule of business, sir.

If that is the rule of business, Mr. Morgan, why do the banks demand—the first thing they ask—a statement of what the man has before they extend him credit?

That is a question which—that is what they go into; but the first thing they say is, I want to see your record.

Yes; and if his record is a blank the next thing is how much he has got?

People do not care then.

For instance, if he has got government bonds, or railroad bonds, and goes

in to get credit, he gets it, and on the security of those bonds, does he not?

Yes.

He does not get it on his face or his character, does he?

Yes, he gets it on his character.

I see; then he might as well take the bonds home, had he not?

A man I do not trust could not get money from me on all the bonds in Christendom.

That is the rule all over the world?

I think that is the fundamental basis of business."

That is good to read. It puts man ahead of money. It says that character counts for more than property and that that is the rule of business. Moreover, it says so with power, with an undeniable candor and sense of conviction. They are good words to be read, coming from a man seventy-five years old of an experience of human affairs, and especially of business affairs, that is hardly rivaled and not exceeded in this world at this time.

The greatest thing in the world is a man.

It always is.

It always will be.

OUR SUGAR PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION.

BY WALTER J. BALLARD.

Last year we used 8,000,000,000 pounds of sugar, against 4,500,000,000 in 1900, 3,000,000,000 in 1890, 2,000,000,000 in 1880, and a little over 1,000,000,000 in 1870. In other words, our yearly sugar consumption is now eight times as large as it was thirty-two years ago. Foreign countries, our own island possessions and our own fields all have increased their contributions to our sugar supply.

According to the latest figures of the statistical division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce our total imports of sugar from for-

eign countries last year will exceed 4,500,000,000 pounds, against a little over 4,000,000,000 pounds last year.

Our sugar supply last year figures this way:

	Pounds.
From foreign countries ..	4,500,000,000
From Hawaii	1,200,000,000
From Porto Rico	700,000,000
Beet sugar made	1,400,000,000
Cane sugar produced, estimate	700,000,000

Total supply of sugar .. 8,500,000,000

Remarkable has been the growth in recent years of our production of beet sugar, as witness the official figures:

Year.	Pounds produced.
1912	1,400,000,000
1910	1,000,000,000
1905	485,000,000
1900	163,000,000
1895	45,000,000
1890	5,000,000
Growth in two years	400,000,000
Growth in seven years	915,000,000
Growth in twelve years ..	1,237,000,000
Growth in seventeen years	1,355,000,000
Growth in twenty-two years	1,395,000,000

This is certainly a most striking and remarkable result of only a few years' work in this, to us, comparatively new industry. As in the tin plate industry, credit for the result belongs to the protective tariff of the Republican party. Take that away and California and the other beet-sugar States may bid good-by to the profitable beet-sugar industry.

About one-fourth of our sugar last year was from our own fields, nearly another one-fourth came from Hawaii and Porto Rico, and the remainder, one-half, from foreign countries, chiefly Cuba.

Our total consumption last year exceeded that of any earlier year and

amounted to about 87 pounds per capita, against 80 pounds per capita in 1910, 59 pounds per capita in 1900, 51 pounds per capita in 1890, 39 1/2 pounds per capita in 1880, and 32 3/4 pounds per capita in 1870. Thus the quantity consumed per capita has a little more than doubled since 1880. Thus the quantity consumed having quadrupled in the meantime. As the increasing consumption per capita is going right along, in spite of our large increase in population each year, right there is shown what a great future there is for our beet-sugar industry, if left protected by a sufficient tariff. The same is relatively true of our cane sugar industries in the South and in Hawaii and Porto Rico.

Our 8,000,000,000 pounds of sugar last year cost us approximately \$400,000,000. Of this great sum \$120,000,000 went to foreign countries, \$47,000,000 to Hawaii, and \$30,000,000 to Porto Rico.

The total cost last year, \$400,000,000, shows that we are spending more than \$1,000,000 a day for sugar, Sundays and holidays included.

GERMAN VIEWS OF WILSON'S TARIFF POLICY.

Speaking of Governor Wilson's election, the *Wochenberichte der Leipziger Monatschrift für Textil-Industrie* says that it is of the utmost importance for the German textile industry exports of which the United States have suffered considerably under the present tariff law. The revolutionary changes are, however, expected.

Under the caption, "What Can Germany's Trade and Industry Expect from the Newly Elected American President?" *Confectionair*, Berlin, says editorially that no very extensive reduction

of the present tariff duties can be looked for. The writer expects to see the woolen and other duties cut in half, but says that a downward revision of any extent would result in a great boom for the German export trade.

A dress goods manufacturer from Gera-Greiz, Saxony, is quoted as saying that German dress goods are bought eagerly by the American consumer and the German manufacturer has nothing to fear from the American competition if it was not for the unsurmountable tariff duties. A reduction of 20 or 25 per cent. on the present duties would be of immense value for the German industry.

A Chemnitz knit goods manufacturer expects a great revival of exports to America in staple hosiery.

INDUSTRY NOT HEARTLESS.

From Leslie's Weekly.

All agree with Governor Wilson that "we must take the heartlessness out of industry before we can put heart in the men who are engaged in industry. The employer has got to feel that he is dealing with flesh and blood like his own, and with his fellow-men. or else his employes will not be in sympathy with him and will not be in sympathy with the work." All makers of great industries realize this fully as well as the members of the National Conservation Congress which Governor Wilson was at that time addressing.

Employers realize that, if they desire the best results, they can't afford to do anything but treat their employes well. Look at the pension systems of great corporations like the Standard Oil Company, the Pennsylvania and New York Central railroads, and, more recently, the Alexander Smith & Sons Carpet Company, of Yonkers, N. Y. (the largest concern of this kind in the

world, employing 7,000 hands), established not because of any outside agitation or coercion, but as the result of genuine, sympathetic interest on the part of employers toward their workmen.

The same might be said of the pension and profit-sharing systems of the United States Steel Corporation, the vacation resorts owned by hundreds of business corporations for the benefit of their employes and the diversified methods of caring for the social and intellectual life of employes as illustrated in the National Cash Register Works, at Dayton, O. Governor Wilson's remarks about taking the heartlessness out of industry is the expression not only of a consummation to be desired, but of a condition that actually exists.

Never before in the world's history of industry have so many captains of industry been so greatly interested in the economic and social well-being of those working for them.

LABOR STRIKES AND CRIME.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

Leaders of organized labor who wish to accomplish their objects in a lawful way and win the support of public opinion, would be much wiser to join in condemnation of lawlessness and violence and aid in preventing and suppressing it, instead of finding excuses and seeking to have the authority of courts to interfere by injunction curtailed. Injunctions are used only to prevent injuries, never to prevent legitimate action for securing benefit. One result of leniency toward violence in labor strikes is exhibited in the teaching of that avowedly lawless organization, if it is really organized, which calls itself the Industrial Workers of the

World. It does not stop at the suggestion of any crime.

There was an admirable illustration of its spirit in the wretched strike of hotel and restaurant waiters, when Ettor, who recently escaped conviction on a charge of murder in the Lawrence strike of last year, is reported as addressing a crowd of them the other night in these words: "If you do have to go back under unsatisfactory conditions, do it with your minds made up that it is the unsafest proposition in the world for capitalists to eat food prepared by members of your union." There is no mistaking the meaning of such a suggestion. Mr. Ettor vigorously denies making or intending it in what he said, but he has not denied declaring to the waiters that he did not care whether they were right or not and did not know whether their cause was just or not. He had not time to inquire, but told them that if they wanted to win their fight they must "close the hotels and keep them closed. Shut all the doors, not only the kitchen and pantry doors, but the main entrances." This is what is called freedom of speech in "labor disputes," and it has received too much encouragement.

THE POOREST WOOLEN GOODS.

From the Textile World Record.

The poorest trash made on earth and called wool goods is made outside of the United States. If anyone who reads these lines doubts the statement we invite him to call at our Boston office and examine several hundred medium and heavy weight samples of English woolens and worsteds for men's wear, ranging in price from 14 cents to 60 cents a yard, 54 inches wide, which we obtained from Yorkshire, about a year ago. They represent the highest development in the art of making wool goods from mixtures of shoddy and cotton. Some of

them are serviceable and attractive fabrics, but many are properly classed as trash. Such goods never reach the American market, and as a result all the low grade woolens offered to the American consumer are of American manufacture.

The popular prejudice against domestic wool goods is thus developed to an extraordinary degree, and constitutes a serious burden on American wool manufacturers. Removing this prejudice is by no means an easy task, but it is for the interest of both manufacturer and consumer to have it removed. Twenty-five years ago Great Britain sought to correct similar evils by means of the Merchandise Marks Acts, which required that imported goods bearing words in English language should be marked with the country of origin. The unexpected result of this law was to give German goods an unprecedented advertisement by means of the label "Made in Germany." The underlying principle of the English law is, however, the prevention of deception, and statesmen who, like Hon. Victor Murdock, have wasted their time in framing bills that required manufactures and government officials to accomplish the impossible, might profitably direct their efforts toward framing a Merchandise Marks Act for the United States, that would possess the good features of the British act, while avoiding its defects.

The New York Times speaks of "that interesting and wideawake Virginian, Woodrow Wilson." As Mr. Wilson left his native state for Georgia when he was less than two years old, he probably did make things "interesting" in Virginia between dark and daylight when he was "wide awake."—New York Tribune.

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid

To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

FEBRUARY, 1913.

Egypt's cotton crop was worth \$12,500,000 more in 1912 than in 1911—being larger than in any previous year.

According to the London Statist, English woolen manufacturers look for large American orders for woollens after the Democrats have reduced the tariff.

The Irish home rule bill passed the House of Commons on January 16 by a majority of 110, and now rests uneasily in the House of Lords where it has received its first reading.

A Washington correspondent who addressed letters to all members of the Federal courts, soliciting their opinions on the Commerce Court, learned that only one judge was directly unfavorable to the continuance of that body.

Secretary Wilson declares that the establishment of the parcel post will not have the effect of reducing the cost of living to the ultimate consumer, but that the immediate result

will be to increase the profits of the producer by reducing the cost of his access to market.

The speculators in eggs who put large quantities in cold storage warehouses last fall, for which they paid high prices, stand to lose from 50 cents to \$1.50 on each case; and a trade paper says the aggregate losses on the storage egg deal of 1912 will run into the millions.

For the fourth time within a year manufacturers of pig iron in England have raised their prices, which means, of course, higher prices for finished iron products. And yet England is a free trade country, where it is supposed that prices are kept at a low level by foreign competition.

The latest estimate of the population of continental United States places the figures at 96,496,000 on Jan. 2, 1913. This figure was used by the Treasury Department experts in determining that of the total money in circulation in the country on that date, \$3,350,727,500, the amount per capita was \$34.72.

The men responsible for our national legislation should keep in mind this warning of Hon. Charles E. Fuller: "Our farmers will never consent to let in the national products of Canada to compete with them in their own home market and woe to the political party which advocates such reciprocity as that."

It is no secret that the next President has a very high opinion of the character and patriotism of his pre-

decessor, says the Boston Advertiser. Those jubilant Democrats who are welcoming the change in administration as an "end to the Taft regime" will have opportunity to revise their views before many weeks have passed.

Up to this time irrigation projects in the United States have cost \$307,866,369. The total length of ditches constructed is given as 125,591 miles. In magnitude California leads, with Colorado second. The state of Washington leads for average value per acre for crops on irrigated lands of \$49.82, with Texas second at \$45.43. Alfalfa is the leading crop.

A Quebec despatch of January 4 says that by an order in council passed by the provincial cabinet, the restriction of the exportation of pulp wood on Crown lands has been withdrawn for four companies whose mills make daily about 480 tons of pulp for newspaper paper, so that the companies may apply to the State Department at Washington to have their paper passed into the United States free of duty.

The tariff of Canada is undergoing revision—the West Indian trade agreement making it necessary to open up the tariff schedules in order to bring certain items into conformity with the terms of the agreement. This has given the Finance Minister an opportunity to deal with a number of other items in the tariff which several Canadian industries want readjusted. The tariff commission plan appears to have been dropped for the time being.

We regret to announce the death of George W. Russell, formerly of Haverhill, which occurred at the home of his son in Walpole, Mass., on January 16. At this time of writing we have no particulars, and no material for a sketch of his life. He was well informed, and a forcible writer on the tariff, and many of his contributions on this question have been printed in *The Protectionist*, the Boston Advertiser and other papers in the past twenty years.

The United States Supreme Court has made two important decisions recently. One holds that a conspiracy to corner cotton is a crime, and expressly forbidden by the Sherman act. The other decision holds that since the passage of the Cormack amendments to the Interstate Commerce law in 1906, the States have ceased to have power to annul contracts between railroads and shippers limiting the liability for the loss of interstate shipments. It is also decided that the States have no power to penalize railroads for failure to furnish cars on interstate railroads.

It is said that the Democrats in Congress are preparing to pass an income tax bill next spring, provided that two more states needed to complete the ratification of the income tax amendment to the Constitution can be secured by that time. It is their purpose to tax all incomes in excess of \$5,000 at the rate of 1 per cent., and they are counting upon at least \$60,000,000 in revenue annually from this source, though some estimate the probable returns as high as \$100,000,000. The pro-

posed legislation is expected to supplant the corporation tax law and its extension.

The New York Journal of Commerce says: "The protest of certain 'social workers' against the personnel of President Taft's Industrial Commission is not well taken. True, it was these workers who were largely responsible for the creation of that body, but that should not give them the right to control its membership. Indeed, it is a good reason why they should not do so. They make no specific charges or accusations against the nominees of the President, being apparently dissatisfied simply because the men are not closely affiliated with themselves."

The Toronto Globe calls attention to Canada's insignificant contribution to the total world's production of sheep as shown in a detailed comparative statement of the production of different continents and countries last year as compared with 1895. During those 17 years the number of sheep has increased 93,620,289, being 616,229,372. Australia at present leads by a wide margin, with 117,011,054 sheep; Argentina stands second with 77,303,517; United States third with 57,216,000; Russia fourth with 45,840,000 and Turkey next with 30,000,000 and Canada twenty-sixth with 2,631,000.

The Springfield Republican, and the free trade and mugwump press generally, are evidently displeased with the outcome of the Massachusetts senatorial contest, but we note one exception. The New York Evening Post says: "It is the simple

truth that the Bay State Republicans might easily have made a much worse choice than Mr. Weeks. His record in the House, particularly as a member of the Joint Monetary Commission, is honorable to himself and to his constituency. In policy and temper he is in full accord with the new spirit of our politics, and will add much strength of the right sort to the Republican minority in the Senate."

The cotton mill properties in Canada are now valued at more than \$30,000,000, produce goods to the value of \$20,000,000 annually, employ over 14,000 hands, and pay \$4,000,000 in wages. There is a larger demand for Canadian cotton goods, though imports of cottons from England totaled over \$7,000,000 last year. The lower cost of manufacture in England has much retarded the growth of the industry in Canada. The chief reason for the higher cost of production in Canada is climatic conditions, which make it necessary to build much more substantial factories and provide for the cost of heating over several months of the year.

The official popular vote for President in 1912 is given in the Tribune Almanac, as follows: Wilson, 6,303,063; Taft, 3,439,529; Roosevelt, 4,168,564; Debs (socialist), 898,119; Chafin (prohibition), 203,319; Belmar (socialist labor), 29,061. Wilson's plurality, 2,134,409. Popular majority against Wilson, 2,135,529. The actual number of ballots cast was only 150,000 greater than in 1908, but leaving out the addition of women voters in California and Washington, and the additional

votes by the admission of Arizona and New Mexico to statehood, the net loss on the total vote in 1912 from that of 1908 would be about 350,000.

The Boston Transcript says: "Not only the cereal crops, but some of the other industries in the West associated with agriculture are showing unusual productiveness this season. In Colorado it is expected that a million and a quarter sheep will be cared for during the winter. The largest stock in any previous year was a million. This is made possible by the largest crop of alfalfa ever grown in that region. It is a hopeful sign that sheep are increasing in the West, because they are constantly decreasing in the East, though nowhere are the farmers more in need of them than in this section, and we believe they could be made highly profitable, as they were in the old days."

The Philippine General Assembly has cabled instructions to Washington, asking support for the Jones bill to provide for Philippine independence. This is a Democratic measure, and is in accord with the Democratic national platform; but it appears that several Democrats in Congress, including Senator O'Gorman and Representative Redfield, of New York, are opposing the bill. It is alleged that these members are acting in the interest of the Catholic Church which is fearful that any change of administration in the Philippines would be disastrous to its interests in the islands, as the natives have shown a pronounced hostility to the Catholic influence.

The control of the United States Senate after March 4 will probably be secured by the Democrats. There are 29 holdover Democrats, 5 already elected, and 14 who consider their election sure. This makes 48, just one-half of the Senate, with the prospects that they will obtain two more. The following Senators have been elected recently: Colorado, J. F. Shafroth and C. S. Thomas, Democrats; Idaho, W. E. Borah, Rep., re-elected; Maine, Edwin C. Burleigh, Rep.; Massachusetts, John W. Weeks, Rep.; Michigan, Wm. Alden Smith, Rep., re-elected; Montana, Thomas J. Walsh, Dem. At this time (Jan. 20) senatorial contests are pending in Idaho, Illinois, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Tennessee (two Senators), West Virginia and Wyoming.

The Lowell-Courier-Citizen says: "New England shoe manufacturers are awake to the trouble ahead of them when Congress tackles the tariff on foreign shoes. They must put up a big fight to prevent a reduction on the present rate of duty or possibly the placing of shoes on the free list. Shoes are not now highly protected, and the foreign manufacturers unquestionably are in a way to capture a good share of our market even as the rate is now. With American bosses and American machinery and low labor cost in production they are capable of making trouble for the home shops. In this connection it should be said that no manufacturer who thoroughly understood his business ever stated that with free cattle hides our folks could stand free shoes. That was never the case and it isn't now. People

who work in American shoe factories must work for lower wages if shoes are made free or the duty is considerably reduced.

"Think of the horrors of Protection," shouted an orator. "Think of the enormous prices of wheat under the British tariff before Sir Robert Peel saw the light of Free Trade." He gave some statistics of undoubtedly high prices, but an old Englishman interrupted, "What kind of years are you talking about?" As the orator stammered, the old man said: "I remember those years of short crops and high prices, but why don't you give the prices of wheat in the good years?" Half a dozen quotations proved his point. The embarrassed orator said: "The figures you give were not at hand." "No," grunted the old man, "you only give the figures for the bad years. Your Free Trade books lay all the high prices on Protection—you never allow for short crops."

It is stated that business men in Chicago, New York and other cities are not pleased with the address of President-elect Wilson at the dinner of the Commercial Club in Chicago, on January 11. Bankers who were interviewed by a representative of the New York Journal of Commerce stated that they were disappointed and disgusted with the speech. Some of them indulged in exceptionally strong language when asked for an expression of opinion. The general feeling appears to be that the New Jersey Governor has "talked too much" and given utterance to ideas that are calculated to augment the

prejudice the public has against men engaged in finance. The fear was expressed that Mr. Wilson had allied himself with the most radical element in the Democratic party and would follow out their policies as much as possible.

The New York Journal of Commerce has printed a report of its annual canvass of the number of stockholders in the principal railroad and industrial corporations of the country. The figures ought to be an eye-opener for those people who profess to believe that all corporate properties are owned by comparatively few individuals; but they probably will not serve this purpose, as the majority of people who are strongly prejudiced against corporations prefer to keep their eyes closed to actual conditions. In all, 247 companies, representing a par value of capital stock of eleven billions of dollars (\$11,084,143,864), have reported. This stock is held by more than a million shareholders (1,056,099), making the average holdings per owner 105 shares—to be exact 104.9. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that the totals referred to do not represent in any complete sense (1) the investments of the people in bonds, or (2) their deposits in savings banks (which are in turn invested in bonds and mortgages), or (3) their investments through building loan associations, or (4) in the form of direct mortgages, or (5) in the securities of the public utilities companies, which are becoming so increasingly a popular form of investment, or (6), in fact, in the many thousands of small local corpora-

tions in the cities and towns throughout the country, as, for instance, stock in local banks, coal yards, ice plants, mills, factories, etc. Thus the figures suggest rather the diffusion of the holdings of investments rather than the concentration of the wealth of the country in even a million hands.

It is with especial regret that we have read the announcement by James M. Swank of his retirement from active service in the American Iron and Steel Association. He has been Secretary and General Manager of this organization for forty years, and editor of the Iron and Steel Bulletin for the same period. He is now in his 82d year, and not in the best physical condition, though favored with unimpaired mental vigor; but he doubtless appreciates the need of a more restful life, and we hope he will have many years to enjoy it. Mr. Swank has long been recognized as the best authority in this country upon the iron and steel industry, and has been very helpful to the friends of Protection in Congress who have relied upon him for accurate information when a tariff bill was under consideration. He made the "Bulletin" a powerful and influential advocate of the Protective policy, and it would be difficult to overestimate the value of his services to this cause. Many of his important contributions in the "Bulletin" and annual official reports were reprinted in book form and in tracts. Among his best known works are a history of "Iron in all Ages," and a volume containing thirty selections from his tariff and historical writings, entitled, "Notes and Com-

ments on Industrial, Economic, Political and Historical Subjects." We are pleased to know that the work of the Iron and Steel Association will be continued by the American Iron and Steel Institute, and that Mr. William G. Gray, who has been Mr. Swank's principal statistical assistant for many years, will be in charge of the statistical department.

The election of Hon. Edwin C. Burleigh as United States Senator by the Maine Legislature affords great satisfaction to Protectionists everywhere, for he has always been an ardent and consistent supporter of the Protective policy. He was elected by joint ballot of the two Houses of the Legislature, on January 15, defeating Senator Obadiah Gardner, Democrat, who was especially favored by President-elect Wilson. The vote was: Burleigh 91, Gardner 82, and Thompson (Progressive) 7. Ninety-one votes were necessary for a choice. Mr. Burleigh was victorious in a popular primary last June, when all factions of the Republican party in Maine agreed to unite in supporting him against the Democratic nominee. But recently Col. Roosevelt had urged the Progressive members of the Maine legislature not to vote for Burleigh, on the ground that he was a "reactionary." However, only seven of the Progressive members followed the Colonel's counsel. Ex-Governor Burleigh, during his long service in the House of Representatives, covering a period of twelve years, commanded the respect and confidence of all who knew him, and he will take high rank in the Senate.

PUNISHMENT FOR PANICS.

Will Wilson Keep the Hangman Busy?

When Mr. Wilson spoke of financial machinery which might be used to precipitate a panic when the Democrats set about making "economic changes" he could have had nothing else in mind than the talk that a panic will be forced, by manipulation, as soon as tariff tinkering begins. There has never been an inch of foundation ground for such a story, says the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, but that Mr. Wilson is inclined to give it credence was shown in a speech made by him in West Virginia during the campaign. At that time he charged that talk of such a panic was raised to frighten working men, when, as a matter of fact it was most often raised by Democrats in trying to answer the evil history of the 90s.

When the president elect, at the Southern Society dinner in New York, threatened to hang as high as Haman, in a figurative way, any man or men conspiring to force a panic as the result of Democratic "economic changes," he must have forgotten that the panic which began with the making of "economic changes" under the last Cleveland administration was not at all forced by the "money power." The "money power" asked the repeal of the bullion purchase law and got it. It asked suspension of silver coinage and got that. But the panic and the long depression which followed, continued, practically, until tariff revision downward had ceased, and been supplanted by protective schedules. Mr. Morgan was a welcome visitor at the White House. His policies,

and those of Mr. Cleveland, were not antagonistic. He floated a loan for the administration, through his bank syndicate. But there were continuing hard times.

Can it be that the president elect, who says he intends to name names at the first sign of an artificial panic after "economic changes" are made, intends to billet the names of manufacturers who may find themselves, through foreign competition, forced either to reduce wages or suspend operation? Are men to be hanged higher than Haman for being unwilling to lose their money? If this had been the test in the 90s the hangman would have been kept busy.

CONGRESS IN BRIEF.

We continue the summary of the most important proceedings from the date of our last report. The day before taking the holiday recess (December 19) the Burnett immigration bill passed the House by a non-partisan vote of 178 to 52. This measure provides for an illiteracy test for aliens seeking admission to this country.

Jan. 2. Congress reassembled after the holiday recess. In the Senate, Bailey's farewell address was the principal feature. (On Jan. 3, Senator Bailey resigned his seat, and is succeeded by R. M. Johnson, editor of the Houston Post, who has been a supporter of Mr. Bailey in his political contests.) In the House Mr. Linthicum introduced a bill for a special committee to investigate railroad accidents.

Jan. 3. Mr. Cox, of Indiana, introduced a bill to put boots, shoes and all other leather on the free list.

A petition of 25,000 names was received from the West, protesting against the passage of the Brantley Workmen's compensation bill. Senator Bristow introduced a bill, providing for a preference primary in the selection of postmasters who receive \$300 a year or more.

Jan. 6. Senator Bristow introduced a bill to create an industrial commission of seven members, who are to exercise the same jurisdiction over industrial corporations whose gross receipts exceed \$5,000,000 a year as the Interstate Commerce Commission exercises over railroads. The commission is also to act as receiver for corporations which violate the anti-trust law. Senator Swanson introduced a bill, making an appropriation of \$25,000,000 to aid States for good roads,—the States to pay one-half of the cost of construction.

Jan. 8. Representative Dupre, of Louisiana, introduced a bill for the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of New Orleans. Mr. Hayes, of California, introduced a bill amending the contract labor law, so as to allow the free admission of musicians, actors, and other professional persons, and of persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants.

Jan. 9. Closing arguments were made in the Archbald impeachment trial in the Senate. J. N. Heiskell of Arkansas was sworn in as successor to the late Senator Jeff Davis.

Jan. 10. Mr. Rodenberry, of Georgia, carried on a filibuster for several hours to delay action in the House on 237 private pension bills. Samuel Gompers appeared before the Senate judiciary committee in support of the anti-injunction bill.

He declared that the arguments against the bill that has already passed the House was based on court decisions and precedents that were wrong in the beginning and that violated all of the private rights of labor.

Jan. 14. Consideration of the six-year Presidential term bill was begun in the Senate. Senator Gore introduced a bill increasing the number of Supreme Court justices to eleven. Senator Root introduced a bill to amend the Panama Canal act so as to eliminate provision for free passage of American coastwise shipping.

Jan. 15. In the Senate, the impeachment trial of Robert W. Archbold of the Commerce Court was concluded. He was adjudged guilty on five of the thirteen separate charges brought against him, stripped of his office and forever disqualified from holding positions of public honor and trust. The principal charge against him was that while occupying the position of Federal judge in Pennsylvania, he had corruptly used his judicial power to further the private interests of himself and his friends in the acquisition of coal land properties in Pennsylvania.

Jan. 15. In the House, the Burnett bill was passed, which amends the existing naturalization law so as to make uniform requirements for the naturalization of aliens serving in the army and navy. A petition from Porto Rico asking for full self-government, was presented. An attempt to revoke President Taft's order placing fourth-class postmasters under the classified civil-service, was defeated on a roll-call vote, 106 to 141, several Democrats voting

with the Republicans in the negative. An attempt was made by Murdock of Kansas to place in the post office bill an amendment to exclude from the mails publications containing liquor advertisements, but it was ruled out of order.

Jan. 17. After a heated contest, the conference report on the immi-

gration bill was adopted in the House, on a viva voce vote. The only test vote was on a motion to recommit, 70 to 149. This bill carries the educational test for the admission of immigrants above the age of 16 years. There is a prospect that it will become a law unless the President interposes a veto.

HEARINGS ON THE TARIFF.

Brief Abstract of Proceedings, January 6 to January 17.

The House Ways and Means Committee began its consideration of a new tariff bill January 6. A dozen witnesses were heard on Schedule A, relating to chemicals, paints and oils. This schedule produced a revenue of about \$13,000,000 in 1911, and affects wage workers drawing \$197,000,000 annually. The burden of the arguments of manufacturers was that no changes were needed in the present tariff. The witnesses were allotted but two minutes, and in a number of instances when chemists and manufacturers began reading briefs they were filed after the reading had proceeded for a minute or so. Most of the hearings thus far appear to have been conducted in a similar way. The hearing on the chemical schedule was closed on the 7th. The indications were that the Democratic majority of the Committee would report practically the same bill that the President vetoed last year.

Jan. 8. Schedule B, relating to glassware, pottery, etc., was taken up. Glass manufacturers denied the existence of any trust in their business. Ex-Gov. Stone, of Pennsylvania, insisted that they depended in their price making on the law of supply and demand; and that if the tariff on window glass was reduced there must be either a reduction of wages or a suspension of factories. A declaration by Chairman Underwood

that he was satisfied with the showing in the pottery industry was accepted as an assurance of an undisturbed pottery tariff. A Trenton potter declared that labor in American plants costs 246 per cent. more than in Austria. Another witness said the average profits of seventeen pottery concerns in the United States was 6.2 per cent. in three years. The hearing was concluded on the 9th, when several importers appeared and urged reduction of duties. C. M. Wells of the American Optical Company, of Southbridge, argued against any reduction of duties on spectacles.

Jan. 10. Schedule C, iron, steel, etc., was taken up. The consensus of opinion of manufacturers represented was that lower duties will work a hardship to American industry. Wm. G. Smythe, of the American Screw Company, pictured the German manufacturer as rubbing his hands with delight at the prospect of the removal of duties on machine tools. W. L. Pond of the Nicholson File Company, Providence, wanted present duties continued, but if the committee is determined on making reductions he would recommend that they be not lower than 22 1/2 to 70 cents per dozen on the various sizes. Manufacturers of printing presses, tin plate, sewing machines, jewelry, etc., all protested against reductions. C. A. Curtiss, of New York,

representing 90 per cent. of American cutlery makers, said the net profits were about 4 1/2 per cent. of the capital invested. This hearing was continued on the 14th, when a representative of the American Watch Company, of Waltham, appeared to ask for the continuance of the present duties on watches and parts of watches.

Jan. 12. There were hearings on Schedule D, Wood and Manufactures of, and Schedule L, Silk and Silk Goods, on the same day. The testimony on the wood schedule was a plea for the retention of the present tariff. Geo. W. Jones, of the North Carolina Pine Association, argued that a duty should be imposed on lumber so long as a duty is maintained on any other American product. It developed that the Democratic members are planning to take the \$1.25 per thousand feet duty off lumber, and place that commodity on the free list. Horace Cheney, of South Manchester, Conn., represented the silk manufacturers. Representative Palmer, of Pennsylvania, Democrat, tried to bring out through Mr. Cheney that the silk manufacturers wanted to keep as high as possible the rates on silks that appeal to the poorer classes. He asked if the duty on these cheaper silks did not actually go to the manufacturer. "No," replied Mr. Cheney, who traced silk manufactures to China 2,600 years before Christ, "it goes to the workmen. For every \$1 you might get by reducing the tariff you would take \$2 away from the workmen through decreased wages." Chairman Underwood for the committee stated the policy of the committee with respect to the salt tinning of silks. To this practice there was great objection which Cheney voiced. Underwood announced that unless the salt tinning of silk is suppressed, the tax on such silks would be so high as to be prohibitive of importation of the silks and that in the United States the making of such silks would result in criminal prosecution by the Federal Government. It is asserted that the salt tinning of silks amounts to a fraud, heavily increasing the weight of the silks and greatly diminishing their durability. For the American Silk Association it was said that it was working very hard to elim-

inate the reprehensible practice and it hoped to succeed and thus to meet the views of the committee. A higher rate of duty was asked for on silk embroideries and laces by A. H. Kurshedt, who said that the labor cost in Europe was one-third that of the United States on this article.

Jan. 15. Schedule E, Sugar and Manufactures of, was under consideration. Sugar men both favoring and opposing the Underwood free sugar bill of last year were heard. The refiners generally spoke for the entire abolition of the sugar duties, and the National Cannery Association entered a plea for reduction. E. F. Atkins, of the American Sugar Refining Company, said he did not favor free sugar, but his company advised that the duty be reduced. He admitted that he was largely interested in the production of raw sugar in Cuba. R. E. Milling, representing the Louisiana sugar industry, declared that sugar has been recognized as a proper article for taxation by all Democratic Presidents in our history. Thomas Jefferson, he said, had advocated placing a duty on sugar because of the large revenue that would be raised. Therefore, he maintained, sugar is a proper object of taxation under a Democratic Government. Furthermore, the witness said, sugar is a maximum revenue producer. The total custom revenue, he said, is over \$309,000,000, whereas the duty on sugar produces about \$53,500,000, or 1/6 of the total. The burden of this duty, he continued, is evenly distributed upon the citizens of this country in proportion to the ability of each to pay the tax. As a final argument he said this tax is for the benefit of our own people who are engaged in producing and manufacturing sugars, because it is only by reason of the protective duties that the domestic cane sugar industry is enabled to continue. F. K. Carey, of Colorado, represented the beet sugar industry. He said that hundreds of millions were invested in beet sugar growing and manufacture, but if sugar is made free of duty the whole industry will be wrecked.

Jan. 17. Schedule M, Pulp, Paper and Books, and Schedule F, Tobacco and Manufactures of, were heard on the same day. A large representation of the

pulp and paper interests was in attendance. Thomas O. Marvin, Secretary of the Home Market Club, presented a statement of some length, showing the remarkable progress of the industry under the present tariff system. Arguments in behalf of the paper and pulp manufacturers of paper and pulp were made by Neal Brown, of Wausau, Wis., Mr. Hastings, of New York, speaking for the American Paper and Pulp Association, and E. L. Brown, of Watertown N. Y. The advocates of letting down the tariff bars for the free admission of paper from Canada, were represented by John Norris of the American Newspaper Association. George Sullivan, speaking for thirty-nine book paper manufacturers, said if the tariff was reduced labor would suffer first, as a reduction in wages would be inevitable. W. J. Livingston, of Detroit, urged the retention of the duty on lithographic paper and post cards; and said the duty had not affected the retail price. Just how far the Democratic members will go in cutting the paper schedule is problematical. So far they have not held a conference on the subject, but the consensus of their sentiment favors reduction wherever possible in this part of the tariff law. The committee probably will provide for free admission of Bibles and other religious works. A plea for elimination of the 25 per cent. duty on Bibles was made by the Presbyterian committee of publication. Growers of tobacco from Connecticut, North Carolina, Florida, and other States opposed reduction of tobacco duties, while cigar manufacturers and leaf tobacco boards of trade favored reductions. Most of the Democratic members of the committee, if not all, regard the items in the tobacco schedule as luxuries and one of the most easily adapted to revenue raising purposes among the fourteen schedules of the tariff act.

Governor Foss's remarks on Government ownership of railroads are not assuring; but that is a problem that will require much discussion before action will be possible. No Government-owned railroads compare in efficiency and cost with American railroads, which in spite of their errors in management

are the most efficient and cheapest in the world. A little experience with Government ownership would soon convince our people of its fallacies.—Clews' Market Letter.

OBITUARY.

JAMES P. HAMILTON, president of the Worcester National Bank, was found dead in bed, December 31. He was born in Worcester, March 10, 1844. Upon leaving the high school he went into the Worcester Co. Institute for Savings, of which his father was treasurer, where he remained for three years, most of the time making a study of banking. From 1868 to 1904 he was assistant cashier of the Worcester National bank, and later its vice-president and then its president, holding the latter post for the past six years. He was treasurer of the Worcester Gas Light Co., trustee of the People's Savings bank, auditor of the State Mutual Life Insurance Co. and of Clark university, and president of the Worcester Clearing House association. He is survived by a wife and three children. Mr. Hamilton had been a member of the Home Market Club for nearly twenty years.

WILLIAM S. HOPKINS, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Home Market Club, and for thirty years the treasurer of the Woonsocket Machine and Press Company, died in Woonsocket, December 29, at the age of 64. He had been in ill health for some time. He was formerly in the real estate business in Providence, but left there to accept the position of bookkeeper with the Woonsocket Machine and Press Company. About

three or four years after that he was made treasurer of the company, a position he had held ever since, and in the discharge of the duties of which he was very capable. He was for six years the chairman of the Woonsocket Republican City Committee, and was for two years councilman and one year alderman. He was a member of Morning Star Lodge of Masons, Union .R. A Chapter of Woonsocket, Woonsocket Commandery, K. T., and the Providence Consistory. Mr. Hopkins married Miss Lucy M. Briggs of Providence, and she, with one son, William Albert Hopkins, of Providence, survive.

RUFUS A. SOULE, a long-time member of the Home Market Club, died in New Bedford, January 9, aged 73 years. Mr. Soule was in the shoe manufacturing business for many years, and of late had been prominently identified with the textile industry. He was well known in Republican circles, having served as president of the Massachusetts State Senate, and was at the time of his death collector of the Port of New Bedford. He was born at Mattapoisett in 1839, and was of Mayflower ancestry. After several years of clerical work he enlisted as a private in the Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, serving for a year. In his later business life, Mr. Soule had been president of Hathaway, Soule & Harrington, Inc., shoe manufacturers, which office he retained until 1895, and he had been president of the Soule Mill and City Manufacturing Company, making cotton goods. He was an officer or director in various other manufacturing cor-

porations. Mr. Soule was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1878-79 and was chairman of the Board of License Commissioners in 1894. He was elected to the Massachusetts Senate in 1896 and served until 1902 and was president of that body in the last two years of his service. He was a member of several business and social organizations. A widow, a son and two daughters survive him.

HENRY CAREY BAIRD.

The cause of Protection has lost an able and steadfast advocate in the death of Henry Carey Baird, which occurred at Wayne, Pa., December 30. He had been an occasional contributor to *The Protectionist* in recent years, and maintained his interest in tariff matters to the end.

Mr. Baird was born in Bridesburg, Pa., September 10, 1825, so that he was in his eighty-eighth year. His father was a soldier in the war of 1812, and his mother was a daughter of Mathew Carey, a distinguished political economist, and his uncle was Henry C. Carey, who has long been estimated as the greatest of all economists, Adam Smith not excepted. When Mr. Baird was yet under three years of age, his father resigned from the army and purchased a farm where he remained until 1835. Thus the earliest recollections of Henry Carey Baird were connected with life on a farm and with the country school which he attended.

On completing his education in private schools, he came to Philadelphia in 1841 and entered the firm of

Carey and Hart, founded by his grandfather, Mathew Carey, in 1795, and remained a publisher for the rest of his life, the title becoming in 1875 Henry C. Baird & Company. He established in 1849-50 the first publishing business in this country specially confined to technical literature, and this business is now continued by the house. In this department of knowledge he performed an important work for his country, and the publications of this concern are known, and have a circulation throughout the civilized world. His early studies were in American history; but during the financial crisis of 1857, which had been long predicted by his uncle, Henry C. Carey, his attention was directed to the writings of this eminent economist. He was soon carried captive by a conviction of the far-reaching effects of the fundamental truths of this philosophy, and during all the subsequent years he endeavored to force an acceptance of them upon mankind. He wrote a great number of newspaper articles, and many tracts and pamphlets on a large range of economic questions, including especially the tariff and the currency. He early protested against the resumption of gold payments by contraction of the currency, after the war, and was one of the founders of the Greenback Party in 1875-76. By this party he was unanimously nominated for State Treasurer, but declined the nomination, saying that he was entirely without political ambition. He abandoned this organization in 1884 on account of its adoption of a free trade platform.

In 1876, Mr. Baird appeared before the committee on ways and

means of the House of Representatives, and earnestly opposed the refunding of the debt of the United States in 4 1/2 per cent. fifteen-year and 4 per cent. thirty-year bonds, and predicted with wonderful foresight that if this were done the government would be obliged to purchase these bonds before maturity at a premium. He was largely instrumental in defeating a bill which had passed the Senate for the issue of \$500,000,000 thirty-year 4 1/2 per cent. bonds. He appeared before Congressional Committees several times to present arguments on tariff and currency questions; contributed able economic articles to a leading American cyclopedia; and in 1876 discussed the currency question in the *Atlantic Monthly*. He published his numerous tracts and pamphlets mainly at his own expense and distributed them through the mails by tens of thousands, whenever he thought they would advance the cause he believed to be necessary to the public welfare.

In 1850 Mr. Baird married Elizabeth Davis Pennington, of Philadelphia. She died in 1901, leaving a daughter, Mrs. William Howard Gardiner. During the past few years Mr. Baird has been ill and devoted comparatively little time to business. He was an active member of a number of organizations and an honorary member of the Manufacturers' Club.

Robert Ellis Thompson, in a biographical notice of Mr. Baird in a recent issue of the *Irish World*, says of him:

He was mainly an industrial publisher, but his interest in Political Economy was keen from first to last. While he never equalled his grandfather in the number of his pamphlets, these were

many and good. For his uncle he had the respect of a good scholar for a great teacher. He shared with a goodly number of us the conviction that in the writings of Henry C. Carey we have the permanent foundation of economic teaching for all time, and that no change of fashion in economic thought will ever supersede them.

My liveliest contact with him was after his uncle's death, when we had the duty to divide Henry C. Carey's books between the University, of which I was the librarian, and his family, which Mr. Baird represented as his uncle's executor. It was a hot and dusty job, but he made the hours pass delightfully with his abundance of shrewd comment, his reminiscences of his grandfather and his uncle, his association of this and that book with bits of history or biography.

I remember his pointing out that the bulk of his uncle's library was not of treatises on economics, but of books of travel, and compilations of statistics. In fact, he had small use for the economists, except perhaps Adam Smith, while these other books supplied him with the raw materials of his economic writings. He used to compare himself with the great Swedish chemist, Berzelius, who when asked where was his apparatus, pointed to a single blow-pipe in the corner of his library.

Mr. Baird was a man of warm friendships, and of still warmer family affections. I met him but once in the home circle, but that was a revelation of the man. His family made much of life to him; and the death of Mrs. Baird some years was a blow from which his health never rallied.

We sincerely hope that there will be no occasion for the opening of a single soup house this winter, but we are not free from the apprehension that such an occasion may arise. President-elect Wilson's decision to call an extra session next spring to revise the Tariff has hastened the day when the business of the country must suffer from Democratic Tariff changes. In the past these changes have been accompanied by hard times. Let us hope that history will not

repeat itself, although we fear that it will.—Camden Post-Telegram.

MASSACHUSETTS SENATORIAL ELECTION.

Republican Caucus Proceedings—Election of Hon. John W. Weeks by a Nearly Unanimous Republican Vote.

A detailed account of the interesting contest for United States Senator in the Massachusetts Legislature would fill several pages of this magazine, and we present a condensed report.

At a conference of Republican members on January 6, a rule was adopted requiring that the nominee must secure 94 votes in caucus, which was two-thirds of the number of votes necessary for election. This rule was proposed by the supporters of McCall, and was opposed by the Weeks men, but the latter finally yielded in the interest of harmony. Six ballots for Senator were taken in caucus on January 8. The first ballot, to the surprise of all, showed McCall in the lead, and stood: McCall, 63; Weeks, 56; Curtis Guild, 14; Eben S. Draper, 13; Frederick H. Gillett, 5; Robert Luce, 4; W. M. Crane, 1; John Hays Hammond, 1. On the second ballot McCall went to 71 and Weeks to 61; Draper dropped to 9 and Guild to 12, and W. B. Plunkett had 3 votes. On the succeeding four ballots, McCall's vote ranged from 72 to 73 and Weeks's from 67 to 68; Draper's dropped to 5 on the third ballot, and Guild's to 8 on the fifth. George P. Lawrence had 4 on the last four ballots.

The contest was resumed on January 9, when eleven more ballots

were taken without result. Mr. Weeks was in the lead when adjournment was had. He had overtaken McCall on the 9th ballot of the series and the third of the afternoon, when he secured 71 votes to 67 for McCall. On the 17th ballot Weeks had 73 and McCall 66. Guild's vote ranged from 8 to 12; Draper's from 2 to 5; and Lawrence's from 3 to 7. John L. Bates had 4 votes on the 14th ballot.

On Friday, January 10, only five ballots were taken, when the caucus adjourned until Monday afternoon. The second ballot on this day (and the 19th of the series) showed McCall again in the lead, he having 74 to 70 for Weeks. On the 22d ballot McCall had 73, votes, Weeks 71, Guild 9, Draper 2, and Lawrence 2.

On Monday, January 13, the caucus proceeded to break the deadlock by nominating on the ninth ballot of the day and the thirty-first since the balloting began, Congressman John W. Weeks, and by making his nomination unanimous. The balloting started with Weeks leading McCall by one vote. He steadily increased his lead on the succeeding ballots, until on the 30th ballot he received 91 votes to 63 for McCall. The 31st and last ballot was as follows: John W. Weeks, 97; Samuel W. McCall, 57; Curtis Guild, 5; George P. Lawrence, 1; Robert Luce, 1.

Weeks thus had not only 14 more than a bare majority (83) of the Republican membership of the Legislature (164)—three members being unable to be present because of illness—but he had three more than two-thirds (94) of a majority of the

total present membership of the Legislature, including all parties (278) two of the members having died since the November election, and no special election to fill the vacancies having been held. The nomination of Mr. Weeks was made unanimous on motion of Senator Allen, a McCall leader, and of Representative Sherburne of Brookline, a Guild leader.

On Tuesday, January 14, John W. Weeks was elected United States Senator by both branches of the Legislature, each House voting separately. The vote on the Senate was: John W. Weeks, 26; Sherman L. Whipple (Democrat), 11; John A. Keliher, 1; John A. Kebber, 1. In the House: John W. Weeks, 134; Sherman L. Whipple (Dem.), 69; John Graham Brooks (Progressive), 5; John F. Meaney (Dem.), 3; James B. Carrol (Dem.), 3; Charles A. De Courcy (Dem.), 3; Charles S. Hamlin (Dem.), 2; John A. Thayer (Dem.), 2; John F. Fitzgerald (Dem.), 2; Andrew J. Peters (Dem.), 1; Robert Luce (Rep.), 1; Philip J. O'Connell (Dem.), 1; Richard Olney, 2d (Dem.), 1; John P. Sweeney (Dem.), 1; Harvey H. Pratt (Dem.), 1; Geo. Fred Williams (Dem.), 1; Rev. Roland D. Sawyer, 1; Curtis Guild (Rep.), 1; Joseph H. O'Neil (Dem.), 1. It will be noticed that the Democratic vote was much scattered. Of the 135 Republicans present, all but one, Naphen of Natick, voted for Weeks. Naphen, who had refused to go into the caucus, voted for Guild. The vote for Luce came from Cowls of Amherst, who had voted for McCall from start to finish in the caucus.

At noon, on Wednesday, January 15, the Senate and House met in joint convention, to complete the formalities of the election, and after a comparison of journals John W. Weeks was declared elected United States Senator for the term of six years from March 4 next.

After the nomination of Mr. Weeks by the Republican caucus, the Democratic members held a conference, and after the usual monkey and parrot time, during which several members left the room, Sherman L. Whipple was nominated for Senator.

The New Senator.

Hon. John Wingate Weeks was born in Lancaster, N. H., April 11, 1860, and passed his early boyhood on a farm. In 1881 he was graduated from the United States naval academy, and performed the duties of a midshipman three years. For eight years preceding the war with Spain he commanded a division of the Massachusetts naval brigade, with the rank of captain. From 1886 to 1888 he was assistant land commissioner for the Florida Southern railroad, and in the latter year he formed the financial connections in Boston with which he has since remained. Because of his active participation in coast defence in the war with Spain, Gov. Wolcott made him a member of the military advisory board. From 1900 to 1902 he served as alderman in Newton, and for two years following he was Mayor of that city.

In 1905 he was elected to the 59th Congress, and early in his first term he acquired commanding influence in that body. He was re-elected to the 60th, 61st and 62d Congresses, and

last fall he was re-elected to the 63d Congress, after a warm contest, by a plurality of 2,351. He received 15,934 votes, to 13,583 for Mitchell, Democrat, and 5,853 for Fiel, progressive. During his four terms in the House, he has served on several important committees, including those of banking and currency, agriculture, and post-offices and post roads, being chairman of the latter in the 61st Congress. He also served as a member of the Monetary Commission. He has taken a conspicuous part in the shaping of important legislation relating to the tariff, banking and currency reform, conservation of natural resources, the navy and merchant marine; and he secured the passage through the House of the White Mountain forest reserve bill, against the strong opposition of both majority and minority leaders.

Throughout his Congressional career, Mr. Weeks has shown himself a man of high character, great capacity and sound judgment. He possesses extensive and accurate information on the tariff, particularly as it affects New England interests; and we believe that as Senator he will continue a sturdy champion of the system of protection to American industries.

ON AN EVEN TRADING BASIS.

From Industrial Canada.

When the reciprocity campaign was at its height the opponents of the pact argued that Canada would secure all the benefits offered by the United States at that time as soon as the Democrats came into power. They claimed that reciprocity was only a shrewd anticipation of the inevitable. Their prophecies have come true. The Democrats are in power, and many of the benefits for

which we were asked to pay so dear will be forced on us for nothing.

The average ad valorem rate of duty imposed on Canadian dutiable goods by the United States is 45 per cent., while that imposed by Canada against United States' dutiable goods is only 25 per cent. By all means let the United States reduce their tariff until it reaches the level of the Canadian tariff. This will put the two countries on an even trading basis. During the year ending March 31, 1912, we imported from the United States goods valued at \$356,368,179, and exported to the United States goods valued at \$120,534,993. With equal tariffs the balance of trade will be more in our favor.

PROTECTION AND THE CANADIAN WEST.

The growth of protection sentiment in Western Canada is attracting attention. The Calgary Standard claims that, "Without a reasonable protective tariff the plains of Alberta and Saskatchewan cannot build up industrial cities; at the best they will be only flour mills and warehouses based upon the one industry of wheat-growing. With protection, moderate protection—the national policy—the manufacturer can afford to launch out into making the many articles of domestic and industrial use for which there is a market at his door. Even Saskatchewan and Alberta are commencing to realize the value of protection. They are beginning to see that these provinces cannot become peopled with artisans and mechanics as well as farmers and ranchers except the infant industry is given a fighting chance for its life."

It is an erroneous impression that manufacturing is confined to the East and that the West is devoted to grain growing. Statistics for 1900

and 1910 show that manufacturing increased in the West more rapidly than in the East. During that period the increase in value of products for the whole of Canada was 142 per cent.; for the western provinces the percentages of increase were: Alberta, 1,323 per cent.; British Columbia, 234 per cent.; Manitoba, 315 per cent.; and Saskatchewan, 871 per cent.; far exceeding the percentages of increase in the eastern provinces.

Canada is rapidly learning the lesson pointed out by General Grant when he said, "The American system of locating manufactories next to the plow and pasture has produced a result noticeable by the intelligent portion of all commercial nations."

ANNUAL WOOL REVIEW.

The annual wool review of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers for 1912 has been issued. The report places the number of sheep in the United States, fit for shearing, at 38,481,000, a decrease of 1,280,000 from their figures for 1911. Of the decrease 555,000 is placed in the western group of wool producing states, 555,000 in the eastern section and 50,000 in the southern states. The clip of wool from these sheep, exclusive of pulled wool is estimated at 262,543,000 pounds, a decrease of 14,504,500 pounds over 1911. The scoured equivalent is 106,566,652 pounds, a decrease of 3,029,543. Pulled wools are estimated at 41,500,000 in grease and 30,300,000 scoured, giving a total of 304,043,400 pounds of wool with a scoured equivalent of 136,-

866,652 pounds. The average weight per fleece was 6.82 and the value of the 1912 wool product was \$76,020,229, an increase of \$9,448,892 over the value in 1911, with 15,000,000 pounds more wool. The average scoured price for fleece wool was 55.4 cents and that of pulled wool 56 cents. The available supply of wool to Oct. 1, 1912, was 659,586,561 pounds. The report says on general conditions, in part:

The year 1912 marked an improvement on 1911 in briskness of trade and values realized. This improvement set in early in the year, or indeed began before the year 1911 ended. A favorable factor at that time was the report of the Tariff Board, emphasizing the need of protection for the American wool manufacture. A distinct gain in the wool and woolen trade was noted immediately afterward. In January healthy conditions in the wool market became pronounced. For a time the strike at Lawrence, affecting very large worsted mills, was an unfavorable influence. But this trouble, after all, involved only a fraction of the American worsted machinery. Throughout January and February the wool market at Boston continued firm, the belief gaining ground that the new clip would be marked by higher prices if anything. Not even the threatening talk of the politicians in Congress could retard trade or depress prices. . . .

The year had emphasized again the close interdependence between wool growing and wool manufacturing in the United States. The previous year of 1911 had been an unsatisfactory one for the manufacturers, and the wool market had lagged. Meanwhile stocks of goods on hand had become perilously reduced. Merchants and clothing manufacturers did not place their orders for fabrics in large quantities, but their buying was steady and constant, and very soon the machinery of the mills was again fully employed. The good trade of the year 1912 is to be explained by the great consuming power of the American peo-

ple, brought to bear on a market at the beginning almost bare of woolen goods.

All that has been accomplished in the year is to supply the demand from month to month. No surplus stocks of goods have been accumulated as a general rule, so that in spite of politics the new year should open with the wool market in a reasonably strong position, scarcely ever before so bare of wool in the hands of either dealers or manufacturers. However, no repetition of the good trade of 1912 can be anticipated, for tariff revision downward is not far remote, and this menace will become very grave and imminent as the spring months are approaching. . . .

Tariff agitation, which was the bane of the wool business in 1911, is responsible for much of the uncertainty existing in the wool market throughout the year. It is true that many believed that the discordant elements in Congress could never agree upon a tariff bill on wool and its manufactures, while others felt confident that should an agreement be reached and a bill adopted by both houses President Taft would interpose his veto and thus prevent the enactment of any new law. Nevertheless much uncertainty existed, accompanied by a feeling of hope that in the end the situation would be saved and disaster to the industry deferred if not entirely prevented.

WILSON AND JEFFERSON.

From the New York Tribune.

The accident of birth made Woodrow Wilson a Virginian, but his Staunton speech shows how far removed in ideas he is from Virginia tradition. Jefferson founded the Virginia school of thought, and Madison, Monroe and Tyler were all diligent pupils in it. Now a new Virginia President is about to be inaugurated who knows not Jefferson and talks to the people of his native state in a language which most of them find unintelligible.

Jefferson held that liberty and the

pursuit of happiness were best promoted by the enlargement of individual rights and the restriction of governmental interference with such rights. He believed that people would be freest and most satisfied if they were left to their own resources in working out their own destinies. It was his opinion that men ought to be allowed to rise or fall according to their own merit, the impersonal law of competition mechanically fixing the rewards of the winners and losers. To suggest that the law of supply and demand should be abolished and a new standard of compensations devised, according to which the government would be compelled to measure the compensation allowed by adjusting it to some vague abstraction of "social service," would have appalled and outraged Jefferson, who could not but have seen in it an attempt to revive the tyranny of government against which Virginia protested when it wrote "Sic semper tyrannis" on its intelligently.

In saying that some centralized authority must regulate wages, salaries and profits, not by taxing them all equally, but by singling out some as earned and others as unearned through "service," Mr. Wilson may be in line with the socialistic conception of government, but he is not in line with what Jefferson taught and what the Democratic party has always accepted as sound doctrine, whether intelligently or unintelligently.

Mr. Wilson remarked at Staunton that "Virginia herself in the convention showed no great enthusiasm for my nomination." It would probably have shown much less if he had had a birthday last May and had

made at his birthplace the glaringly anti-Jefferson speech which he delivered there the other day.

FROM CHURCH TO TARIFF.

We were told when we had our first lesson in civics that our Constitution prohibits any establishment of religion, and forbids any religious test as a qualification for office. This is true, as true as anything on paper, but the union of Church and State was bred in the colonial bone and died slowly in the flesh.

In the colonial period the Church of England had what we may call an imperfect establishment here. There were no Bishops, but the English clergy had divers legal privileges represented by the old Knickerbocker element in New York, by Huguenots and Puritans. In Maryland and Virginia, a powerful landed interest upheld the Church of England, its glebes, and its claims to sundry dues of tobacco. Later romance paints the immortal Patrick Henry as nobly denouncing clerical tyrants, but his own words are too plain to be wheedled away—the clergy did not retain him on their side, hence he took the other. Jefferson found it a harder task to disestablish the Church in Virginia than to soften the penal code, or to uproot primogeniture.

New England had a sort of Puritan establishment of her own, and Brooks Adams's book, "The Emancipation of Massachusetts," is a curious study. The American Revolution broke many old ties, the French Revolution burst forth like a volcano, the second war with Great Britain was a long past milestone, and yet Massachusetts con-

tinued to levy taxes for her established Church. Scores of old men and women remember the last days of the Puritan establishment of Maine, and such institutions always have a traditional force that lingers after their legal downfall. In South Carolina, the old Church of England influence counted for much in politics even after the war for the Union. New Hampshire's legal requirement that an office-holder must be a Protestant remained on paper after it had ceased to be effective.

Pennsylvania virtually established the Society of Friends. To do the Friends justice, they ruled with a mildness rare in those rough old days, yet their influence in business, in society, in the courts was that of a humane establishment. In the whole of the Louisiana territory French and Spanish priests were potent forces, and the old problem of ecclesiastical or civil regulation has revived with the Philippines. Nothing is further from the purpose of this article than to discuss any of the controverted points. It merely aims to show that the established church idea lingered long with us, and is not yet extinct.

Moral, if every President from Washington to Taft has found out that the Established Church principle dies hard, let the sanguine tariff smashers remember that the Protective tariff principle was active in colonial Massachusetts so far back as 1667. It underlies the Tariff Act of 1789. It ruled the teaching of Hamilton, Jefferson and Madison. It won the support of the great orator Webster and the great warrior Jackson. Allow for the old English statutes, and we may say of the tariff

that it has come down to us with the common law and trial by jury. Furthermore, when in any part of this country a religious establishment has been thrown down, the act was final—no new establishment was reared. Whenever we have discarded Protection (and we never cut it out by the roots), we are always glad to reestablish it.

Of course there is no logical connection between any set of religious doctrines and an economic system. Yet there is an intellectual association. To disestablish a religious body is not so easy as dreamers think. To uproot a tariff system may be quite difficult. R. R.

THE PLATFORM IN A NUTSHELL.

From Leake's Weekly.

The mission of the Republican party is not ended. It will continue to lead the battle for cleaner politics, more efficient administration and the amelioration of social and industrial wrongs. Its platform and its belief can be summarized in a few words, as follows:

A government of law and order.

A tariff that will protect American labor, the American farmer and the American investor.

The closest economy compatible with the most efficient public service.

The choice of public officials solely because of their fitness and capacity.

Such expenditures for good roads, public schools, the care of the indigent and insane and the public welfare as the advancing needs of the commonwealth require.

A policy that will conserve for the benefit of all the people of each of the States forever its forests and water powers.

The rule of the people under well-established constitutional guarantees that will tend to promote their health, happiness and safety.

What more can we want? Let the people rule.

TARIFF VIEWS OF VARIOUS EDITORS.

The Democrats and the Tariff.

There is too much reason to fear that the tariff hearings which began at Washington on Monday are simply a blind to cover decisions that have already been reached. New England manufacturers who sought to present their case as to boots and shoes were limited to half an hour's time. The same experience has befallen others who were interested in rates on a variety of products. Textiles will have more attention, but it is evident that woollens will be cut rather short. Cottons are largely manufactured in the South, and they will get a better degree of study. Altogether the hearings bid fair to take on a sheerly partisan character.—Boston Herald.

Interdependency of Schedules.

Whether a tariff scheme is designed with particular reference to protection or whether with reference to revenue only it is important that its schedules shall bear equally. Schedules are inter-dependent and not independent. The articles of one schedule are the finished product of one man and the raw material of another. Not infrequently (from certain viewpoints) finished products of a plurality of schedules are the raw materials of some manufacturer. There are also the tools of trade of a variety of industries to be regarded and aids and accessories of various descriptions. Overlooking all this the downward revisionists in their previous pop-gun efforts not only materially reduced tariffs to some or many but fixed tariffs on things these had to purchase at a figure that would have made their price to the factory buyer relatively higher than before, subjecting him to a double handicap. In a general revision worked out harmoniously "from agate to zinc" it is much easier to avoid such blunders, though eternal vigilance is required to render the most carefully constructed tariff bill absolutely immune from such

blemishes.—Pittsburg (Pa.) Gazette-Times.

Tariff and Congress.

Congress will give a good deal of attention this month to the tariff. Perhaps you do not take any interest in the tariff, but if you do not, you can't have the faintest idea what tariff revision means to those who have something at stake. Of course, importers are for a low tariff. It would help them to sell more foreign-made goods in this country. A good many persons who are neither importers nor producers also want a low tariff. They figure that they could get overcoats, and underwear, and cutlery, and chinaware, and other things into the composition of which labor enters largely, at lower prices than they pay now. But the people who produce these things want to have a tariff on to help meet the difference in the cost of production here and abroad. Some pretty staunch Democrats will be found arguing for protection, too, at least indirectly, when the chance is given.—Milford Journal.

Revising the Tariff.

What the Democrats want to do now is to equalize the tariff burden and not start a new system of reduction that will upset business and cripple industries. President-elect Wilson's idea of acting with caution and sanity is right. It would be better to have high food-stuffs and work for all hands to do than to have cheap supplies at the expense of enforced idleness.—Valdosta (Ga.) Times.

Carnegie on Tariff Revision.

Andrew Carnegie has been one of the chief beneficiaries of high protection. Few Americans understand so thoroughly its ins and outs or are more familiar with business conditions. In a letter to a Pittsburg paper Mr. Car-

negie reassures manufacturers in that protection centre. He writes:

"I beg to say that I have no apprehension of disaster arising from the change of administration; on the contrary, I think we are now in a position to reduce the tariff on many manufactured articles. . . . As with rails, so with other products. The aim of protection at first is to enable us to obtain free trade. People need not lie awake of nights fearing disaster to the business of the country from any legislation that is to come."

Tariff revision downward is coming as sure as the sun shines. Manufacturers may as well make up their minds to it. Only those enjoying abnormally high protection, to which they have no right, need feel disturbed. The manufacturer who makes honest goods and sells them at a fair price has nothing to fear. Mr. Carnegie sets them a good example.—Baltimore Sun.

The Policy of Protection.

If President-elect Wilson and his Democratic advisers are contemplating a general assault upon the principle of protection all along the line when Congress convenes in extra session to revise the tariff, they would do well to pause and consider certain things. First and foremost is the point that the majority of the voters of this country unquestionably desire a continuance of the protective system. For once, the host which has defended our industrial system against domestic and foreign foes in so many campaigns was divided, and the minority triumphed. Yet the protectionist idea unquestionably predominates in this country, as it has for many years past.

President-elect Wilson, who so constantly assures us of his deep respect for the people and their wishes in governmental matters, would do well to give heed to that point. Here and there he can promote the movement to reduce duties without doing violence to the doctrine which finds favor with the large majority of Americans, and with positive benefit to the public. But he is not warranted in reversing the fundamental principle on which our whole governmental structure has been

erected. That would be flying in the face of a desire that has been expressed so plainly that we cannot see how Mr. Wilson can dispute or doubt it.—Springfield Union.

Lose Enthusiasm for Free Trade.

The first essential of free-trade legislation is that the work shall be bossed by budding statesmen who have had but little seasoned experience in governmental affairs. The trouble is that as soon as a legislator has become thoroughly familiar with the problems of government and the needs of American industry he is likely to lose a great deal of his enthusiasm for free trade. For that reason we can understand if we cannot fully sympathize with the desire of President-elect Wilson and Mr. Bryan to relegate the veterans to the rear.—Springfield Union.

Divided on the Tariff.

Let the Democrats take warning. Let Mr. Wilson, now that the campaign is over, take a definite stand. Let Mr. Underwood and Mr. Bryan if possible compose their differences about wool and metals. Let such Democrats as believe in protection indicate where in their judgment it should apply, and let such Democrats as, while decrying protection as a steal yet want a share while the stealing continues, state the amount of the plunder they think is coming to them. Now is the accepted time; now the day for agreement. A little while and it may be too late.

Confession is good for the soul. Especially when the truth is already known. Everybody knows that the Democrats are divided on the tariff, that there are free traders and protectionists in that party, and all of us have just seen an illustration of the fact that a party divided against itself at the polls cannot stand.—Washington Star.

Reducing the Tariff.

Those who incline to the belief that there will be no serious revision downward in our tariff schedules next spring are likely to be disappointed. While there are some Democrats with protec-

tionist proclivities, and several in the party who, quite naturally, would avert a business upheaval, such as violent tariff changes might precipitate, the record of the party in the last two sessions, and its emphatic campaign pledges for tariff revision, leave it no choice but to go ahead with the work of reduction. Business seems gradually to be adjusting itself to this view, which it now regards as inevitable; and it is probable will look upon the outcome with less forebodings than has been its wont.—New York Financial American.

Less Radical in Practice Than in Theory.

In the present and immediately prospective situation at the American seat of government there are certain factors that may be easily recognized and reckoned with. The Republican party, that has dominated national affairs almost continuously for half a century, is going out of office; the Democratic party, that has had barely eight years of experience in national governmental management during this long period, is coming in. The proved Republican tariff policy is protective; the professed Democratic tariff policy is anti-protective. The nation has prospered marvelously under Republican rule despite occasional severe industrial depressions; during the brief period of Democratic rule it underwent an industrial panic. The Republican platform in the national campaign of 1912 pledged adherence to the policies with which the name of the party has been identified for the last fifty years; the Democratic platform pledged a departure from, and, in some cases, an absolute reversal of, those policies. Notwithstanding, the Democratic President-elect assures the country that he will not approve legislation calculated to disturb business, and there is reason to believe that in practice the Democratic party will not be nearly so radical as it is in theory.—Christian Science Monitor.

Put Your Trust in Wilson.

Only the extreme protectionists are left among those who, a few weeks ago,

were predicting disturbance and disaster to follow Democratic tariff revision—and with these the wish is father to the thought. The country has the common sense to realize that the Democratic party, that is to say, about half the population, is as vitally interested in maintaining and increasing prosperity as the rest. It has an additional incentive to this end in the desire to keep the confidence of the country and continue its rule. Those who favor tariff revision—and they are not confined to Democrats—believe that if it is judiciously done, it will be a lasting benefit to the industries and trade of the country. That it will be judiciously done is the assurance given by Woodrow Wilson in his every utterance on the subject.—Portland Argus.

The Earlier the Better.

The country would be glad to know as quickly as possible whether Mr. Underwood is going to pursue the same haphazard policy at the extra session or whether he is going to embrace frankly the theory of one set of President-elect Wilson's speeches, that every form of protection is injurious to everybody, or the theory of another set of speeches by the same authority, that all the country needs is a system of protection equalized and made perfect. When Mr. Underwood puts his cards down on the table industry and commerce will breathe easier. They would rather see the cards than keep on guessing what sort of cards the Alabama professor has up his sleeve.—New York Tribune.

Free Trade Is Absurd.

While the Democratic party is not a unit on the matter of tariff legislation, there being a multiplicity of views on the intricate problem as to what would be the wisest thing to do, still the triumph of that party, at the end of years of hard fighting, on positive pronouncements for a tariff for revenue makes it imperative that the Democratic party defend its record by redeeming its pledges.

It is absurd to talk about free trade—there are no free traders now—for the

expenses of the government must be raised by duties imposed on imports, and if properly and equitably placed there will necessarily be large incidental protection. This will not be protection for protection's sake, but it will be incidental to the collection of the necessary amount of money to run the government.—Nashville American.

The South Needs to Watch the Tariff Question.

In any revision of the tariff, sane and safe methods should be adopted. It is incumbent upon congress not to undertake any radical campaign nor to attempt to claim that the country voted in favor of free trade. It did not.—Vicksburg (Miss.) Herald.

Revival of Protection Feeling.

There will be a revival of protection sentiment, beyond question, and it will be success ultimately, because this is by nature a protection country. It has prospered too greatly and been too successful under that policy ever to give it up and definitely abandon it under any impulse.

The fact that the Democratic vote this year is hundreds of thousands less in actual count than it was sixteen years ago, is a proof that the sentiment of the country is not Democratic at all. Nevertheless, there must be common sense in the leadership of the Republican party or it is doomed to fall in the wilderness indefinitely.

We not only must have revision that we ought to have, but there will be added to it a great deal that is almost sure to be of some damage to the country and that is one reason why a chill is felt over business and everywhere business men are taking in sail and oftentimes declining to assume public responsibilities because of the pressure of business engagements and the fear that if their own hand were taken away to any extent they would lose greatly and they decline to take the risk.—Buffalo News.

It would be a fine thing for the country if Democratic revision were deferred four years.—Pittsburg Gazette-Times.

THE NON-PARTISAN TARIFF COMMISSION SCHEME.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

The National Tariff Commission Association has been in existence about four years and its board of directors met in this city last week and instructed the executive committee to call a convention to be held in Washington, probably not before next April, when there is to be a special session of the new Congress, "for the purpose of urging the establishment of a permanent non-partisan tariff commission." The president of the association in his annual report, while admitting that the main purpose of securing "a scientific and business-like treatment of tariff revision through the agency of a non-partisan tariff commission" has not been accomplished, declared that "the principle of revision by schedule has been accepted by both the great political parties, and it is safe to say that we are not likely again to have a general tariff revision under one bill." Even that much is by no means assured, if it is desirable.

He also said that discussion through the press and the constitutional organizations of the association "has clearly shown that public sentiment favors" the commission idea "in all sections of the country." It is common for those who are active in any movement to claim that public sentiment is on their side, but we have failed to see evidence of any clear expression of this sentiment in support of this particular movement, though it is rather captivating in some of its claims. It is questionable whether a really non-partisan tariff commission is a possibility, so long as it has to be created by Con-

gress and parties are so directly opposed on the fundamental principle of a tariff policy. If the party in control of legislation establishes a commission, it will be pretty sure to be committed to the support of its policy.

It may be that "our newly-elected President and the strongest leaders of the Democratic party fully appreciate the conditions and stand for an orderly and careful revision." It is to be hoped that they do; but it is not likely that their revision will suit the other party, which is devoted to the principle of a permanent tariff for protection. If they consent to create a commission to "gather, tabulate, digest and report technical and statistical facts," it is not likely to be non-partisan, so far as the tariff policy is concerned, nor is it likely to be permanent in its original form and purpose. Facts and statistics can be arrayed to support any policy in behalf of which they are gathered, tabulated and digested.

THE DEMOCRATIC TARIFF PROBLEM.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

It is announced that the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee propose a raise from \$325,000,000 to \$350,000,000 a year from customs duties. Considering that the total receipts from customs duties for the last fiscal year were only \$311,321,672.22, that does not look much like the "revision downward" for which the Democratic hosts have been trumpeting so lustily for the past few years. It looks more like revision upward. Nevertheless, the declara-

tion of the Democratic platform on which Wilson stumped the country for office declares it to be a fundamental tenet of the Democracy that protective duties are unconstitutional and void. It is true that this is ancient Democratic doctrine. It was proclaimed by South Carolina as early as 1832, and caused old Andy Jackson to order a gallows to be made ready for J. C. Calhoun. The declaration of the platform was interpreted by Champ Clark as foreshadowing the "removal of every vestige of protection from the statute book." Concretely it was interpreted by Chairman Underwood as a promise to "put lemons on the free list." And all Democrats are agreed that the promises of the Democratic platform are sure and are all to be kept to the very letter. Therefore, it is easy to figure out what the Democrats will do. If they keep their platform promises, and also raise "from \$325,000,000 to \$350,000,000 from customs," they will have to take off all the duties now levied and collected on articles such as we produce ourselves and transfer them bodily to those which we do not produce. Good-by, "free breakfast table."

There will be no trouble in raising their \$350,000,000 in that way, providing that the American people are in a condition to continue buying as they buy now. For the eleven months ending with November of the present calendar year imports to the amount of \$902,000,000 paid no duty whatever. The imports which did pay duty were only of the value of \$761,000,000. It is, therefore, as easy as rolling off a log to raise the desired \$350,000,000 from customs,

and still keep all the sacred promises of the Democratic platform. Always assuming that the American people will continue to have the money to buy. And there are 718 items, besides print paper, on the free list to work on. It will not, however, be revision downward. It will be revision sideways.

WHAT COTTON OWES TO THE TARIFF.

BY C. J. H. WOODBURY.

The use of cotton in the southern states where it was indigenous appears to have been strictly local until the invention of the American cotton gin by Eli Whitney, and as Emerson said, that a weed is a plant whose virtues are unknown, this invention which, in its present battery development, caused the greatest known increase of 12,000 fold in production by the substitution of machinery for hand work, raised the wild cotton of the southern Atlantic states from a weed to a commercial commodity, and its cultivation was systematically begun.

The prompt establishment of a protective tariff on cotton of three cents a pound by the act of July 4, 1789, and enacted in subsequent bills stimulated the cultivation of American cotton and stopped its importation from the West Indies, and thus established by tariff protection the production of this important fiber, which has since continued to be the cheapest as well as the most useful textile fabric, until the protection of a tariff became unnecessary under the circumstances, and was afterwards extended to manufactured articles of this fabric, for the purpose

of meeting the competition of foreign labor.


The cotton industry continued to be a mixture of domestic labor in the cleaning of cotton by the bow string, followed by the application of power in a crude factory to carding and spinning, reverting again to a domestic handicraft in weaving, which continued until 1816 when the establishment of the Boston Manufacturing Company at Waltham with the power loom invented by Francis G. Lowell began the industry in which was the first mill in the world where cotton was converted into marketable fabrics solely by the use of machinery without the intervention of handiwork.

One of the results of the useless war of 1812 was the practice of English manufacturers to sell cotton goods below the cost of manufacture in the limited zone of consumption in the vicinity of the few mills then in this country, until all of them except the one at Waltham were obliged to close, and all but this one at Waltham and the one at Adams, Mass., became bankrupt, as they were not sufficiently protected by the tariff of April 27, 1816, but the protective tariff of May 22, 1824, which cannot be accused of being hasty legislation, gave sufficient protection to enable the resumption of the industry which has continued its usefulness to this day.

When \$15 a week is made the minimum living wage of a girl in New York what is to become of the girl who isn't competent to earn more than \$5? Is she to starve or be made a charge in complete enforced idleness on somebody else?—Boston Herald.



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PUBLISHED BY THE

HOME MARKET CLUB

77 Summer St., Boston, Mass.

Vol. XXIV. No. 11.

10 Cents Each, \$1.00 a Year

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THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress.

THOMAS O. MARVIN, Editor.

Signed articles are not to be understood as expressing
the views of the editor or publishers.

VOL. XXIV.

MARCH, 1913.

No. 287

THE TARIFF HEARINGS.

Applying the Mexican "Fugitive Law" to American Industries.

Beginning January 6 and closing Saturday, February 1st, the Committee on Ways and Means held public hearings on the tariff. Manufacturers, labor leaders and importers took advantage of such opportunity as was afforded to present their arguments, and a few voices were raised, as claimed, in behalf of the ultimate consumer.

Who is heard at the committee meetings? asked Woodrow Wilson during the campaign, and he answered the question by stating that it is the manufacturers. "We could give you a list of the gentlemen who have been most prominent in securing tariff legislation," he declared. "We do not propose that special interests shall any longer camp in the rooms of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate." And yet no stern faced guards with bristling bayonets stood at the doors of the committee rooms to forbid the entrance of the emissaries of "special interests" while the

Democratic Ways and Means Committee was holding its tariff hearings.

It is not a difficult matter to foretell what gentlemen will prove to be "most prominent in securing tariff legislation" under the present Democratic control. And it will not be the representatives of great American industries. It will not be the men whose genius, ability and courage have lighted the fires in a thousand furnaces and set in motion the machinery in a thousand mills. It will not be the men who have established American enterprises, given employment to millions of American wage-earners and made of this country the industrial marvel of the world.

It will be the eager band of importers, the zealous representatives of European manufacturers, not the men who have developed the industries of the United States, whose voice will be heard and whose advice will be heeded by the new Committee on Ways and Means.

It is not to be understood that the Committee is criticised for lack of courtesy to the American manufacturers. They were sharply questioned and in some cases almost spitefully cross-examined, but this is not unusual where economic theories clash and partisan committeemen seek political advantage. Many questions which seemed irrelevant at a hearing on the tariff, were asked and at times some questions were asked apparently more to embarrass the witness than to elicit pertinent information.

The attitude of the Chairman of the Committee, Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, however, hardly could be improved upon. He treated all witnesses with the utmost fairness and courtesy, yet he made it plain that it was proposed to eliminate protection from the tariff schedules. It is true that he said, at times, "Of course no one is in favor of reducing the tariff if it is going to injure any American industry," and to the spokesman of the upholstery manufacturers of Philadelphia, who said, "We should make all of these lower classes of goods," Mr. Underwood replied, "I would like to see you make most of them, Mr. Miller." To another witness, Mr. Underwood said, "I have no desire to take the bulk of the American market away from your industry. But I want to have a reasonable amount of importation coming in so that we can get some reasonable revenue. If we cannot do that; if I am only protecting your profits and nothing else, I would put it on the free list. That is the way I feel about it."

"Of course, our friends on the other side look at the question differently. They are protectionists. We

will stand for a revenue tariff, and a revenue tariff must of necessity contemplate that some revenue must be raised from an article or it is not within our principle; and that means that there must be some reasonable competition. On any article where, by the last principle, there could be no revenue because there would be no competition, there is nothing for us to do but to put it on the free list, because otherwise we would be protecting profits, a thing we do not stand for. I have no desire in the world to injure your business or anybody else's business. I believe the commission that I hold requires me to reduce to a reasonable competitive rate everything in this bill."

Again Mr. Underwood emphatically expressed the purpose of the Committee:

"What we are endeavoring to do is to get some reasonable importation all along the line." "We are not here to write a protective tariff."

In other words the American manufacturer is to be compelled to share his market with foreign manufacturers, and the representatives of the foreign manufacturers appeared in force to show the Committee how this worthy object could be attained. They will not recommend any duties that will interfere seriously with importations, and yet the Committee announces that only "reasonable competition" is proposed. Competition cannot be kept "reasonable" without duties sufficiently high to regulate importations and enable the domestic manufacturers to compete successfully in our market.

If foreign competition is successful, it means that American products are eliminated and that the only

market which the American manufacturer can have is that part of the market which the foreigner is not able to supply. If the duties are low enough to admit part of the foreign surplus for export, we must admit all that is available for our market. You cannot draw the line at five per cent. or ten per cent. unless you have a protective tariff.

The tariff laws of the country have been competitive tariffs, but they have given the advantage to the American competitor. The kind of competitive tariff which the Democrats propose will give the advantage to the foreigner. Legislation to increase importations is legislation to decrease domestic production. Under such a system the output of all our factories would be curtailed and many would be forced to close entirely. There would be a great decrease in the demand for labor and a great increase in the number of idle men. There would be more seeking work and fewer jobs; wages in all industries would fall; the standard of living for all would be reduced and national prosperity undermined.

And yet Congress would plead "Not guilty; we did not intend to injure any business." If Congress does not want to injure business then let it abandon its purpose to open our market to foreign competition and say to the American manufacturer and the American workingmen, "The American market is yours; it is the greatest market in the world and so long as you serve it faithfully and honestly no one shall drive you from it and no foreigner shall possess any part of it without paying for the privilege."

Under the policy proposed by the

Democrats the industries of this country will be subjected to the notorious "fugitive law" of Mexico. Those industries that can withstand the fire of foreign competition will survive; those that cannot must succumb.

THE TRIBUTE TO JOSEPH G. CANNON.

Friends of All Parties Unite to Honor A Great American.

A man must possess qualities of the most sterling character to be chosen for nearly forty years as the representative of his district in Congress. Such a record is exceeded only by the services of William B. Allison as congressman and senator. To rise also to a commanding position in his party and to leadership in Congress requires virility, energy and ability which only the master men of a generation possess.

Such a record makes a man a shining mark for the barbed shafts of the opposition and for the poisoned arrows of detractors. In the natural course of events a career like that of Joseph G. Cannon could not escape abuse and misrepresentation, but on the evening of February 15, at the dinner given in the banquet room of Hotel Raleigh by his friends and admirers of both parties. Mr. Cannon was eulogized by the foremost men of the nation and his career was vindicated.

Seated at the guest table were President Taft, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Associate Justices, Speaker Clark, Majority Leader Underwood, Minority Leader Mann, Cabinet Officers, Senators and Representatives, and among the six hundred who occupied seats at

the tables on the floor were the foremost men of American public life.

Hon. Benjamin G. Humphrey of Mississippi, a Democrat, was chairman, and Hon. J. Hampton Moore of Pennsylvania, a Republican, was toastmaster, and throughout the evening Democrats vied with Republicans in paying tribute to "The Iron Duke of Illinois."

Champ Clark referred to Mr. Cannon as one of the greatest of all his predecessors in the Speaker's chair. "Uncle Joe goes," he said, "but I am not sure but that; like Catiline, he goes but he returns."

Senator Root paid Mr. Cannon one of the most eloquent tributes of the evening, and the whole audience thrilled to his words when he said: "There is nothing in public life, I think, of which a man gets more tired than he does of lying and humbug. It is very hard for all of us to talk to people from a public stage as we talk to each other. It is very hard for all of us to tell the truth when we are talking to the people. It is very hard for all of us to tell the truth when we think it will hurt us. It is very hard for all of us to keep our promises. But in this world of humbug, I am glad to do honor to a man who has always had the courage of his convictions—the courage to say what he believes, to say nothing that he does not believe, to act according to his convictions. Continuing, Senator Root said:

I remember some years ago saying that if Uncle Joe was not so old nothing on earth could keep him from being nominated for the presidency—and it was true. All of a sudden came along a situation in which he was called upon to act at the behest of a great and powerful influence, and he refused because he did not think it would be right

to do it; and then there began a cry of "Cannonism." He has outlived it. I would like to hold up for the contemplation of the people of the United States the example of the man who dared to become unpopular by doing what he believed to be his duty, and who has outlived it.

Looking about me and seeing stand-patters and progressives and Democrats of all shades and stripes of opinion, I see in this meeting that we are not becoming Mexicanized. I see in the fact that we all do honor to the hardest hitter, to the boldest speaker, to the man who never hesitated to express and stand by his opinions, however they might differ from the opinions of others—I see, in this general concurrence of honor and affection for him that there still underlies all the storm and stress of American politics the genuine American spirit of brotherhood toward all Americans.

President Taft took time between two important Cabinet meetings, which were considering the serious situation in Mexico, to come to the banquet to say: "The methods of Uncle Joe with reference to the government of the House of Representatives have at times been severely condemned, and then he has been vindicated by the action of his opponents in adopting the same course, and in coming around to the same necessity that he recognized earlier, to wit, that you must have responsibility lodged somewhere when you have to manage 390 men on either side of the House of Representatives. He says he is going away and not coming back. I hope that is not true, but I do not believe it is true. I think when he goes out to that district and walks up and down Vermillion county, and finds how many people are sorry they did not vote for him at this last election, the war-horse will scent the battle from afar, and he will come here again to be,

not with us, but with those who are here, to show them again the old traditions of the Republican party when it was in power and in usefulness. I close with the sentiment, God bless that patriotic American, Uncle Joe Cannon."

Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, one of the ablest men who has ever led the Democrats in the House of Representatives, said: "I am reminded that it was the real soldiers, not the coffee coolers or deserters, who swapped their tobacco across the lines in times of real warfare. Our guest of honor has been a real political warrior, and he has sometimes swapped tobacco across the lines, but he has never swapped tobacco across the lines for his own benefit. He has always been willing to do it for the glory and the honor of our great republic, and he has left an example that we may all follow. He is one of the great men who will live in the history of our country."

Senator-elect Ollie James of Kentucky made an impressive speech, in the course of which he said, "After forty years of service he may go back to the people who have honored him, a Republican of Republicans, one whose name and character and service take us back to the age when Garfield and Conklin and Blaine spoke for Republicans, one who never called for an adjective to add to, nor an adverb to modify, the glory of his plain Republicanism."

After speeches by former Secretary of the Navy Hilary A. Herbert and Congressman Bartholdt, a marble bust of Mr. Cannon was unveiled. The bust is the gift of Mr. Cannon's friends in Washington, and the hope was expressed that it would be placed in the House of

Representatives' office building, the erection of which Mr. Cannon was the first to urge.

When Mr. Cannon was introduced, he expressed with deep emotion his thanks for the courtesies extended to him and said in part:

Tonight, my friends, I am an old man. Measured by years I am old. I am about to retire from public life. I will soon be 77 years old. My face is toward the setting sun. But when the sun disappears below the western horizon, I shall go secure in the feeling that whatever party may from time to time be chargeable with revenue legislation and with appropriations, if mistakes are made, the people will correct them.

Looking in your faces, many members of the House and Senate, I accord to you who do not agree with me politically the same loyalty to the great republic that I claim to have for myself. It makes but little difference who is President or what party has a majority in the House and in the Senate. As many men we make our contests as God gives us to see the right, and we are indorsed or fail of indorsement from time to time, as the case may be.

The new generation comes, and if they do not learn through the brain, they will learn through the stomach, and all things will end well. Thank God I have been an optimist all my life and I shall remain an optimist to the end.

Some of those Western legislators are disposed to carry their progressive ideas to the limit. In Oregon the legislature is considering a bill for an income tax on bachelors, and the Utah legislature is wrestling with a bill to adopt the Chinese custom of permitting a condemned criminal to commit suicide.

Of course, Free-Trade would probably not reduce the wages of college professors or State Governors.—Philadelphia Telegraph.

PROTECTION FOR PAPER INDUSTRY.

A Great Business Threatened by Free Importations—Reasonable Protection Should Be Granted.

*By Thomas O. Marvin—Abstract of Brief Filed
at Hearing on Schedule M.*

Under the first tariff act of the United States Government paper was placed on the dutiable list at a rate of seven and a half per cent. ad valorem, for the encouragement and protection of the manufacture of this commodity. At the outbreak of the Revolution there were three mills in Massachusetts and one in Rhode Island. In 1776 a mill in Connecticut manufactured paper for the use of the Hartford Press and produced in addition much of the writing paper used in the colonies. Pennsylvania is credited with the first paper mill in the country, which was built at Roxborough about 1693. The second mill was built at Elizabeth, N. J., in 1728 and the third in Milton, Mass., during the same year. The manufacture of paper in the colonies reached sufficient proportions to form the basis of one of the complaints of the British Board of Trade in 1731 and 1732 against the development of manufactures in America.

It seemed to the fathers of the country a wise and natural thing to do to place a duty on the imports of foreign-made paper in the first federal tariff bill which was ever framed, a bill which was constructed, as stated by Mr. Hartley, a representative from Pennsylvania, on the idea that "the fostering hand of the

General Government should extend to all those manufactures that will tend to national utility."

Probably James Madison had the paper industry, among others, in mind when he said during the debate on the first tariff act, "The States that are the most advanced in population and ripe for manufactures, ought to have their particular interests attended to in some degree. While those States retained the power of making regulations of trade they had the power to protect and cherish such institutions. By adopting the present Constitution they have thrown this power into other hands; they must have done this with the expectation that those interests would not be neglected."

The First Congress Protected the Paper Industry.

The first Congress of the United States did not neglect the paper industry, for in its wisdom it imposed a duty of seven and a half per cent. on imports of paper, which in those days, when the difficulties of ocean transportation amounted to a natural protection of from twenty to thirty per cent., was not so small a degree of protection as it seems.

The framers of our early tariff laws did not proceed on the theory that the only object of a tariff act was for the purpose of raising reve-

nue. The preamble of the act of July 4, 1789, our first tariff law, declared that the purpose of the act was "for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures."

Such was the policy adopted by the founders of the Government and the framers of the Constitution, and they based it upon the constitutional provisions which empowered Congress "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises;" "to regulate commerce with foreign nations," and to legislate for "the general welfare."

Up to the time when the Union was formed and the States surrendered to the federal government all control over import duties, many of the States had their own tariff laws for raising revenue and encouraging industry, and when they transferred this power to the federal government they transferred both the power to raise revenue and protect industries. Madison admitted that the powers which the States had had of protecting their industries had been thrown, by the adoption of the Constitution, into other hands, with the expectation that those interests would not be neglected by Congress. While they retained that power they succeeded in developing some establishments which, he said, "ought not to perish from the alteration which has taken place; it would be cruel to neglect them and divert their industry to other channels."

Andrew Jackson contended that the right which the States had possessed of fostering industries had not become extinguished when he said, "The right to adjust duties with a

view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry, if not possessed by the general government, must become extinct, and our political system would present the anomaly of a people stripped of their right to foster their own industry and to counteract the selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by other nations."

It was under the exercise of this right to protect manufactures which the States had possessed and which they transferred to the federal government that the following duties have been levied on imports of paper:

- Act of July 4, 1789—7 1/2 per cent.
- Act of Aug. 10, 1790—7 1/2 per cent.
- Act of May 2, 1792—Paper hangings 15 per cent.
- Act of June 7, 1794—Sheathing and cartridge paper 5 per cent.
- Act of Apr. 27, 1816—Paper of every description 30 per cent.
- Act of May 22, 1824—Paper hangings 40 per cent.; sheathing paper 3c. per lb.; printing paper 10c. per lb.; other paper 15c. to 20c. per lb.
- Act of Aug. 30, 1842—Bank paper 17c. per lb.; writing paper 15c. per lb.; sheathing paper 3c. per lb.; paper envelopes 30 per cent.
- Act of July 30, 1846—Manufactures of paper 30 per cent.
- Act of Mar. 3, 1857—24 per cent.
- Act of Mar. 2, 1861—Manufactures of paper 36 per cent.
- Act of July 14, 1862—Manufactures of paper 35 per cent.
- Act of June 6, 1872—Paper manufactures excepting unsized printing paper 31 1/2 per cent.
- Act of Mar. 3, 1883—Paper sized or glued 20 per cent.; printing paper 15 per cent.; sheathing paper 10 per cent.; paper envelopes 25 per cent.; paper hangings 25 per cent.; pulp 10 per cent.
- Act of Oct. 1, 1890—Wood pulp mechanically ground, \$2.50 per ton; chemical, unbleached, \$6.00 per ton; bleached \$7.00 per ton; sheathing paper 10 per cent.; printing paper 15

- per cent.; sensitized paper 35 per cent.; surface-coated 35 per cent.; paper envelopes 25c. per thousand.
- Act of Aug. 27, 1894—Wood pulp 10 per cent.; sheathing paper 10 per cent.; printing paper 15 cent.; surface-coated paper 30 per cent.; paper envelopes 20 per cent.
- Act of July 24, 1897—Paper envelopes 20 per cent.; if embossed 35 per cent.; writing paper 2c. per lb. and 10 per cent. ad valorem, 2 to 3 1/2c. per lb., and 15 per cent. ad valorem; paper hangings 25 per cent.
- Act of Aug. 5, 1909—Wood pulp mechanically ground 1/12 of 1c. per lb.; chemical unbleached, 1/6 of 1c. per lb.; bleached 1/4 of 1c. per lb.; sheathing paper 10 per cent.; printing paper 3/16 of 1c. per lb. to 8/10 of 1c. per lb. valued above 5c. per lb., 15 per cent. ad valorem; coated surface-paper 5c. per lb.; writing paper 3c. per lb. and 15 per cent. ad valorem.
- Reciprocity Act of 1911—Pulp of Wood; news-print paper and other paper, valued at not more than 4c. per lb., the product of Canada, free from export prohibition or restriction, admitted free of duty.

This Policy Unchanged Till 1911.

Until the Act of 1911, there was no marked change in the policy of the Government to encourage and protect the paper industry. The

Walker Act of 1846 gave to this industry a duty of thirty per cent. and the Gorman-Wilson Act of 1894 levied a duty of fifteen per cent. on printing paper, twenty per cent. on writing paper and thirty per cent. on surface-coated paper.

The attitude of the Government evidenced a belief, to quote the words of Madison, that this industry "ought not to perish." There was no attempt to "neglect" it or divert the industry of the men engaged in it "to other channels."

Under such a policy the manufacturing of paper in the United States increased and prospered and instead of four mills, as at the time of the Revolution, the Tariff Board reported in 1911 that there were 824 plants making paper of some kind, with a total productive capacity of 5,196,398 tons. Instead of three or four States, thirty States, including the District of Columbia, now produce paper in some of its forms.

The census report for 1909 shows how under favorable auspices the industry has developed:

MANUFACTURES OF PAPER AND WOOD PULP IN THE UNITED STATES

Census of 1909

Census	Number of Establishments	Wage Earners (Average Number)	Capital	Wages	Value of Products
	777	75,978	\$409,348,000	\$40,805,000	\$267,657,000

THE PAPER AND WOOD PULP INDUSTRY OF NEW ENGLAND

Census of 1909 and 1899

Maine

1909.....	45	8,647	65,133,000	5,267,000	33,950,000
1899.....	35	4,851	17,473,000	2,163,000	13,223,000

New Hampshire

1909.....	34	3,413	27,534,000	2,106,000	13,994,000
1899.....	29	2,391	8,163,000	1,037,000	7,245,000

Vermont

1909.....	25	1,030	8,432,000	594,000	3,902,000
1899.....	27	1,216	4,854,000	571,000	3,385,000

Massachusetts					
1909.....	88	12,848	42,524,000	6,542,000	40,097,000
1899.....	93	9,061	26,693,000	3,938,000	22,141,000
Rhode Island					
The Census reports no Pulp or Paper Establishments in Rhode Island					
Connecticut					
1909.....	51	1,720	7,195,000	924,000	5,527,000
1899.....	49	1,425	3,968,000	633,000	3,565,000

In the interest of this industry, which fully meets the test of national utility, in which the capital of American citizens is invested; which provides employment for over 75,000 wage-earners; which utilizes the products of our soil and conserves, but not destroys, our forests, Congress should repeal Section two of the Canadian Reciprocity Act, and levy reasonable duties upon imports of wood pulp and paper.

Current importations of paper and manufactures of paper do not measure the menace of the present conditions in regard to the paper industry. Under the policy in vogue for over a century, paper manufacturing steadily developed in this country. Today instead of increase, it is threatened with decrease. Since the Act of 1911 there has been a remarkable increase of Canadian development at the expense of an important American industry. Legislation which favors a foreign industry and cripples an American industry will not appeal to the American sense of justice and does not accord with a wise and prudent national policy.

Effect of Competition on England's Paper Industry.

If it is persisted in, we shall repeat in this country the unfortunate experience of the English paper industry. In 1860 the imports of paper into England amounted to only \$511,900. With no duty to pre-

vent, imports have greatly increased. In 1875 they amounted to \$4,767,540 and by 1890 they had reached \$9,201,640, and England which had hoped, under a free trade policy, to become the work-shop of the world found that the imports of paper were exceeding the exports and that instead of the work-shop of the world, she was becoming the dumping ground of the world.

The manufacturers of Germany and Austria, protected in their home markets from British competition, have free access to the English market for their surplus product.

A manufacturer of Hertfordshire, testifying before the Royal Commission, said that he found that some German manufacturers keep one or two of their machines going entirely for the English market and that one German manufacturer boasted that he was making English postal cards for the British Government. A skilled workman in Germany, he reported, was getting three shillings sixpence against six shillings in England.

England, with its mighty prestige as a manufacturing nation, could not stand such competition and with our wage scale a good deal higher than that of England, we shall find without protection that we cannot stand the competition of Germany, Austria, Sweden, England and Canada.

This significant remark was made at the hearing referred to before the

Royal Commission: "I had a paper placed in my hands a few days ago, and I was informed that the paper was manufactured in America; that the type was manufactured in America; that the ink with which it was printed was made in America; that the machine with which it was printed was also made in America; and that it was really spoken of very gratefully.

Under the policy of protection we have developed sufficient ability and efficiency to make the multitudinous products of our common need.

Our paper is manufactured in America; our type is made here and so is the ink and the machine with which our paper is printed. When you break one link in our industrial system you threaten the whole chain of these national utilities, and you strike at a system which has made us the most prosperous nation of the world, which has developed a manufacturing supremacy which surpasses the dreams of our fathers and challenges the admiration of the world.

Bismarck, the founder of Germany's political and industrial empire, urged Germany to imitate the tariff system of the United States, "because," he said, "it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protected laws."

It is not the part of wisdom to abandon this system now, and our paper manufacturers and wage-earners in the paper mills should have restored to them the benefits of the protective system, a system which should be maintained as an advantageous national policy.

IRISH WAGES UNDER FREE TRADE.

An investigation of certain labor conditions in Belfast and other North of Ireland areas was entrusted to a committee of inquiry in July, 1911, by the British Government. The committee was asked to report upon "the conditions of employment in the making-up of articles of linen, cotton and similar fabrics, including the processes of embroidery and thread-drawing and other incidental processes," and has recently presented its report. Its researches were principally directed to the employment of women in their own homes and to the small rates of pay which numbers of them receive, as well as to the consequent necessity of working for unduly long hours to the injury of their health and, in the cases of mothers, to the neglect of their homes.

The alleged evils have been amply substantiated by the work of the committee. The workers employed within the factories, consisting generally of young women of a fairly good class, number about 22,000 and it is believed that the out-workers exceed that total. In the country districts the latter are mainly the daughters of small farmers and agricultural laborers; in Belfast and other centres they are widows and spinsters depending upon the work for their livelihood, married women whose husbands are out of work and women whose husbands are laborers earning small pay. Out-work has, in the opinion of the committee, become indispensable. The employer can make demands upon the workers, in times of pressure, unrestricted by the Factory Acts, and

can turn them off without disturbance of methods in times of slackness. As regards the workers themselves, their small earnings, supplementing the low wages of their male relatives, appear to stand between the families and starvation.

Great difficulty was experienced in arriving at a knowledge of the wages which it is possible for women to earn. In some instances, thoroughly efficient workers were asked to do embroidery under observation, and it was shown that a quick, skilled worker doing drawn-thread work could earn, at established rates, 4 1/4 cents in an hour of steady work. Another woman, on handkerchiefs, earned 4 1/2 cents, working at highest speed. Another, drawing threads, made less than 4 cents in an hour by great effort. Tables included in the report show in 531 typical cases in Belfast a total of 269 workers earning 2 cents or less per hour and 202 earning between 2 and 4 cents per hour.

The character of the work is shown by several examples discussed between witnesses and the committee. On sideboard cloths, 18 inches by 45 inches, threads drawn each side, 10 to 11 cents per dozen is paid, yielding the out-worker about 3 cents per hour. A girl did this work, under observation, in 23 minutes for one cloth, thus earning 2 1/4 cents per hour. One employer admitted that "in a large manufacturing community like Belfast there was bound to be something in the nature of sweating, which he attributed to the nature of the trade and the competition which the employers experienced, not only from firms in Ireland but from abroad."

It is at this point that the real difficulty arises in the way of ameliorating the conditions disclosed by the report. The committee recommends that the provisions of the Trade Board Act (including the determination of a minimum wage in the industries to which it is applied) should be brought to bear on these North of Ireland trades, "provided that they are also applied in other parts of the United Kingdom where competition with the trade in Ireland exists in these processes." There is evidently, in the minds of the committee, no possibility of applying any restriction to the importation of foreign goods, although the report itself shows that Swiss machine work and Japanese hand-embroidery are serious competitive factors. Obviously, the principal effect of a minimum wage, extended over the entire United Kingdom, must be to increase the severity of the foreign competition, and for this no remedy is proposed.

"THE FUTURE OF ENGLAND."

A Noteworthy English Book.

Hon. George Peel's latest work, "The Future of England," which is published by Macmillan & Co., is the concluding volume of a trilogy by the same observant author, "The Enemies of England" and "The Friends of England" having preceded it in 1902 and 1905 respectively. While the earlier volumes described the forces of hostility and of friendship working against, and for, the Empire from without, the aim of the present work is to reveal the inward forces determining its future and to forecast the probable result.

Three of the more obvious potential causes of British eminence—wealth, religious fervor and military organization—are dismissed as offering no solution of the problem. As regards the first, it is pointed out that “it is under the goad of inadequate means of livelihood at home that our people have ranged the globe for commercial profit, and that a quarter of the earth’s habitable surface has somehow fallen into our lap. So that what wealth we have is rather a result than the cause of our place in the world. Concerning religion, it is readily shown that “it was not the impulse of the Christian faith which won us so much,” and that the nation has consistently disclaimed any religious motive for its conquest and tenure of Hindostan—its most striking achievement in territorial aggrandizement. Again, militarism is not the characteristic of the race, even Cromwell and his two immediate successors having failed to instil the genuine martial spirit into the nation.

The author is inclined to the belief that a fourth cause, the possession of “a rare disposition” by individuals neither rich nor spiritual in a marked degree, but capable of exercising a potent influence upon their associates and even upon their epoch, offers a more satisfying explanation. “Occasionally this effect of character resides in nations as well as in individuals, and then the sympathy and the good will of even alien people go out to them, and, bridging the abyss of race or religion or history, make them strong. Aided by the attraction of immemorial prestige or the ties of old association, a nation thus conciliates and captivates mankind.” Citations

from the history of other states are adduced in support of this contention, but the author, an Englishman himself, is careful to guard against the assumption that British ascendancy can be ascribed to “the fascination of our national characteristics. We have been generally adjudged unreliable, proud, selfish and quarrelsome,” if there be anything in the view of England as expressed in the literature of Europe.

It is not possible, within the compass of this review, to do more than suggest the interest to be found in following the author through the succeeding chapters of his work. In these he discusses, with a detachment only too rare in publications of this kind, the domestic, international and oriental future of the Empire, laying particular stress upon the difficulties concerning India. Here, “the Hindu population of 220,000,000 is divided against itself more profoundly than any other in recorded time. Out of that total, no less than 53,000,000 at the present date are reckoned so unclean by the others that their very touch or presence is pollution, and they are doomed to a shameful ostracism,” while “one-sixth of the people are in a chronically depressed and ignorant condition.”

The “Final Future” of the Empire is discussed in the brief closing chapter. England, the author concludes, has led the modern world in freedom first, and next, in industrialism, the latter movement, with all its imperfections and with all its promise, being as yet but half-way. Attempts have been made to take advantage of these imperfections for unwise and even revolutionary ends, but the nation will see to it that the promise

and purpose of a fairly and generally diffused prosperity shall be finally accomplished. "The masses, to whom the twentieth century will belong, will ask for nothing less of nationality than to be free, prosperous and well." The conflict of labor

with life, the standing disgrace of national animosities, and the wide estrangement of the white, the black, the brown and the yellow races—these are the evils which it is the future of England to lead the world in combatting and in overcoming.

HEARINGS ON THE TARIFF.

Brief Abstract of Proceedings on Remaining Schedules, January 20 to January 31.

Our last report closed with the hearing given on January 17, on Schedule M (Pulp, Paper, etc.) and Schedule F (Tobacco and Manufactures of).

Jan. 20. There was a hearing on Schedule G, agricultural products and provisions. Producers generally asked for retention of present duties. A Louisiana witness said if duties on rice and sugar were abolished his state would suffer the worst set-back since the Civil War. New York fruit exchanges entered a plea for free lemons. The Italian Chamber of Commerce in New York asked for lower rates on foreign fruits and nuts, macaroni, cheese, etc. Others wanted the tariff taken off of cattle and meats, butter, eggs, etc. Citrus fruit growers of California and Florida asked for existing rates. General farming interests had small representation at this hearing. On January 21, the hearing was concluded. Harry Hartley and F. W. Hobbs of Boston, the former representing the National Association of Wool Growers, advocated an increased duty on wool grease. A. W. Eames of San Francisco, speaking for the Hawaiian pineapple association, urged maintenance of the present tariff on pineapples. Hon. A. P. Gardner, M. C., Antoine A. Silva, representing Gloucester labor interests, Fred Davis and John P. Field, representing the fishing industry of Gloucester, protested against removing the duty on fish. Resolutions were also presented from

certain labor unions of Gloucester favoring continued protection for this industry. W. J. Schiffelin of New York asked that extract of meat, now dutiable at 35 cents a pound, be put on the free list. Substantial tariff reductions on prunes, currants, raisins, almonds, filberts and other products and free admission of dates were urged by L. B. Parsons, president of the Dried Fruit Association of New York. Reduction of the duty on cocoa was asked by Stephen L. Bartlett of Boston. The cattle raising industry was represented by S. H. Cowan, of Fort Worth, Tex., who predicted that the industry in his State would be ruined in case the United States markets are opened to a flood of cheap meats from the South American ranges.

Jan. 22. Schedule I, cotton manufactures, was taken up, and there were many representatives of manufacturers and importers present. It was intimated that the Democratic leaders would reduce duties so as "to reduce the cost of cotton clothing to consumers by more than \$80,000,000." The American Association of Cotton Manufacturers, dominated by the southern mill owners, went on record for a compromise reduction. In a schedule, presented by its former president, Lewis W. Parker, of Greenville, N. C., rates were proposed that dropped the minimum ad valorem to 10 per cent. The schedule, which will figure in the committee's consideration

plan provides these ad valorem rates: Cotton cloth, varying grades, calico, sheeting and plain weaves, from 10 to 30 per cent. when made in the grey entirely of single yarns, and 15 to 40 per cent. when advanced in state by bleaching, dyeing, mercerizing or other process; cotton cloth of fancy or figured weaves of any description, cords, stripes, checks, gauze, or composed of two-ply or more yarns, 15 to 40 per cent. in the grey and 20 to 40 per cent. when "advanced"; cotton cloth of jacquard weave in the grey, 25 to 45 per cent., "advanced," 30 to 50; different classes of cotton cloth composed of bleached, dyed, colored or mercerized yarns, 15 to 50 per cent.; single yarns in the grey 10 to 35, and "advanced" 15 to 40 per cent.

The Northern manufacturers took issue with the suggested reductions. "You may schedule from a revenue standpoint," urged Simeon B. Chase of Fall River, Mass., representing large New England mill interests, "but you are not going to accomplish what you think you are going to as to benefiting the consumer." Aldred T. Bemis of Boston, president of the Bemis Bagging Company, asked that cotton bagging should not be placed on the free list. Charles N. Barry of Boston testified in favor of the present duty on laces, of certain make. He represents the Richmond Lace Works of Rhode Island. The shirt manufacturing industry was represented by a committee, for which William Ells, of Troy, was spokesman. They asked that no material change be made in the present duty of 50 per cent. ad valorem. George S. Brown spoke along the same line for the shirt manufacturers and pointed out that there were forty-eight thousand operatives in the industry. The industry of manufacturing men's and boys' cotton gloves could not exist if the tariff were radically reduced, according to A. V. Victorious, of New York, who urged as a compromise a specific rate of 40 cents a dozen pairs and 55 per cent. ad valorem, with 5 per cent. less ad valorem duty each year for three years. The present tariff is 50 cents a dozen and 46 per cent. ad valorem.

Jan. 24. Schedule J, Flax, Hemp and Jute, was considered. J. Benjamin Dimmick of Scranton, Pa., and William R.

Turner of Philadelphia, manufacturers, wanted protection for finished lace products. Mr. Turner asked for a scientific adjustment of the relation between the yarns and finished products. Charles Sisson of Providence, R. I., told of small profits in the manufacture of braids, webbing and other woven fabrics. Several new industries in the flax side of the schedule appealed for continued protection. Retention of the present tariff on carpets, matings and rugs manufactured from vegetable fibers was urged by Myron W. Robinson of New York. Peter Gouled, of Union Hill, N. J., a manufacturer, contended that the average income of a domestic cotton lace manufacturer was less than the average income of a progressive farmer. James A. Marr, a Bridgeport manufacturer, who also has a factory in Germany, asked retention of the present duty of 60 per cent. on cotton lace. Free raw material for fertilizer bags, instead of the present six-tenths of a cent a pound duty on burlaps, was urged by W. H. Bowker, of Boston. The government is getting approximately \$47,000,000 revenue a year through this schedule under the present law, and it is predicted that most of the present duties will not be changed.

Jan. 27. Schedule K, Wool and Manufactures, was taken up. Frank P. Bennett, of Boston, advocated free wool and a cut of 50 per cent. on woolsens. O. M. Stafford, a Cleveland manufacturer, said the tariff could be reduced if the Democrats chose to take the responsibility for a possible reduction of wages of the woolen mill employes. Through William Goldman, of New York, its president, the National Association of Clothiers declared that, while free wool was desirable, it was too revolutionary, and it indorsed the proposed Democratic rate of 20 per cent. ad valorem on raw wool. The National Association of Wool Manufacturers, comprising 100 of the woolen mills of the country, through its president, John P. Wood, of Philadelphia, presented a schedule of rates as a suggestive proposition, but Mr. Wood admitted that the schedule was approximately the same as the present tariff law. Free pressed cloth was asked by J. J. Culbertson, of Paris, Tex., representing the Interstate Cotton Seed Crushers' Association.

Louis Newman, secretary of a Cleveland knitting mill company, protested against any radical reduction in the tariff on ready made clothing. F. A. Ellinwood, secretary of the State Wool Growers' Association, of California, and representing the national association, asked that a specific duty of about 18 per cent. be levied on the scoured content of imported wool. Most of the pleas were for retaining present tariff rates.

Jan. 29. Schedule N.—Sundries. Boot and shoe interests appealed to the committee for the continuance of the present duty of 10 and 15 per cent. on shoes. The manufacturers contended that the removal of the duty would result in decreasing the wages of employes, but would not lower the price of shoes. John F. Tobin, for the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, protested against any reduction of the duty at present, but said wages were kept up by the influence of the Union and not by the tariff. He admitted, however, that any reduction in the shoe duty would drive many small manufacturers out of business and that the large ones would then make their shoes abroad.—A diamond importer of New York protested against any duty on diamonds above 10 per cent. Representative Greene filed a protest from the Board of Selectmen (Democrats) of North Attleborough, Mass., against a reduction in the duties on jewelry and silverware in order to protect the domestic industry. R. G. Rhett, of Charleston, S. C., who said he was a Democrat and favored tariff revision but not to a point that will injure any American industry, wanted the present duty of 60 per cent. retained on asbestos fabrics. Manufacturers of harness and fancy leather fabrics protested against tariff reduction, as did manufacturers of buttons and combs. A committee representing importers and dealers in brushes presented a brief, advocating a reduced tariff. Several briefs were filed by manufacturers of brushes, asking for the retention of protective duties, but suggesting some changes in phraseology. Among the manufacturers represented were the John L. Whiting-J. J. Adams Co., Boston, W. A. Tottle & Co., Baltimore, J. C. Pushee & Sons, Boston, and Ames-Bonner Co., of Toledo. A brief was

presented by the New England Manufacturing Jewelers' and Silversmiths' Association, asking for a few changes in classification. Many of the briefs contained instructive facts concerning domestic and foreign wages, etc.

The tariff hearings were concluded on January 31, with a consideration of the free list. The free list covers articles whose estimated domestic production in 1911 was \$1,190,000,000 and consumption \$1,159,000,000 out of a grand total of \$22,014,000,000 production and \$21,528,000,000 consumption of all articles in the fourteen schedules and free list of the Payne-Aldrich law. In 1911 Congress passed and President Taft vetoed the free list bill framed by Chairman Underwood's committee. That measure proposed to put on the free list agricultural implements, cotton bagging, cotton ties, leather, boots and shoes, fence wire, meats, cereals, breads, flour, timber, lumber, sewing machines, salt and other articles. President Taft's veto was on the ground that the bill would diminish the revenues by from \$10,000,000 to \$14,000,000. Democratic leaders now figure on putting on the free list at the coming extra session substantially the same articles that were on the original free list two years ago. There were not many people at this hearing. John Quinn of New York, counsel for the Association of American Painters and Sculptors, presented an argument in favor of the removal of all duty on original works of art. Others who appeared, wanted certain products put in the free list, and some wanted certain articles now admitted free to pay a small tariff tax. Among the latter was a committee of the American Surgical Trade Association protesting against the duty-free entry of surgical instruments and apparatus. Soap manufacturers asked for free raw materials used in making soaps. It was represented that 65 per cent. of our people use laundry soap almost exclusively for all purposes, and it is not reasonable to increase the price by taxing the raw material. Thomas H. Downing, of New York, representing a committee on the custom service and revenue laws, urged the committee to appoint a commission of experts to study a revision of the administrative features of the custom ser-

vice. No real revision, he said, has been had since 1890 and that was an inadequate one.

The framing of the tentative basis of the entire tariff legislation is now in progress by the Democratic members of the committee, and the chairman expects the work to be completed by the middle of March. The committee is confronted with the problem of raising from \$325,000,000 to \$350,000,000 from customs duties, coupled with a pledge of lowering the tariff bars on necessities. Of this total figure, the plan is to provide between \$85,000,000 and \$100,000,000 by an income tax. The income tax in turn would embrace the corporation tax, which bids fair to yield

\$30,000,000 revenue during this year. A fairly well determined program is already indicated. In the main, according to the Democrats, the chemical, iron and steel, wool, cotton, and free list bills will be like the previous ones, but there will be enormous changes dictated by new light thrown on individual articles. So far as can be learned the Republicans are not contemplating making a minority report on the tariff at the extra session. Representative Fordney said that he could not see any need of drawing up such a report, as it would accomplish no good politically or otherwise. It is said that the Republicans have decided to let the Democrats "go the limit" with the tariff.

LOW WAGES CAUSES DEPOPULATION IN RURAL ENGLAND.

By Our London Correspondent.

London, Feb. 15, 1913.

The enormous depopulation of our villages throughout the United Kingdom has aroused anxiety throughout the country. There is such a thing as emptying the tank, and you cannot grow a nation in a year or two. There are districts in England as thinly populated today as they were in the Conqueror's time in 1066. There are several reasons for this; one of them is the lack of cottages for people to live in. Take a typical instance of a village consisting of 120 houses; thirty years ago there were 150 at least. These thirty cottages have disappeared because they have tumbled down. It was cheaper for the farm owners to allow this to happen than to repair them. In this village there is a small cottage worth 1

shilling (24 cents) a week rent; it is used as an almshouse. The rates amount to 7 shillings a year (\$1.75), so the rental to a landlord would be £2-5-0 (\$11.25). The owners are putting this cottage into repair at a cost of some £10 (\$50). (The owners are public trustees, the cottage being used as stated as an almshouse.) That means that if it were an ordinary cottage the landlord would have to lose four years' rent if he restored it. In the same village a building that in reality was two cottages, but had been made into one, became vacant; was purchased by a smart man who laid out a good sum upon it; let it to a professional man, a doctor, and gets about \$250 a year rent. He would only have had a rent of \$1.50 a year had he let it to farm hands in its original state.

Cottages are tumbling down, others are bought up by town people for holiday purposes, and so on, the result being that the farm laborers are steadily being dispossessed of their homes, and they drift into the towns. This sort of thing is going on all over the country.

It doesn't pay today to build cottages in England at a rent within the means of farm hands, viz 2 shillings a week. Why doesn't it pay? It is largely a question of wages. The farmer says he cannot possibly afford to pay higher wages, that, as it is, he has to cut down the number of hands to a minimum, that living is dearer than it used to be and that prices are higher. He does his best to house his laborers and lets his cottages to them at 1 or 2 shillings a week, which does not pay him. Then this is the position: the employer cannot afford higher wages; the present wages are too low for the men to afford more than 2 shillings a week rent. Therefore, it neither pays to build new cottages nor to repair existing ones. Wages are about 14 shillings a week, but if we include harvest money and other extras, the average would be about 17 shillings a week. If instead of having "extras" he could have the average wages of 17 shillings, the laborer could afford to pay 3 shillings and 6 pence (say 87 cents) to 4 shillings (\$1.00) a week rent and on that basis it might be possible to build cottages very economically. It would have to be done by public authorities who could borrow the money at 3 or 3 1/2 per cent. On a commercial basis it costs £200 to build a cottage and the rent must be

from 5 to 6 shillings a week to make it pay. Other factors are the excessive price of building land in many villages and the stringent building regulations which are much the same for a cottage as for a nobleman's mansion.

In another village there are people living in railway carriages. These are rented at £7 (\$35) a year with a tiny garden attached. The occupants had been turned out of other cottages and had, consequently, to resort to whatever shelter they could get. Another family lives in a lean-to, the man having regular work and able to pay rent, but there is absolutely no house to be had within a working person's means.

In another small village an old man is living in one of two cottages, both ruins. This one had a kitchen with a broken brick floor, light showing through the walls by door and window ceiling falling. Behind it a place you could not call a room with a hole in the ceiling three or four feet square, a ladder, with the wood work all falling away from it, led to the place above; windows were boarded up wherethe glass was missing and left open to the weather, the roof leaked and the brick work was cracking. The man had lived there for 50 years. The rent was 64 cents a week and 12 cents for the garden.

This is not a very rosy picture of Rural England, but it is true. There is just as much overcrowding in the cottages in villages as ever there is in the slums of London, Liverpool, New York or Chicago. It is largely a question of wages. Cottages would soon be built if it paid to build them. F. C. CHAPPELL.

PREPARING TARIFF BILLS.

Democratic Committeemen at Work—Following the Lines of the Old Bills—\$100,000,000 from Our Income Tax—Probably Defer Change in Administrative Features.

From Our Washington Correspondent.

Washington, February 25.

The Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee have been meeting almost every day since the tariff hearings closed on February 1, to prepare new tariff bills. A new committee must be chosen when the new Congress meets, but it is expected that eleven of the fifteen Democratic members will serve on the new committee, hence they are safe in going ahead with their work. They are understood practically to have completed the chemical; earthenware and glassware; wood; flax, hemp and jute schedule, and to have nearly finished the metal and some other schedules. They will all be open to changes until reported to the Democratic caucus, but in the main they will follow the lines laid down in the measures passed by the 62nd Congress.

Mr. Underwood says that some changes "may be made," but not one of the members will disclose what they are doing as they all say that it is "tentative." However, there is general agreement that with comparatively few changes the bills will be a repetition of those reported in the existing House. But only five of the fifteen schedules were dealt with in the bills reported. Those were the wool, cotton, metal, chemical and sugar schedules. There were in addition the so-called farmers' free list bill, the excise tax, and

the Canadian reciprocity bills all reported and passed, but they were not confined to any one schedule, though they disclosed the purpose of the Democrats.

The New Democratic Members.

Of the 435 members of the next House 291 will be Democrats, and 103 of that number are new members. The large majority—188 out of 291—have been re-elected, and as they made their record in the present House, which has been approved time and again by President-elect Wilson, no great surprises may be expected in the forthcoming measures.

As some of the witnesses before the committee pointed out, many manufacturers, to say nothing of ordinary voters, were not aware of the intention of the Democrats to lower duties and then tax the raw materials necessarily imported. The Democrats believe that they have been commissioned to legislate along the lines followed in this Congress, and that is what they intend to do. Chairman Underwood is inclined to be more conservative than many of his followers, but with Wilson and Bryan on the "radical" side, sweeping tariff legislation is certain.

The Proposed New Income Tax—Solid South.

The ratification of the constitutional amendment providing for an income tax has added fuel to the

flame. It is the purpose of the Democrats to raise at least \$100,000,000 from an income tax. That would allow for a sweeping Free Trade measure if the Democrats could be controlled along other lines. But they cannot. The appropriations made by this Congress, if all the appropriations bills get through before March 4, which is doubtful, will far exceed the total of any other Congress. Rivers and harbors, pensions, public buildings and other things in which each man's district can get its share, are swelling the total to such an extent as to put the breaks on wholesale tariff legislation. Still, in view of what was done in Cleveland's time the Democrats may go ahead and borrow money by the issue of bonds. There is hardly a Republican member who does not think that the election of 1914 will show a sweeping victory for a protective tariff, but the Democrats do not share that view. They have the solid South with Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico added, in their belief, and it certainly gives them a great advantage.

May Defer Legislation on Customs Administration.

Mr. Underwood concedes that his committee has a tremendous task to perform in undertaking to revise the entire tariff on what he regards as a revenue basis. There is some talk about the committee not getting through with its work until the first of April. But some of the revision work, particularly that relating to the customs administrative act, will probably be taken up later. Mr. James L. Gerry, a member of the Merchants' Association of New

York, which is an importers' organization with a purpose of getting the tariff abolished as much as possible, suggested to Mr. Underwood that there was no imperative necessity of amending the administrative customs act immediately, and he asked for an opportunity to take the matter up with the committee when a representative of the Treasury department, and one to represent the Collector at New York, and another to represent the Merchants' Association could be present, and Mr. Underwood replied that the committee would consider the proposition. It can easily be seen what this will lead to. The next Secretary of the Treasury will be a Free Trader, and may be Mr. Palmer of Pennsylvania, a member of the Ways and Means Committee, who advocated putting all kinds of machine tools, printing presses, typewriting machines, sewing machines, agricultural machines, etc., on the free list. The representative of the Collector under Wilson would be of the same mind. The Merchants' Association is a Free Trade affair and Mr. Gerry is the man who drew up the trade agreement with Germany which President Roosevelt put into force, and which proved so injurious to many industries.

Says Importers Do Not Undervalue— But Facts Against Them.

Mr. Gerry declared recently before the Ways and Means Committee that undervaluations in New York did not average one-tenth of one per cent., and that "the vast majority of importers are entirely willing to either disclose their books, show their invoices, or do anything in their power to give the govern-

ment all the information as to what values are." His attention was called to the vast sums paid by the Sugar Trust, and by Arbuckles, a large house that imported paintings etc., for revenue frauds, but he mentioned the great honesty of the importers, and seemed to have the ear of the committee; and it is understood that the administrative features of the law will not be revised at the coming session.

The importers and foreign manufacturers were never before represented to the extent they were in the recent hearings. They know that their friends are in power and they count, as a result, increased incomes for themselves and their foreign houses.

The Italian Chamber of Commerce of New York appeared by its President and Secretary with a long plea for lower duties or free trade on many Italian products, including perfumery, medicinal compounds, castile soap, etc. The next day C. A. Mariana, the chairman of the tariff committee of that body, testified that it was "subsidized by the Italian government," and he said that much "Lucca olive oil" was sold in this country, while "as a matter of fact there is not enough Lucca olive oil produced in the Province of Lucca to take care of the people of that Province." He wanted to exclude such frauds by a change of law.

Modest Demands of Importers.

Such Free Trade organizations as the Merchants' Association and Reform Club of New York, ask, among other things, that the \$100 limit on the free importation of clothes, etc.,

by a returning tourist be abolished; and that an importer should be allowed a 5 or 10 per cent. leeway in fixing value of invoices; that the court of customs appeals be abolished; that the Secretary of the Treasury should have the power to remit the additional duty on a raised invoice when no fraud was intended; that the government should pay interest on money deposited to cover duties when shown that an excess amount was required; that the criminal clause requiring an importer to state what he would sell the goods for, covered by the invoice, be stricken out; that no duty shall be assessed on the American price, etc.

Many foreign manufacturers send to this country the entire output of their factories—consign them to their own agents here. There is no foreign price, hence the clause assessing duty at the American price. That, of course, it is sought to have abolished. When 10 per cent. leeway was allowed on invoices they were almost invariably made out 10 per cent. below the value. If the government found it out it cost the importer nothing; but now it costs him a fine above the duty, hence the desire to return to the old practice. This will give some idea of the activities of the importers, who expect a harvest from the Democrats. Representative Redfield wrote to the New York Reform Club (Free Trade) to send a man over here to advocate such changes, and, of course, the club did so. As Mr. Payne pointed out the importer adds the duty in fixing his price for an article, hence he loses nothing. There is no sanity in making things

so much easier for importers; but that probably will be done.

An Importer's Amusing Blunder.

The great trouble with the tariff is its misinterpretation and misrepresentation. Thomas M. Lane of New York asked the Ways and Means Committee to have plaster statuary placed on the free list. He said that the law of 1909 put a duty on them and that the American manufacturers had not advanced their prices, therefore the duty was not necessary. Mr. Lane said: "The foreigner's price on these statues is higher now than it was before the duty was put on. The American price has not increased, hence there is no need of the duty." To that Representative Fordney replied: "Then the protection which is in the law hurts no one in this country. It eliminates the importer; he is the fellow that is complaining. The domestic competition is so great that the consumer is getting the benefit of it. There has not been one single importer before the committee who does not want free trade or a lower rate of duty. They want to do a larger volume of business from abroad, and thus restrict American business."

Duties on Raw Materials.

Great complaint has been made by manufacturers because of the Democrats putting duties on raw materials, but it is understood that they have adhered to that determination in the chemical bill. Theodore Rich-secker, chairman of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association, says that will injure the trade of 48,000 druggists. The increase in imports on that line was 28 per cent. in 1911, showing that there is no need of the

change. Arthur S. Somers, of New York, who made speeches on the same platform with Wilson and who was a Wilson elector, said before the Ways and Means Committee: "I am here on behalf of the manufacturers of dry colors. The present law meets the definition of a competitive duty. We have been getting along under it very well indeed. We enjoy no monopoly of the market, as is shown by the fact that a large percentage of the consumption in this country is imported. If this committee puts Paris green on the free list, as proposed, it will wipe out every Paris green factory in this country. There is now produced here from 5,000,000 to 7,000,000 pounds. Canada has a protective duty, and if the door is opened to them we must quit business. There is no combination here and only a living profit."

H. A. Metz, Democratic Congressman-elect of Brooklyn, speaking on this subject said: "We have a higher standard of labor, a higher standard of living, and we have got to compensate manufacturers for that higher standard in some way—call it what you please, protection, if you like: I am for the American manufacturer every time."

That talk is heard, but it will amount to nothing in the House. The Senate is more uncertain. It will require all of the Wilson influence to keep it in line.

In a speech in New York, Berger, the Socialist Congressman from Wisconsin, said: "We can't expect the Democrats to do anything for the laboring man, as they are controlled by a combination of Tammany and the solid South."

THE TARIFF OF '46.

Mr. Marshall, our vice-president to be, is credited with saying, "We must go back to our tariff problems." Last year Mr. Underwood praised the tariff of 1846 ("the Walker tariff" of our fathers), and many still remember what a fine speech on the same lines was made by John G. Carlisle—a man head and shoulders above most of the present generation of tariff smashers.

Does it ever occur to the Democratic orators that every compliment to the Walker tariff is a tribute to Protection? Notice that not one Democrat ever says or even hints that low tariff experiments have generally worked well;—that is never said by the wildest and most warlike. We never hear a Democrat praise the low tariff of 1857, under which a Democratic President named James Buchanan said, "All hope seems to have deserted the minds of men."

No Democrat cares to discuss the Calhoun system of low duties, the smash-up of 1837 and the description of those horrors as they impressed Horace Greeley—(Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1872).

The unwise reductions in the tariff of 1816 (and that tariff was intended to build up rather than to pull down—it was a blunder, not an act of hostility) led a Democrat named Andrew Jackson to say that unless we started factories and relieved agriculture from over-production we should all be paupers. No Democrat revives these sad memories.

But loud is the Democratic

chorus of "Hurrah for the tariff of 1846. Did it ruin the country? Can any Republican say that it spread waste and desolation over the land?" Wait a moment. Walker's tariff was adopted in 1846, the year in which our troops invaded Mexico, the war brought a demand for military supplies and lessened competition at home; then came the terrible Irish famine and short crops in other parts of Europe, necessitating heavy exports of our breadstuffs; then came the discovery of gold in California, specie poured into our cities, competition was lessened, railroad building began to spread, cotton and tobacco rose in price. To these material considerations add a moral force—confidence is in business what faith is in religion—the American pioneer, exulting because we had won every fight with the Mexicans and opened the mines to the Far West, was in a cheery frame of mind. Under these circumstances the tariff of 1846 did not do nearly so much harm as it might have done, especially when one considers that the gigantic Crimean war lessened European competition and increased the demand for our grain.

Yet there were murmurs even in 1846, and in 1847. When in 1848 the country had a chance to indorse the tariff of 1846 it was so ungrateful as to elect a Whig President, not a Democrat. True, the Democratic party split that year, but the Whig President found fault with the glorious tariff of 1846 and called into his Cabinet that giant of the Philadelphia bar, that staunch Protectionist, William M. Meredith. Henry C. Carey wrote some of his best articles asserting that the good times under the Walker tariff were due to

temporary causes, predicting that a crash would come as soon as the gold influx and the grain efflux lessened, and lo! it all came to pass.

Marshall, Underwood and all orators of like message are right in

claiming that if all things else, native and foreign, combine to help us we may stand a low tariff. But who will guarantee all the winds that blew in our favor from 1846 to 1856 to blow again?
R. R.

THE TARIFF ON COTTON GOODS.

Brief of Andrew G. Pierce, Jr., of New Bedford, Presented to the Ways and Means Committee, January 23, 1913.

The attention of the committee is respectfully called to the dominating phase of House Bill No. 25034 in its treatment of the particular class of goods referred to in the following data:

House Bill No. 25034 and several other previous tariff bills have based the value of cotton goods solely upon the fineness of the yarn used in their manufacture, without any reference to one other important factor which must be considered.

There should be two distinct bases for determining the values of cotton goods for the purpose of fixing the necessary tariff upon them, and these bases must be reckoned with in framing any tariff schedule. To use the one classification dealing solely with the fineness of the yarn is not sufficient, for such classification ignores the fact that many fancy and lighter weaves of cloth may be made of coarse or medium yarns, while many simpler weaves may be made of finer yarns. To adjust the difference between the cost of producing cloth under these conditions requires a recognition of both bases for computation of value, viz: The fineness of the yarn, and the cost of producing finished cloth, irrespective of the fineness of the yarn.

Taking as an illustration a list of nearly 30 different combinations of warp and filling made into cloth of varying widths, very striking inconsistencies are shown in the return to the manufacturer, if a tariff schedule should be adopted based entirely upon the lines

proposed under House Bill No. 25034. Two average cases may be cited: a 40 in. 88 by 80 with a 60s warp and 100s filling would show a profit to the manufacturer of 1/4 of a cent per yard. Exactly the same yarns made under the same specifications, but woven into a 54 in. piece of cloth would show a loss to the manufacturer of 1/4 of a cent per yard. And it should be noted that the finer the goods, the greater the discrepancies possible under methods proposed by House Bill No. 25034.

A reduction of three of five per cent. in the present high selling price in England, under such a law as proposed, would mean a loss to every manufacturer of all combed yarn goods.

English Competition.

The manufacture of fine cotton goods in the United States whether it be carried on in New England or the south has its strongest competition from the spinning mills in Lancashire, England. Every expense entering into the production of fine cloth in the Lancashire district is very much less than similar expenses in the United States. The cost of mill construction is about 60 per cent. of that for similar buildings in the United States. The cost of labor is only a little over one-half. The cost of all raw material, excepting cotton and supplies entering into the manufacture keeps very closely to the same percentages.

Comparing the earnings of two of the most important fine cotton districts of

England, with the earnings of the most important fine goods section of the United States, the following figures are of interest:

100 Spinning Mills, Oldham District.

Share capital, \$2.00 per spindle.

Share capital, mortgages and loans, \$3.31 per spindle.

Average earnings per spindle, 30 cents.

Average earnings on share capital, 15 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.

Average earnings on share capital and mortgages, 9 per cent.

New Bedford Cloth Mills.

Share capital, \$13 per spindle.

Share capital and bonds, \$14 per spindle.

Considering the earnings of 1912, most of the New Bedford cloth mills lost money, and several earned only about 2 per cent. on share capital. Because of the difference in costs, earnings of 30 cents a spindle gives Oldham 15 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. on capital, while earnings of 30 cents a spindle would give New Bedford only 2 $\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. on capital, or, in other words, the same earnings per spindle gives Oldham \$6.60 against \$1.00 for New Bedford.

Increase of Exports.

While it is true that exports on cotton goods have increased from year to year, it is only in the coarser grades where it is possible for the United States to compete with the markets of the world, and these exports represent goods produced at a cost where labor represents less than one-third of the net cost. Where the higher percentage of labor prevails (reaching in some of the finer goods to over 60 per cent. of the total cost), it would be impossible for such goods to be produced and sold in this country in competition with foreign countries without duties equal to those which now prevail.

Again, considering the duty in its relation to the fineness of the yarn, it should be made clear that in ply yarns the single strand must always be reckoned. Otherwise, cloth containing two ply 98's, for example, could be imported at the duty for cloth containing yarn not exceeding 50's, while cloth containing No. 51 yarn would call for the higher duty in excess of 50's. In the same

way cloth containing three ply of any number less than 150 would pay less than cloth containing No. 51.

Ordinary cotton cloth should be described as "plain or twilled cloth, not requiring over six harnesses to produce and with only one kind of yarn in the warp and one kind of yarn in the weft and with only one color in the warp and weft."

Fancy cotton cloth should be described as "containing figures or effects produced by yarns of different colors or counts, or by various weaving devices, known as Dobby, Jacquard box loom, Lappett, Leno, Swivel, etc."

Any tariff law which may be framed, should make a sharp distinction between ordinary cotton cloth and fancy cotton cloth for the duty which protects one sufficiently to allow a continuance of its manufacture in this country, would be disastrous to the other with its larger labor cost. Under the present law, imports of cotton cloth have been almost entirely of a fancy character. To lower the present duty upon this grade of goods would mean that they would be made abroad where labor is so much cheaper.

No Undue Profits.

Manufacturers of fine cotton goods in the United States have not realized and are not securing at the present time, improper profits.

The cotton business of the country is capitalized on a lower basis in proportion to the value of its product than is any other one of the great businesses of the country.

The earnings of the fine goods' mills in particular, centered largely as they are in New Bedford, Massachusetts, show a return upon an investment at \$15 a spindle of 5.89 per cent. per year for the last 10 years.

If the replacement value at a recognized standard of \$20 per spindle were to be taken into account as a basis for these earnings, the return would average only 4.42 per cent. for this same period.

The cotton manufacturing business is distributed among many different concerns, no one concern having more than 2 per cent. of the spindles or product of the country. Less than half a dozen concerns have over 500,000 spindles each, and the average number of spin-

dies is less than 30,000 to each manufacturing concern engaged in the business.

The keenest kind of competition marks all branches of the cotton manufacturing in the United States at the present time; a competition which has not only kept prices of goods at the lowest possible level consistent with a fair return on money invested, but which has led to a constant growth in the business, not only in New England where it had its earliest start, but in the South where growth has been most marked in recent years.

Notwithstanding the increased cost of all raw material entering into cotton manufacture; the increased cost of labor, which is between 50 per cent. and 60 per cent. of the total cost of most finished goods in which the yarns ranging above 50's are used; and many other upward trends in all costs, the prices realized by the cotton manufacturer for his goods show practically no change in the last 20 years for standard goods.

Further Burdens Added.

Factors operating today still further add a burden to the manufacturing business should be carefully considered in connection with any proposed change in tariff rates.

Laws providing for Workingmen's Compensation, for better conditions among the laboring people, for shorter working hours, for increasing safeguards to protect health and improve physical and material conditions have all added greatly to the cost of manufacturing, which must include increased taxes and increased charges to pay for a share in these benefits.

In framing any tariff bill designed to change the present rates of duty upon fine cotton goods, care should be taken to so fix rates that it is made perfectly clear, not only what the fineness of yarn is which is used as a basis for computation, but also the great difference in the cost of labor required to produce both the yarn and the fabric. For example: It costs nearly seven times as much per pound to spin 120's yarn as it does to spin 30's yarn—the additional cost being entirely for labor; hence the yarn in a fabric made of 120's yarn would cost practically seven times as much per

pound as the yarn in a fabric made of 30's.

But this is not enough. Care should be taken also to recognize, not only the difference in the cost of labor as represented in the pay envelope of the operative abroad and the operative in the United States, but it should recognize the average relative cost of labor as applied to any particular grade of yarn produced, as shown by statistics covering the percentage of labor cost in American mills and in English mills. These figures are shown to be in favor of the English mills by practically 70 per cent.; yarn No. 36 in American mills, according to the commissioner's report showing a percentage of labor 20.71, the same yarn in English mills 12.10.

American manufacturers of fine cotton goods recognize that there may be some inequalities that require adjustment, and some conditions connected with the imposing of duties upon cotton goods that may require changes.

They submit that their capital invested is less than present replacement values.

That the rate of dividends paid, averages lower than the dividends paid in any other of the great American industries.

That there is no monopoly in any branch of their business.

That widespread competition has led to great growth of the business under existing laws.

The wages for employes have steadily increased.

That working conditions have shown constant change for the better.

That any change that shows any marked reduction from present rates of duty cannot fail to seriously injure a great national business employing nearly half a million operatives, and furnishing means of livelihood, indirectly, to twice as many more.

If the adjustment such as has been proposed in recent tariff agitations shall take place, three courses will be left open to the manufacturer of fine cotton goods. He may close his mills, which would be the last step that any patriotic American business man would take,—he may buy his yarn from the importers and weave goods with patented American machinery and meet, with slight

profit, the keen competition of foreign manufacturers—or, he may shift his entire equipment into a coarse goods manufactory, and run his risk with the other manufacturers of goods where labor cost is reduced to the minimum, in competition with the mills of the world and in the markets of the world.

From Brief of Simeon B. Chase.

Mr. Chase said in part: "I realize that there are different kinds of protection. An impression abroad is that the duties in the cotton schedule have been greatly increased for the benefit of the cotton mill men. Such is not the case. Much of the production and consumption is as it was under the Wilson bill. Indeed the cotton schedule as it relates to the production and consumption of cotton has been subjected to large reductions. I take exceptions to Mr. Parker's testimony relative to the cotton industry in Massachusetts and abroad and have found that we pay high prices and that this means high costs and the cost has greatly increased. There is public sentiment which through legislation has abolished child labor, increased the age limit when children may work, the hours of labor have been reduced and the shorter hours of labor has curtailed the production of the work people; the wages of the operatives are higher, too. The expense is further increased by the compensation laws for accidents, a very considerable item. I am not a stand-patter and am willing to yield somewhat and I understand the point of view of the committee that revenue is wanted and that protection is incidental, but I would have the committee be very careful in fixing the duties and be indeed moderate in any reduction they may order." He opposed *ad valorem* duties as being very unsatisfactory, raw cotton varying itself so much in price, and Sea Island cotton in particular.

From Brief of Arthur H. Lowe.

Arthur H. Lowe, of Fitchburg, who filed a brief on gingham, said in part: New England in 1912 had 17,139,945 active cotton spindles. More than 190,000 wage earners are employed in our cotton mills and are dependent on

them for a living, with probably 400,000 more persons dependent on them. These employes are paid annually about \$80,000,000. At least \$300,000,000 is invested in New England mills, the stockholders being many in number and widely scattered over the country. The value of their product is about \$200,000,000 annually. The cost of materials other than fuel or power is about \$90,000,000 a year, nearly all of this being brought from other parts of the Union. Therefore, any measure that affects our New England mills directly affects other parts of the United States. Besides this, the four leading Southern States in cotton manufacture had in 1912 over ten and a half million active spindles. Depression in our great industry in New England means that there will be depression in the South. We know that the standard of living of our mill employes is better and that wages are higher than in England. We desire to keep them so, as undoubtedly do you.

We do not appear here to claim that all the rates of duty now existing are right, but we do urge that the committee continually keep before it the effect upon hundreds of thousands of people of a sudden and radical change. The Payne-Aldrich bill increased the imports free of duty from 40.3 per cent. to 51.2 per cent. of the amount of imports as compared with the Dingley bill and reduced the average duty upon imports from 25.5 per cent. under the Dingley bill to 20.1 per cent. under the Payne bill, and, notwithstanding the criticisms of the Payne bill, under it we have paid the highest wages ever known in normal times. Your committee will be unusually skillful if you shall be able to increase the free list, reduce duties, and increase wages, which were the results obtained under the Payne bill.

We hear much these days about the high cost of living and that the tariff is held responsible for the condition. One of the reasons for the high cost of living is because we are living upon things that cost high and the cost of most things is regulated by the price of labor paid for producing them. High wages and high cost of living will always go together. You cannot legislate low cost of living as long as high wages are paid for labor. Another reason for high cost

of living is the fact that for the moment the proportion of consumers is all out of proportion to producers and not because duties are high or low upon certain articles.

A large part of the increase in the costs of cotton goods is due to the reduced number of hours per week that

cotton mills are now operated, and to new legal requirements, such as the workingmen's compensation acts. In the last 20 years the earning capacity of the cotton mills in the New England States has been reduced more than 10 per cent. due to shorter hours and other causes.

MEMORIAL OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOOL MANUFACTURERS.

Presented to the Ways and Means Committee, Jan. 27, 1913.

For the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, Mr. John P. Wood, of Philadelphia, the President of the Association, submitted a brief.

The National Association in the memorial thus presented said that it accepted in good faith the assurance that the contemplated tariff revision would injure no legitimate business. The woolen manufacture had been operated in strict conformity with the law, having been unusually free from complaint of law-breaking. Competition of the mills had raised wages far in excess of what were paid in other countries, and had reduced the margin of profit until it was probably less than that of any other domestic industry and certainly as small as in Great Britain or other countries of Europe. Average profit here did not amount for well managed establishments to more than from 5 to 7 per cent. on sales, and an investigation by Congress was invited as to this and the comparative profits of general business. The elimination of the entire margin of manufacturing profit would have no appreciable effect upon the price

of woolen clothing paid by consumers.

Wages in American woolen mills were from two to four times as high as wages in corresponding mills in Europe, the memorial stated from the records of the Tariff Board and other authorities. Many specific comparisons were given, and it was pointed out from reports of the British Board of Trade, President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor and other sources, that even allowing for the alleged higher cost of living, a great advantage in living conditions and comforts remained with the workers in America.

The memorial added that existing tariff rates on some articles exceeded the requirements of protection, but the Tariff Board conclusion was quoted that no advantage of this excess was realized by the manufacturers, domestic competition regulating prices within narrow limits of profit.

As to the question, if some duties are more than necessary and not availed of, why not reduce them? the memorial replied that there

could be no objection if that could be done without reducing duties on other articles below the line that would permit their manufacture in this country. There was such a vast variety of woollen goods that it was impracticable to make each subject to a rate of duty just sufficient, though the woollen industry had desired it.

Ad valorem duties for protection were objectionable because the difference between the foreign and the domestic conversion cost was a constant factor, while an ad valorem rate was a variant, ever fluctuating, lowest when most needed and highest when least needed. Specific rates were to be preferred from the point of view of the manufacturer, the importer and the government, and they were the settled policy of other nations. To manufactures to which specific duties could not be applied, a compound duty—partly specific, partly ad valorem—was applicable.

As to the raw wool duty, the memorial said that whether it be levied for the purpose of protecting the industry of wool growing, or of raising revenue, neither result could be attained unless the manufacture of wool could be profitably carried on in this country. For either or both purposes an amount must be added to the protective duty on imports of wool manufactures sufficient to equal the duty that would have been levied on the wool required to make them if the raw wool had been imported. Such a duty was compensatory for the raw wool duty and in no way protective. Most of those who discussed the wool tariff with superficial knowledge referred to the whole duty on woollen goods

as all for the benefit of wool manufacturing, whereas the actual protective duties on wool manufactures were generally no more than those laid on other textiles whose materials were not subject to duty.

The National Association of Wool Manufacturers, according to the memorial, entered no objection to a duty on wool; if necessary to the continuance and further development of wool growing in this country, or for the raising of revenue, the manufacturers as protectionists approved it. They merely emphasized the fact that neither government nor wool growers could derive any advantage from a duty on wool unless the wool could be used in American mills, and it could be so used only if the aggregate duty on woollen products included full compensation for the wool duty and also a protective duty covering the higher cost of manufacture.

By way of definite recommendations to the Committee on Ways and Means the memorial urged that the present ad valorem rates on wool manufactures in addition to a compensatory allowance for the wool duty were in most cases the least that would be sufficiently protective; that in cases where duties wholly in specific form could not be applied, the rates should be compound, with at least half the total sum specific; that for yarns and tops the rates should be specific; that in the case of the cheaper forms of dress goods and cloths the present ad valorem rates alone would not be protective because the conversion cost did not decrease in the same ratio as the raw material cost and, therefore, a percentage that would be adequately protective for goods of medium

value would fail when applied to goods of low value. Under the present tariff, as was thoroughly understood by those who had given more than superficial attention to the subject, the deficiency in the ad valorem rate on low priced goods was made up in the specific rate, which was and was always intended to be partly compensatory and partly protective.

The proposed bills of the previous sessions were criticised by the memorial as destructive. The manufacture of wool from its raw state to finished fabrics, it was urged, would have been utterly ruined by the enactment of either the House bill in its original form, the Senate substitute, or the compromise bill agreed upon in conference which was finally passed by Congress. The memorial went on to answer some criticisms of the existing tariff law. Comparisons of American and European wages in woolen mills, and the reports of the special manufacturers' committees on whose findings as to tops, yarns, cloths and dress goods the recommendations to Congress were based, were appended to the memorial.

Sometimes it seems as if success excites a spirit of discontent among certain classes of people. The professional disturber, the professional agitator, both political and industrial, the self-advertiser, the investigator, the sensational press, are all having their fling at the successful business man or the paying business corporation. The fact that a business is paying dividends, or that a man has worked his way to the top in the industrial world, seems to make each a target for all sorts of inquisitions and attacks. The strike is one of the phases of this situation.—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE HEARINGS.

Mr. Channing Smith of the Valley Woolen Mill of Cherry Valley, was one of the woolen manufacturers to attend the hearings at Washington. In an interview published on his return he said:

"My impression of the result of the hearings before the ways and means committee on schedule K recently held at Washington is that they will amount to nothing. The Democratic members of the committee evidently have made up their minds on a radical revision, using the argument that the election of President Wilson was a mandate from the people for revision.

"This is entirely wrong, as the total vote of Taft and Roosevelt, both protectionists, topped that of Wilson by a million or more of votes. In any revision of the tariff safe and sane methods should be adopted. It is incumbent upon Congress not to undertake any radical revision nor to claim that the country voted in favor of free trade—it did not.

"Chairman Oscar W. Underwood of the ways and means committee appears to be a gentleman and a fair-minded man and somewhat of a protectionist, but he has certainly a crossed matched team of Democrats in the committee to drive and no one can foretell the outcome.

"I was far from pleased with the service rendered to their party and country by the Republican congressmen on the committee, as out of seven members on our side of the house I never saw over three at one time attending the hearings.

"The Republican party may have been beaten at the polls, but I claim it dishonorable conduct on the part of these absent-minded members of the committee not to fight it out to the finish—even if some of them are soon to be 'has beens.'

"The Republican member from this state was missing—a state whose textile industries are greater than any other in the union, and we of Massachusetts should be proud (?) of such service.

"The one great endeavor of the Democratic members of the committee in their questioning is to get after the big

fellows in the woolen industry; little thinking that in hitting one big fellow in the reduction of the tariff they will knock down and out probably 25 small men, for they have not and cannot have the resources of the big mills, and it will be absolutely impossible for these small mills to compete with the foreign labor of England and Germany under the reduction of the tariff which the Underwood committee has in view.

"The small mills probably represent in the neighborhood of 70 per cent. of the woolen industry of the country, scattered in hundreds of villages throughout the United States, and with them you will always have competition among themselves, and especially with the big fellows. Home competition will be keen enough to keep the profits of the mills within a reasonable limit, and the mill price of cloth down.

"The textile manufacturer has and does make but a fair profit on his over-
turn, taking his investment and replacement of machinery into account—the big profits being made on his goods after they leave his hands, which adds to the high cost of clothing.

"It is sickening and maddening, this constant hounding of textile manufacturers by tariff reformers, social welfare workers and everyone else with a grouch. Conditions are better in every way than when I went to work in a mill 25 years ago, and wages are about 30 per cent. higher.

"If these reformers would only let the mill men and their employes alone, attending strictly to their own knitting work, if they have any, all would be better off and the mill workers more contented and happy, and business would go along with an old-fashioned rush."

INCOME TAX A CERTAINTY.

Amendment to the Constitution Has Been Ratified—Some Press Opinions.

The Constitutional amendment granting Congress power to levy an income tax without apportionment as a "direct tax" among the several States according to population, has now received the necessary ratification by three-fourths of the States. The last States to ratify the amendment were Wyoming, Delaware, Vermont and New Mexico.

The proposed amendment was introduced on June 17, 1909. It was passed by the Senate on July 5, 1909, by a vote of 77 to 0, 15 Senators not voting. It passed the House on July 12 by a vote of 318 to 14. Following is a list of States which have ratified the income tax amendment:

Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, Cal-

ifornia, Colorado, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Washington, Wisconsin, Louisiana, Ohio, West Virginia, Vermont and Wyoming. (39—three more than the required number.

The amendment has been rejected by Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. No action or only partial action was taken in the other States.

The adoption of the amendment marks the first change in the Consti-

tution since 1870. The Fifteenth Amendment was proposed on Feb. 27, 1869, ratified by 29 out of 37 States, and went into effect by Executive proclamation on March 30, 1870.

The text of the income tax amendment is as follows:

"Article XVI—The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the states and without regard to any census or enumeration."

It is said to be the intention of the House Democratic leaders to pass an income tax bill during the coming extra session. It is estimated that the measure ought to produce \$100,000,000 annually, including the \$20,000,000 now raised by the existing corporation tax law which will be combined with it. It is understood that the proposed tax will be fixed at 1 per cent. on all earned incomes of \$5,000 or more, a tax of 1 1/2 per cent. on unearned incomes above that figure and a still higher but graduated tax on incomes from swollen fortunes and large real estate holdings.

Collection of the tax at the "source of income" is expected to be a feature of the Democratic bill. This would obviate in many cases the necessity of the individual taxpayer of making returns.

"The government corporations, copartnerships and persons paying annual earnings to employes," it is explained, "would withhold and deduct the tax and pay it to the government. This method would likewise apply to mortgagors and lessees of real or personal property, and the taxpayers would not come in contact with the inquisitions of a revenue official."

This prospect will enable the Democrats of the Ways and Means Committee to proceed with less worry to the slashing of many existing tariff rates and to the report of another free sugar bill. The Washington Correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce says: "Conservative Democrats do not approve the idea of leaning too heavily on income tax. They want to see it used as a means of making up shortage and as a political resource designed to 'redress tariff injustice.' They are not prepared to employ it as a means of 'equalizing incomes,' or of 'adjusting property ownership.' Demands that it be employed in either of these ways are numerous and the radical mode of applying the tax has gained many recruits among Progressive Republicans. There will be a strong effort to gain the support of enough Democrats to ensure the passage of what is called a strong income tax measure, by which is meant a bill containing a distinct graduation of the tax designed to strike the larger owners of wealth most heavily."

Press Opinions.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

There is little doubt that a tax upon incomes above \$5,000 would be "popular," for it would fall directly only upon a "class" of well-to-do people, and the great mass of citizens would be free from it; but a class distinction in such a tax is bad in principle and calculated to foster a sentiment of class distinction which is wholly undesirable. It will tend to extravagance in Government expenditures, on the idea that it is only the relatively rich who furnish the extra revenue. It is better that taxes should be "felt," at least that their indirect effect should be clearly understood. Whatever goes to the support of the Government must come out of indus-

trial production, must come out of the earnings of capital and labor, and greater expenditure than is necessary for the legitimate objects of government causes loss to the people at large. There is an irresistible tendency for this result to diffuse itself. Those with taxable incomes will endeavor to offset the tax by increasing their earnings at the expense of those who pay no tax.

There are many objections to the income tax, upon which it is not our present purpose to enlarge. It involves an inquisitorial system and the employment of many persons in determining the levy and making the collections. The cost is large in proportion to the return. It simply cannot be equitably collected. It presents the strongest temptation to evasion, to concealing income or making it appear less than it is, and to absolute falsifying and perjury. The general effect is demoralizing to the tone of public morals. However completely the revenue may be collected, the tax cannot be made to operate equitably. It will bear alike upon incomes that are earned by enterprise, skill and active and persistent effort, to the benefit of industry and business, and upon those which come easily from inherited investments or "unearned increments."

From the Boston Advertiser.

Plainly, the strongest factor in support of the movement for the income tax is the widespread belief that the adoption of the change will provide for a large national income which will come out of the pocket of the rich, alone. The idea is not so sound or reasonable as it may seem. It is quite safe to predict that others beside the rich will pay most of the income tax. It is true that this tax will be collected from the rich; but it will be passed on, in various ways, to those who will pay no such tax directly. The idea that it is only those upon whom the taxes are levied, who pay any taxes, is, of course, wholly mistaken. The owner of a tenement pays taxes, and it is the theory of the law that those taxes come out of his pocket. But it will always be found, in the long run, that those who occupy the tenement really pay whatever taxes are collected on it. Those who trade at the provision store really pay the taxes as-

essed on that store. Those who ride in the street cars pay the taxes imposed on the transportation company. The users of gas pay the taxes collected from the gas company. The grocer's customers must pay his taxes. And so it goes, through all kinds of business. In most cases, the same thing will prove true in the course of an income tax. The business man who pays the income tax will be forced, in order to do business at a profit, to add this new item in his running expenses, to the price of whatever he has to sell.

From the New York Herald.

So at last an inquisitorial method of tax gathering, of prying into the private affairs of individuals, is to be enacted by Congress and forced upon the nation. The Herald has consistently opposed this measure for twenty years. It objects to it now as wrong in principle and un-American in spirit.

From the Hartford Times.

The legislatures of several of the Eastern States have had the question of a State income tax submitted to them by their governors. This source of revenue may now be regarded as lost to the States, for a double income tax would not be a popular or successful plan in any part of the country.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

Our sugar-beet men have reason to be scared. Democratic leaders propose to put sugar on the free list and make good the loss of revenue by an income tax, which, by permission of the Supreme Court, they will call an "excise" tax. The sugar tax is one of the most equitable taxes there is because it is distributed over the entire population and is not felt by any one. An income tax, theoretically just, is in practice the most unjust of all taxes, because mostly paid by the most honest people. It is, moreover, savagely inquisitorial, and more than all, it is a tax which in all countries has been considered as long as possible strictly an emergency tax, to be repealed when the emergency is past. Up to this time it has been so treated in this country. If we levy an income tax

in time of peace, what new tax can we look to in time of trouble?

From the New York Sun.

That an excuse to lay an income tax will be found when Congress has the power to lay it is as sure as taxes. The obvious fact is worth mentioning as it may serve to recall to the States that have ratified the power they have parted with and to the country in general the beautiful belief or protestation on the part of some friends of the income tax when it began its voyage toward the Constitution that Congress ought to have the power so necessary in emergency. Extravagance can always create "the emergency," but the real "emergency" is the doctrine fostered by demagogues that an income tax bleeds "the rich only."

From the Boston Herald.

Mr. Taft in several of his speeches explained this amendment as designed to give Congress needed authority for great emergencies of the nation, like that of war. Many people have believed this would be the only use of the power. Such a theory has never had any basis in human experience. The Democratic party will lose little time in getting an income tax in operation. Some adjustments should, in fair play, be promptly made. The state should stop attempting to tax incomes, now that the federal government is making a similar levy. The federal machinery would undoubtedly open the way to a very thorough collecting of such state levies, in case this variety of double taxation were allowed to prevail. The danger of the present is that the radical elements of the political community will repeat the experience of Turkey and Russia in taxing "the life out" of thrift and industry. It is a great power with which the states have now endowed Congress. That body should exercise it in moderation and with common-sense.

From the Rutland Herald.

In the first place, the government does not need the money that would be derived from an income tax. It already has more income than it can spend to advantage. In the last few years gov-

ernmental expenditures have increased at a tremendous rate, and much money that might well have been left in the hands of the taxpayers has been spent foolishly. In the next place, what is proposed is an inquisitorial tax, for which at this time there is no excuse whatever. Class taxation, taxing a part of the people for the benefit of the rest, is always objectionable, and the income tax is a class tax. That it is not needed, is reason enough for voting against it.

From the New York Tribune.

Doubtless there are persons in this country whose interest in the income tax is inspired by the wish to penalize wealth. They want to bleed the millionaires, and for that purpose would impose the tax quite regardless of the government's need of the money or the possible reduction of other taxation. The great body of the people, however, we believe, look to the income tax only as a juster method of raising needed revenue, and no more revenue than is needed, and expect to see those who enjoy comfortable incomes lift the burden from the larger number of consumers, whose cost of living they think is increased by the indirect tariff duties. Bothersome as the income tax may be, probably most of those who pay it would be satisfied, so far as the money contribution went, if they saw a proportional relief in the expenses of themselves and their neighbors. Neither they nor their poorer neighbors, however, will be satisfied to see the raising of revenue in large measure transferred from the custom house to the income tax office while they pay as much for living in proportion to their wages as they did when the government was placing higher indirect taxes on their consumption. There is the test of the prospective fiscal system. Is it to be a relief or just a new exaction?

From the Hartford Courant.

It is not the plan of the advocates in this country of this tax to reserve it for a public emergency. They are going to use it in order to enable them to reduce protective tariff duties. They design to expose our manufacturing interests to as heavy foreign competition as they

dare, with all the consequent danger to the stability of our existing high wage system, and to use the income tax as a means of providing an equivalent in public revenue by their reduction of our protective duties. It may be said that by reducing the existing tariff enough to foster large foreign competition our public revenue should be increased by these foreign importations. That might be true if all our existing manufacturing interests remained unchanged, so that our purchasing power was not impaired. But the Democrats wish, so far as the perilous nature of their experimental policy allows, to keep these American manufacturing interests alive; and merely as a precaution, in case their risky efforts do not fully succeed, they are going to use the income tax as a sort of safety anchor, by means of which—whether important branches of American manufacturing go by the board or not, and their workmen with them—at least public revenue enough shall be available to keep the Government going. Their plan is a close model of the existing English system of a revenue for tariff only, the income tax in England today being maintained at a higher rate than was ever used in war times, and serving as the indispensable crutch whereby that kind of a tariff is kept on its feet.

From the Boston Transcript.

The mere ratification of the amendment does not compel Congress to impose a tax on incomes, but the indications point to the early appearance of the Federal assessor in search of revenue from this source. A Democratic Congress, even if it would, cannot avoid a reduction of the tariff. What the Treasury loses in this process must be made up in another way and the income tax will be complementary to tariff and the ordinary internal revenue collections. The situation which the Democrats today have to face is analogous to that confronting them when the Wilson-Gorman tariff bill was enacted, with this exception, that the path of the income tax has been cleared of constitutional briars. The analogy extends to public sentiment, for now as in 1894 the East, which will feel the heaviest burden, is

in a mood of protest, while the West and South, which will make comparatively small contributions, will welcome the income tax as a triumph of what they regard as the equalization of human lots. . . .

The people, with very few exceptions, have known only indirect Federal taxation. The money they contribute to the Treasury goes from their pockets unseen, almost unsensed. When, however, the Federal collector calls or sends in his little bill they will be brought to a realizing sense of the burden of furnishing funds to the Government. They will see the money pass. Then they may be expected to scan appropriations in a critical spirit that will be ready to object to the taxation of Massachusetts to build "good roads" in Arkansas and Wyoming. The States, too, will have a very direct interest in the establishment of rates and their enforcement, since many of them derive revenue from their own income taxes. A nice question is presented for the consideration of Congress in the adjustment of the income tax to the systems now in force in the States. As, for example, if a Federal tax is levied on all incomes over \$4,000 or \$5,000, will the Massachusetts taxpayer be required still to pay the local assessors on the excess of his income above \$2,000? Will he be taxed first by the nation and then by the State, or will the nation make allowance for what he has paid to the Commonwealth? These are only a few of the subjects Congress must take into earnest consideration when it is framing legislation under the Sixteenth Amendment.

Official records show that it cost the Democratic party \$1,159,446 to make Woodrow Wilson President-elect. It will cost the country at large a good deal more if much tariff tinkering is done at the special session to be called next April.—San Francisco Chronicle.

Why is there so much objection to the apparently innocent suggestion that food products placed in cold storage shall be marked at the time with the date, and also with the name of the producer and that of the person who stores

them? How can it interfere with any honest later distribution to have these things recorded? And if in all this broad land there happens to be one unprincipled producer who puts up poor or unwholesome foodstuffs, is it not proper that they should be traced back to him?—Hartford Times.

SENATOR WEEKS.

Massachusetts was so fortunately situated that it had a number of distinguished and able men upon whom to draw in filling the vacancy in the United States Senate, caused by the retirement of Winthrop Murray Crane, and it hardly could have gone wrong in selecting his successor; yet the election of John W. Weeks will appeal instantly to the country as a most admirable choice. The men who have represented the Bay State in the Senate have always been notable for ability, and Mr. Weeks, after eight years of preparatory work in the House, will go to the other end of the Capitol splendidly equipped to uphold the traditions of the Commonwealth. He is a business man of broad training, with a grasp of affairs national in scope. As an organizer and "amiable compositeur" it may be predicted of him that he will win a reputation like that which Senator Crane acquired. Massachusetts will continue to hold in the Senate a commanding position, and Mr. Weeks will prove a tower of strength to the Republican minority.

In qualities of constructive statesmanship Mr. Weeks should be the peer of any senator. His rise in the House was rapid, and long before the average representative of similar length of service had won his spurs he had become a leader of his party and chairman of the postoffice committee. Mr. Weeks reported a postoffice appropriation bill so perfect in every detail that it went through both the House and the Senate without a single change. He was active in the work of the monetary commission. He drafted the postal savings bank bill, and with tact and patience, and in the face of the opposition of the House leadership, succeeded in enacting into law the Weeks Appalachian forest reserve law.

There is nothing theoretical about John W. Weeks. He is constructive in

all his talents. Knowing nothing of the arts of oratory when he first entered the House, he has developed into one of the most effective speakers in that body. The Senate will not hear him frequently, but when it does it will listen.—Washington Post.

The election of Representative Weeks as senator by the Massachusetts Legislature is good news to Washington, where he is widely known, well liked and highly regarded. Washington welcomes him to the upper house of its local legislature.—Washington Evening Star.

Mr. Weeks is admirably qualified for the senatorship. He is a thorough business man and is recognized as one of the ablest representatives in Congress. His industry and familiarity with public questions will make him as useful in the Senate as he has been in the House.—Rutland (Vt.) Herald.

Senator Lodge and Senator Crane expressed approval of the election of Representative Weeks as the new senator from Massachusetts. Senator Lodge said: "In Mr. Weeks the Republicans have made a choice which reflects great credit both on the party and on the state. Mr. Weeks has risen to one of the foremost places in the House of Representatives, is a most excellent legislator and a man of marked ability and high character. I am sure that in every way he will worthily represent Massachusetts in the Senate, and I shall certainly be most happy to welcome him as a colleague.

"I also take great satisfaction in the fact that the Republicans of the Legislature, after an earnest but good-tempered contest, selected their candidate and elected him by their united votes."

Senator Crane said: "Mr. Weeks will make a most efficient senator. He is a man of great energy and marked ability, has had long experience in public matters, and will always be a credit to the commonwealth and the nation."

Care With Tariff Urged by Weeks.

"The banking and currency situation in this country today is the poorest of

any country in the world," said Senator-elect John W. Weeks before the Boston Jewelers' Club. "We are on the verge of a great tariff reform, but I beg and urge you not to abandon the old tariff entirely, for that is the secret of our prosperity this last year. If the tariff were to be reduced as much as it was last year, many mills in Massachusetts would be compelled to cut down the wages of their employes, and perhaps even to go out of business entirely."

SENATOR BURLEIGH.

Commenting on the election of Hon. E. C. Burleigh to the United States Senate the Boston Herald said:

"Maine has solved its senatorial puzzle, which has held the attention of the whole country, in a way which reflects credit on the political honesty and common sense of its people and which will give it a senator of senatorial size. The suggested contest can hardly be taken seriously. Ex-Gov. Burleigh, through his long service in the House, is a veteran in the public service and from the first will command the respect and confidence of every senator who knew him in the lower body. He is one of those few public servants who talk little and do much, and in the forty years or more that he has served the people of Maine at Augusta or in Washington there has never been raised the question of his personal or political honor.

"Mr. Burleigh is a thick and thin party man, and it is characteristic of him that through the hard fight of the past months he has not tried to color his honest convictions or dodge his record for the sake of gaining the favor of legislators who were elected as Republicans and then called themselves Progressives. The Legislature was under orders from a popular primary to elect him, yet a few members held their political honor so cheaply, and had so small a sense of responsibility to those who elected them as Republicans, that they meekly took orders from Montana and Oyster Bay. Those half dozen members have shown the shallowness of their high sounding pretensions as Progressives, and Maine should put them in the political discard at the first opportunity."

OPPOSES LEATHER TARIFF REDUCTION.

From the Boston Journal.

Reduction of the present tariff on leather would cripple American leather manufacturers and free leather would bring an industrial revolution, according to William T. Parker of W. W. Mooney & Sons, Columbus, Ind., who is representing his firm in New England. "I am sincere when I say that in my opinion if the new Congress puts leather on the free list this country will see an industrial revolution," said Mr. Parker in an interview in the Boston Journal.

"The margin of profits is not large now, because our expenses are heavy. The tanning of hides is an intricate process and commands high wages in this country. Now in England, for example, not only do the tanners pay smaller wages but the employes work longer hours. It doesn't need much arguing to prove to you that to compete with English tanners' products admitted free we should have to adopt the English wage scale, and you know as well as I do that the American workingman would never consent to that. That's why I say that an industrial revolution is inevitable if leather is put on the free list.

"If a reduction is made—I cannot believe the tariff will be taken off altogether," continued Mr. Parker, "it seems reasonable to demand that tanning materials should be correspondingly reduced. If I remember rightly little or nothing was said on that subject before the hearing of the ways and means committee at Washington last month. Indeed so far as I can learn there were several

aspects of the question which were not covered at the hearing."

"If the people of this country had the faintest conception of the shoe and leather industry the tariff would stay where it is, especially on leather. As for the tariff on shoes I do not think that the shoe manufacturers would be much injured by a reduction of the tariff or even by its removal. The American made shoe is admittedly so much the superior of any other shoe throughout the world that it could maintain its position in spite of the importation of lower priced shoes.

"Leather has no such protection and free leather means one of two things, either an industrial revolution and the ruining of the American tanners or the invention of a substitute for leather. This has been attempted since the beginning of recorded history but with no success. I have the feeling that sometime American inventive genius which has surmounted so many similar difficulties will achieve the seemingly impossible and produce a substitute for leather."

MARY KONOVSKY'S WAGE.

The Hard Problem Presented by the Case of a New York Mill Girl—Who Will Bid \$6.90 a Week for Her Services?—No One?—Then "Are We Not a Nation of Hypocrites?"

From the New York Sun.

Among the stories of striking mill operatives at Little Falls told to the Commissioners of Mediation and Arbitration for the State of New York, that of a girl whom I shall call Mary Konovsky was the most impressive in many ways. This young woman swore to the following statement, rendered into English by an interpreter:

"My name is Mary Konovsky. I am twenty-two years old. I can speak no English nor can I read or write in that language. I was born in Russian Poland. I have been in this country three years. I was employed as a spinner in the X mill. I earned \$6 a week. I live in a room with two other girls as poor as myself. For this room we pay \$3 a week. We get our own breakfast and have dinner at a restaurant. When working we took our lunch with us to the mill and ate it there. I send no money home because I have none. I struck because my pay was too low. I want a raise of 15 per cent. and will return to work if I get that."

This testimony of Mary Konovsky has been published and republished throughout the country. In consequence thousands of kind-hearted people have grieved over the pitiable condition of this poor Polander and their hearts have ached for her and her fellow strikers. The more sensational publications have held up to the execration of mankind the heartless, sordid manufacturers who paid such poor wages.

With your permission and through your courtesy, I would like to say a few words directly to these sympathetic people. Ladies and gentlemen, Mary Konovsky stands before the commissioners. Have a look at her. She is a poor human creature born and bred in poverty and misery, uneducated, untrained, stolid, stupid but possessed of an immortal soul and eager for the betterment of her condition. She wants \$6.90 a week and will be satisfied with that amount. Her former employer, a manufacturer who has a large factory, representing an investment exceeding a million dollars, who is the agent of the stockholders of his company, all of whom demand that he run this factory at a profit, says outspokenly:

"I will pay Mary Konovsky \$6 a week, and this is more than she is worth. She has no industrial training of any kind. All she is fit for is to mind a spinning frame and when the delicate threads break to tie the ends together. Her fingers are very clumsy at this and she makes a great deal of waste. I even have to get her a little machine to place on her fingers to tie these ends, for the machinery is much cleverer than she.

American girls of her own age in my factory are making from \$10 to \$14 a week. I had rather pay Mary three times her wages if she were of proportionate value to me. Unwittingly she has made me appear before my fellowmen a grinder down of the poor. She has injured my character and that of my mill. I will take her back if she wants to come, but really I don't want her. I want trained, educated girls if I can get them. There she stands. Her services are for sale at \$6.90 a week."

You have heard the despised employer of labor, kind ladies and gentlemen. The services of Mary Konovsky are for sale. He bids \$6 a week. What will you bid? You, mistress housewife, with tender eyes, will you pay more than \$6 a week for Mary?

"No," you say. "She cannot speak English. She is a mere peasant; knows nothing of the mechanism of a modern kitchen. I don't want her."

You, Mr. Storekeeper, what will you give? You could not use her services? She would not be able to stand behind your counter and sell goods? She is unprepossessing and uncouth? She cannot speak English? And what is this you say:

"I cannot afford to pay \$6 a week for girl clerks."

We pass you up for a kind gentleman who, perhaps, gushed unthinkingly. Come on all the rest of you, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, politicians, editors, what will you bid for the services of Mary Konovsky?

She wants only \$6.90 a week. For God's sake, gentlemen, don't let the cruel mill get her again. Take her into your homes, into your offices, into your studios, give her a chance in the world. You cry all together, "We don't want her. We have no use for her, but make that mill man pay her a living wage. She has our sympathies, but you can see plainly we cannot employ her."

And you over there by the door, leaning against each other in sweet accord, you two, Mr. Labor Agitator and Mr. Yellow Journalist, come up here and look at Mary. She wants a living wage. Will you give it to her?

"No," you snarl back at me. "We won't give it to her, but we will get it for her. We will bring mankind down to the level of Mary Konovsky where

she will have an equal opportunity in a fair competition of hands and brains."

And you, Mr. Commissioner, you are last of all, you who love to investigate your fellows; speak up like a man and make us a bid for Mary. Not a peep out of you? It really looks as if it were up to Mary to choose between the river and the mill.

Is there a true lesson in this letter? Are we not a nation of hypocrites, a race loving to pluck at the beam in our brother's eye, being blind ourselves?

WHAT FREE TRADE MEANS.

Editor of The Protectionist: "Free Trade" means the lowest labor conditions of Europe plus the cost of freight on all manufactured goods that can be produced in Europe, which include cotton, woolen, leather, cutlery, silk and many mechanical and chemical products. It means even worse than that, on account of the downward change from a higher wage standard and manner of living, and the agony of a long depression consequent on a prolonged agitation, for we are down to that low pitch where "the full dinner pail," paltry as it seems, is craved for. It is better than the empty one. Smokeless chimneys means hunger, debt and ruin.

The world is still progressing and reform is needed, but a different course should be adopted. If tariff reform must come, then let business go on, by guaranteeing that no change shall occur for one year or perhaps two years after the passage of the bill. The loss entailed by suspense in wages to the mill workers is enormous. It is said there are 12 to 15 thousand out of employment in Lawrence alone, and this is a great hardship to the workers, for we must eat, and our losses must be

taken off our backs, our little luxuries and smaller quarters to reside in. We need fewer lawyers as law makers. And more practical manufacturers and workingmen representatives, but they are too busy or too self-interested to do community work. Speaking of smokeless chimneys, I saw the whole of South Lancashire, Oldham especially during the Civil War and the great joy when the smoke belched forth again.

A Mill Worker for Over 40 Years.

ILLEGAL STRIKES.

From the Boston Advertiser.

The threat of a general paralysis of trade in the Eastern and Middle states, in consequence of the menaced strike of the firemen, has come close enough to make a good many Americans consider seriously the question whether the time is at hand for some law, looking towards compulsory arbitration, if necessary, on those great public service industries which come under the control of Congress.

Congress has no right to forbid one man to strike; but Congress can remain wholly within its proper powers and its appropriate field, in passing a law which will forbid 35,000 men to strike in such fashion as to cause injury to the American people. The decision of one man to quit work, without injury to anyone, is the exercise of a personal right. The agreement of 35,000 men by some compact to strike in order to tie up the business of a great section of the United States, is in itself an illegal conspiracy, the moment it causes public suffering, privation, or even inconvenience.

Some labor leaders, recently, in discussing this matter, have said that it was a monstrous principle of law, which would make illegal for many men in common agreement to do a thing which was perfectly legal for any one of those men to do of his own volition. It is not monstrous, at all. It is common sense; and the labor leaders would be the first to say so, in applying the principle to any case but their own interests.

ADAM SMITH AS A WET BLANKET.

Just after a Free Trade speaker had dwelt on the blessings of foreign commerce as distinguished from "the narrow home market plea," an old printer rose and asked him, "Who is the greatest writer on your side?"

"Adam Smith," said the orator, "he sounded the death knell of Protection; it may wriggle, but it must die. Adam Smith paved the way for absolute commercial freedom."

"Well," said the printer, "he certainly hoped for Free Trade sometime, very much as we hope to see universal peace and disarmament. But he wasn't so sure as you are that foreign trade paid better than home manufactures. You see he looked at everything. Now our tariff club will pay the rent of this hall tonight if you will read aloud what Smith says on home production and foreign commerce. Here's Smith's 'Wealth of Nations.'" This is what the Free Trader read aloud:

All wholesale trade, all buying in order to sell again by wholesale, may be reduced to three different sorts,—the home trade, the foreign trade of consumption and the carrying trade. The home trade is employed in purchasing in one part of the same country and selling in another the product of the industry of that country. It comprehends both the inland and coasting trade. The foreign trade of consumption is employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption. The carrying trade is employed in transacting the commerce of foreign countries, or in carrying the surplus product of one to another.

After agriculture, the capital employed in manufacturing puts into motion the greatest quantity of productive

labor and adds the greatest value to the annual produce. That which is employed in the trade of exportation has the least effect of any of the three.

The capital, therefore, employed in the home trade of any country will generally give encouragement and support to a greater quantity of productive labor in that country, and increase the value of its annual produce more than an equal capital employed in the foreign trade of consumption, and the capital employed in this latter trade has in both these respects a still greater advantage over an equal capital employed in the carrying trade.

Dead silence, and no Democrat wanted to cheer, while the Republicans were too polite to applaud. The tariff club was perfectly willing to pay the rent of the hall, and the printer departed. While the orator went on with his speech, he was disconcerted.

R. R.

AS MR. KEIR HARDIE SEES US.

Mr. Keir Hardie, the well known English Socialist, a supporter in the British Parliament of the present "Free Trade" ministry, must find it difficult to reconcile his votes with the opinions formed during his recent visit to the United States. Writing in the "Clarion" of January 9, he has this to say about the conditions observed in the United States under Protection:

"Life out there, especially in the West, has more freedom than at home, and the very fact of wages being high leads to a greater self-respect and a higher all-round standard of living. Men walk with more independence in their gait than they do with us, and there are opportunities, generally speaking,

for getting on there which do not exist here."

Mr. Hardie's views will give little comfort to Woodrow Wilson, who has demanded repeatedly the overthrow of the policy which Mr. Hardie says has brought about conditions of more freedom here than in England and has made it possible for "men to walk with more independence than they do with us."

The "freedom" which Mr. Wilson talks so much about, we already possess in larger degree than any other country, and the only thing which seriously imperils it is the assault upon our economic policy now being made by Mr. Wilson and his associates in Congress.

OUR FOREIGN TRADE.

From the San Francisco Chronicle.

The London Chronicle prints a table showing the increase of imports of the different nations since 1900. The United States figures in it in a fashion which ought to make the free trader ashamed to indulge in his old-time twaddle of the effects of the protective tariff being to rear a Chinese wall about the country. According to the showing, American imports have increased 83 per cent. since the date mentioned, while those of Great Britain only show an enlargement of 26 per cent. Great Britain still imports more heavily than this country, but that is because she is dependent on the outside world for most of her raw material and foodstuffs. If the United States had to go abroad for her raw cotton, iron ores, copper and other raw materials, not to speak of foodstuffs, we should probably be importing double as much as the United Kingdom. As it is we bought nearly \$1,600,000,000 worth of products from foreigners in 1912.

It is significant that none of the practical business men in the tariff inquiry spoke for a removal of duties. Business men know what is best for the business of the country.—San Francisco Chronicle.

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid
To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

MARCH, 1913.

In three years a government-owned railroad in France has run behind \$33,000,000.

The great campaign of trying to get something for nothing is still in active progress the world over.

With Mr. Bryan in the cabinet many fear that President-elect Wilson would be as clay in the hands of the potter.

The "National Hobo" Convention, in session recently at New Orleans, voted to petition Congress to do a few things that will give employment to idle people. This is the first intimation we have had that this class of people want to work.

The San Francisco Chronicle says that Chairman Underwood's request of the business men of the country not to be alarmed about possible tariff reductions would have a more soothing effect if the Democratic platform did not declare all protection unconstitutional.

Harper's Weekly claims that the weakness of the Republican team work has accomplished the undoing

of the administration, and cites typical instances of disorganization, such as the difference of opinion between Secretary Knox and Senator Root over the Panama Canal tolls question.

The New York Journal of Commerce, in a brief review of Mr. Wilson's recent magazine article, says that "his vague denunciations and generalizations are alarming, especially when unaccompanied by constructive suggestions regarding the changes thought to be needful in national government."

The amalgamation of the three principal unions of railroad men in Great Britain, having a total membership of 200,000 workers, is now an accomplished fact; and this organization seems to have the country at its mercy, as twenty-four "bosses" are empowered to call a strike at any time without taking a ballot among the men.

Congressman Curley has received assurance from Chairman Underwood that there will be no increase in the internal revenue taxes on cigars, "as the proposed income tax will provide sufficient revenue without resort to other sources." This will be good news to consumers of cigars, but how about the other people who do not use the weed?

In spite of the fact that Congress passed last spring a general service pension bill, increasing the outlay of the government by some \$30,000,000, which it was promised would obviate the need of granting special relief in individual cases, the present Congress has thus far passed

5,000 private pension acts. The more some people get the more they want.

The Department of Agriculture reports that the prices of food products, except meats, are 20 per cent. cheaper than they were a year ago, obviously due to the great crops of 1912. But there are 1,250,000 less beef cattle, 202,000 less dairy cows, 880,000 less sheep and 4,250,000 less swine. There has been a considerable increase in numbers of horses and mules.

A bill is pending in Congress which is designed to effect a saving of \$2,000,000,000 a year in the expense of marketing farm products. It proposes the establishment of a division of markets in the Department of Agriculture which shall circulate news concerning market conditions and prices in such a way as to bring producer and consumer into closer contact.

The enormous cost of strikes is again illustrated. An estimate of the cost of the strike in New York city, among the employes of the manufacturers of men's and youths' suits, shows that the loss to the trade has been something like \$20,000,000. In addition to this sum, is the amount lost by the idle employes. This is set at between \$8,000,000 and \$10,000,000.

Eugene Zimmerman, Cincinnati capitalist and father-in-law of the Duke of Manchester, returning from Europe, says: "Financiers abroad don't like President-elect Wilson because they are afraid he will do harm to business interests in this country

which will in turn injure the market for American securities in Europe. This has caused a feeling of uncertainty among investors over there.

Taxation of the cargoes of all foreign-owned ships, regardless of their distributing points, is proposed in a bill introduced in the House, January 29, of Mr. Humphreys, of Mississippi, who explained that his bill would establish protection for the American merchant marine by preventing vessels of other countries from engaging on a competitive basis in the trade for domestic ports.

The United States Supreme Court on February 3 rendered an unanimous decision that the United Shoe Machinery Company was not an organization in restraint of trade; that the Sherman anti-trust law does not forbid the mere combining of non-competitors in an industry. The Court did not consider the tying-clause leases, by which the company requires manufacturers to use its machinery solely. A new suit covering this point has been filed by the government.

The New York Journal of Commerce notes, with alarm, the current report that the Ways and Means Committee is considering the matter of framing a section of the new tariff law to provide for maximum rates in place of the present maximum section of the present tariff. It says: "This policy, if pursued, will be a very decided departure from Democratic principle. It will amount to the acceptance of the retaliatory principle in tariff legislation, and might conceivably bring about the imposition of higher rates of duty

than those which the party had deemed necessary for revenue purposes."

The shortage in wool production in Australia last year is reported to be from 250,000 to 300,000 bales, and a lessened production is also reported from South Africa, estimated from 30,000 to 50,000 bales. In Argentina there appears to be a steadily decreasing supply in the longer and coarser crossbreds. And yet there are not a few people in this country who would kill our wool industry and make our manufacturers wholly dependent upon foreign sources of supply.

The references, on another page, to the conditions under which homeworkers exist in the Irish linen industry, have a peculiar significance to Americans at this time. The pittance paid as wages under a system of so-called Free Trade is only too likely to be approached in the United States if the intentions of extreme advocates of tariff reduction should ever be carried into effect. The report from which these revelations are taken is deserving of more detailed study by all who have the interests of American industries at heart.

In the United States District Court at Cincinnati, February 17, President John H. Patterson, of the National Cash Register Company of Dayton, O., was sentenced to serve one year in the county jail at Troy, O., and to pay a fine of \$5,000 for violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. Twenty-eight other officials and

employees of the company were given jail sentences varying from three months to one year and were ordered to pay the costs of the prosecution. A motion was made for an arrest of judgment on the grounds that the Sherman law is unconstitutional in so far as it attempts to create offenses and impose penalties. All cases will go on appeal to a higher court.

Senator O'Gorman's speech in opposition to repealing the free tolls provision of the Panama canal act, is held to indicate that President-elect Wilson is of the same mind. Mr. O'Gorman bases his opposition on the ground that the last Democratic national convention adopted a declaration in favor of free tolls. So it also adopted declarations that the federal government has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue, and in favor of a single presidential term, but there are strong indications that both of these plain declarations are to be repudiated by the Democratic leaders because they are "politically inexpedient."

The South is Protectionist in spots. The growers of citrus fruits in Florida have met and adopted a resolution declaring that if the Democratic members of the Ways and Means committee reduce citrus duties to their injury they will "repudiate the action of the Democratic party" and will pledge themselves "to support a party that will protect our homes, industries and lives from the disastrous influence of

imported products." In Louisiana the sugar cane planters, who are all Democrats, complain loudly of the Democratic plan to put sugar on the free list, but lack the courage of the Florida fruit growers to take any definite action against the tariff smashers

The Tribune says: "Ratifications to the amendment to the federal Constitution providing for the direct election of United States Senators are being reported from many parts of the country. Few ratifying states have taken the trouble to send formal notice to Congress or to the State Department, but from press reports it appears reasonably certain that at least seventeen states have now approved the Seventeenth Amendment. In the list are Massachusetts and New York, in the East; North Carolina and Texas, in the South; West Virginia, Michigan, Ohio, Iowa and Minnesota, in the Middle West, and California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico, in the Far West. The only states in which ratification has been refused are Utah and Georgia. In twenty-nine states no complete action has yet been taken. Thirteen states can defeat the amendment.

President Taft, on February 8, denied the right of free entry from Canada into the United States of wood pulp and paper made from timber of certain crown lands in Quebec, on which that province had recently removed export restrictions. The President sustained the decision of Secretary MacVeagh that Quebec's action was not sufficient to entitle these products to

free entry under the only operative clause of the Canadian reciprocity agreement which abolished the duty on wood pulp and paper provided Canada did not restrict their exportation in any manner. This action forestalls the reported plan of four big paper manufacturers of Canada to send a large shipment of paper to this country. It developed that the four companies leasing the lands would certainly not export the wood, but would convert it into paper before sending it to the United States. Quebec, it is declared, refused to remove the exports restrictions from other crown lands held by companies which would export timber.

The Providence Tribune points out that there is quite a difference between the American idea of luxuries and the view forced upon the people of other countries by the exigencies of their condition. The Tribune says: "As for the explanation that the Democrats do not intend to hurt business by their revision of the tariff, that is plainly apologetic. The Democratic theory is that luxuries should bear the tariff burden—a theory which might work out all right were it not that, as a result of Republican policies, practically all Americans are accustomed to luxurious indulgences. It is difficult to draw the line. In certain countries of Europe meat upon the workingman's table is a rare luxury. In this country meat is a common necessity on practically all tables. In certain foreign lands only the rich, or at least the well-to-do, wear leather shoes or wear gloves. Here all of us wear leather shoes and wear gloves. When we speak of luxuries

in America we unconsciously think of diamonds, jewelry, champagne, velvets, automobiles and the more expensive furs. The list is really small and by no stretch of the imagination could it be made to bear, with the internal taxes, the full burden of Federal revenues."

The election of a Democratic Senator in Delaware and of another in Tennessee assures the Democratic party absolute control of the United States Senate after March 4, by at least two majority. Since our last report, the following Senators have been elected: Arkansas—W. M. Kavanaugh (Dem.) elected to succeed Jeff Davis (Dem.) deceased; Kansas—W. H. Thompson (Dem.) elected to succeed Charles Curtis (Rep.); Nevada—Key Pittman (Dem.) elected to succeed W. A. Massey (Rep.); New Mexico—A. B. Fall (Rep.) elected to succeed himself; South Carolina—B. R. Tillman (Dem.) elected to succeed himself; Texas—Morris Sheppard (Dem.) elected to succeed R. M. Johnston (Dem.); Wyoming—F. E. Warren (Rep.) elected to succeed himself; Oregon—Harry Lane (Dem.) to succeed Jonathan Bourne (Rep.); New Jersey—William Hughes (Dem.) to succeed Frank O. Briggs (Rep.); Delaware—Willard Saulsbury (Dem.) to succeed Henry Richardson (Rep.); Tennessee—John K. Shields (Dem.) to succeed Luke Lea (Dem.) and W. R. Webb (Independent Dem.) to succeed Newell Saunders (Rep.); Idaho—James Brady (Rep.) to fill out the unexpired term of the late Weldon B. Heyburn. (He says that he is a "stand-pat" Republican.) West Virginia—Nathan B. Goff (Rep.) to succeed C. W.

Watson (Dem.). New Senators are yet to be elected in Illinois, New Hampshire and Georgia.

There will be no strike of firemen on the eastern railroads, for the present at least, the railroads finally agreeing to arbitration under the Erdman act. In so doing the committee of the railroad managers reiterates its perfectly valid objections to that proceeding, but there seemed to be no other alternative except to face the consequences of a strike for which the railroads might be held unjustly responsible by a large part of the public swayed by prejudice rather than reason. The New York Journal of Commerce well comments on this "surrender": "It is a serious question whether it would not have been better to face the consequences now and throw the responsibility where it would really belong; but, considering all that it would involve, not merely to the railroads, but to the public, the surrender may be justified. But it will make clearer than ever the necessity of some means of protecting the railroads and the public from any such duress by a lawless combination hereafter." The firemen have selected Albert Phillips, one of their high officials, for an arbitrator, and the railroads have named W. W. Atterbury, vice-president of the Pennsylvania lines. These two will select a third arbitrator, but if they cannot agree, he will be chosen by the Commerce Court and the Acting Commissioner of Labor.

On February 15, President Taft vetoed the Dillingham-Burnett immigration bill, which would revolutionize the immigration policy of

the United States by imposing a literacy test upon all foreigners entering the country. He announced his disapproval solely because of the provision which would lock the doors of the United States against the alien who could not read some language or dialect. The veto message was accompanied by a letter to the President by Secretary Nagel, denouncing the literacy test as a radical provision "based upon a fallacy in undertaking to apply a test which is not calculated to reach the truth and to find relief from a danger which really does not exist." Opponents and proponents of the proposed law waged a vigorous contest in hearings before the President for ten days. Organized labor warmly supported the bill, while several organizations, particularly Jewish societies, recommended its veto. Foreign nations protested against the provision for detailing immigrant inspectors and matrons on vessels flying foreign flags, but Secretary Nagel held that this was not a controlling objection to the new law. This is the second time that a literacy test for immigrants has been vetoed by a President, Grover Cleveland in 1897 likewise having refused to approve a bill barring aliens who could not read or write. The Senate passed the bill over President Taft's veto by twelve more than a two-thirds majority, but the House failed to repass it, lacking five votes of the necessary two-thirds. It is predicted that the bill will be reintroduced in the next Congress and will become a law within a year.

ENORMOUS INCREASE IN IMPORTS.

Lower Duties Than Under Walker Law.

The imports entered for consumption in the last fiscal year were more than double in value those of 1901 and were the greatest in the history of the nation. Of the total, 53.73 per cent. were free of any duty. The average ad valorem rate of duty on all imports for the fiscal year was 18.58 per cent. In 1854 the average was 23.52 per cent., but only 8.17 per cent. of the imports were free at that time as compared with 53.73 per cent. now, and yet the average duty on the remainder is 5 per cent. lower now than in 1854. This will give some idea of the misrepresentation of the existing law. The per capita of imports last year was \$16.94, while in 1850 the per capita was \$7.07. Not only are the per capita imports twice as much as under the much vaunted Walker tariff, but the average rate of duty is very much less. And still the opponents of the Payne-Aldrich law will persist in their unwarranted claim that the law of 1909 was a revision upward.

DANGER OF A COMPETITIVE TARIFF.

John Hopewell in the Boston Herald.

In your fair and candid editorial recently on "Mr. Underwood's Position," you make perfectly clear the attitude of the chairman of the ways and means committee in relation to pending tariff revision. During the campaign chief emphasis was laid on the promise of the platform that the party would not injure or destroy

legitimate industry. Mr. Underwood and his colleagues still insist that it is not their purpose to injure business, but they also make it very plain that it is not their purpose to aid or encourage business. It is their plan, as Mr. Underwood has stated frequently, to prepare a competitive, not a protective tariff, and the inference is that if business suffers it is the fault of business and not the fault of the committee. If calamity follows the enactment of the new competitive tariff, as it did when the experiment was tried in 1894, the voters will know where to place the blame, just as they did before.

The only way to maintain a reasonable competition is to maintain a reasonable protection. If you regulate importations, you restrict and control competition, but if you eliminate protection, competition becomes unrestricted and unreasonable. Holland is saved from inundation by its dikes. Its safety depends on maintaining the dikes up to the point of ample and adequate protection. If one mile of the dikes were broken down it would prove as disastrous as though all of the dikes were destroyed.

A Belgian manufacturer recently remarked: "If they make a reduction of 10 per cent. in the duties on cotton denims and bed-tickings, I will come over on the first steamer—and I won't be alone—and we will get a large part of your market for these goods."

Every loom stopped here means displacement of labor here, and if one-quarter of the help is displaced, the wages will have to be curtailed because the margin of profits is so small the mill cannot run under this

condition. Fear and past experience is a potent factor and is exemplified in Lawrence now, where, we understand, 10,000 men and women are walking the streets in a vain search for work because the manufacturers do not feel warranted in manufacturing and storing goods in their warehouses against the unknown tariff conditions that are liable to prevail the coming fall.

It is a serious hour now for manufacturers and more serious for the whole country, provided our whole industrial fabric is radically upset.

THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION.

BY F. G. R. GORDON.

The present industrial situation, especially in New England, is worth some comment. The writer has been making industrial investigations in New England for the Department of Commerce and Labor for the past three years and ought to have some knowledge of the situation. Six months ago there was a demand for help in every industrial centre in New England; today there is a surplus of help in every industrial centre in these same states. Of course here and there we find a call for some high grade skilled help, that you can find almost any time, even in a business and industrial panic. But aside from this there is no demand whatever for help of any kind and it is a conservative statement to say that at this moment there are not less than 30,000 industrial workers who are idle in the six New England states. In Lawrence there are from 1,500 to 2,000 idle; in Peabody I found over 400 men seeking work and being unable to

find any. One firm in that town informed me that they are turning away a hundred men every day who want employment. Why is all this you ask? Take the woolen industry as an illustration: No one is wise enough to dream hardly what the price of raw wool will be in a few months, or perhaps a few weeks, and so the manufacturers are not buying wool, or if they do buy any it is by the hand-to-mouth method. This has already resulted in the discharge of hundreds of wool sorters from the mills; it has already curtailed production and sent an army of workers into the ranks of the army of the unemployed. You can't harm one business without hurting all, a depression in one industry means slow business in all industries in time. The threat of lower tariffs, the knowledge that there will be a sweeping cut in woolen goods and the almost certainty that shoes will go on the free list, and that large cuts will be made in about everything else, has already caused a slowing down of business and so, even before the tariff smashers get into office, we have again the soup house reign impending.

OBITUARY.

EDWARD WHITIN, grandson of Col. Paul Whitin, one of the founders of Whitinsville, died in that town, January 25, of heart disease. He was 74 years old, and had long been one of the most prominent industrial men in the State. He was a member of the firm of Whitin Bros., owners of the Whitinsville, Linwood and Saundersville cotton mills, and at the time of his death was treas-

urer of the three companies. He held many town offices, including those of auditor and selectman. He was actively interested in the Congregational Church, of which he was treasurer. At one time he was a member of the executive committee of the American Board of Foreign Missions of the Congregational Church. Recently he and his brother, Arthur F. Whitin, built a new library which will be turned over to the town. He was never married. For over twenty years he had been a member and active supporter of the Home Market Club. In his will he made large bequests to several religious institutions.

GEORGE W. RUSSELL.

In the February issue of *The Protectionist*, we briefly noticed the death of George W. Russell, a veteran advocate of the protective policy, which occurred at the home of his son, Allen H. Russell, in Walpole, Mass., January 16. The following facts of his career are furnished by one who knew him well:

He was born in Alexandria, N. H., October 2, 1831. Losing his father and mother at an early age he lived with relatives in that vicinity until he was about twelve years old; at this time his uncle took him into his home at Georgetown, Mass. He attended school for a year and was then apprenticed to a shoemaker in West Newbury, serving his time and attending school for about three months in the year. A short time after the end of his apprenticeship he entered the employ of J. Durgin & Son, working up through the various departments to the position of Superintendent. Practically all his working life was spent with this concern, retiring at the end of 35 years' service.

While he served the town in various minor offices—school board, auditor,

etc., the larger part of his time was spent in reading, and writing on economic questions. From the appreciative letters which he received from time to time from manufacturers and others we are led to believe that his views were sound, and reasoning clear.

He was a member of various organizations, although not actively interested in the later years. He was a member of the Society of Friends. As an employer he had the respect of his men. I can remember long after he had retired, of men who had worked for him, stopping him on the street to express appreciation for some service done during their employment.

The last few years of his life were largely spent in Atkinson, N. H., to which he was attracted by its high elevation. The following extract is from the Exeter News-Letter: "He was an unassuming man, dignified and courtly in manner, quiet but fearless, who spent his time with books and in writing. He had a real genius for figures, and to him they were full of interest. We think it was Rev. Edgar Warren who spoke of him as Atkinson's grand old man."

Mr. Russell was a long time member of the Home Market Club, and was a valued contributor to The Protectionist and other publications.

THE LATE CYRUS ELDER.

From a Sketch by James M. Swank in the Iron and Steel Bulletin.

Reared in the protectionist atmosphere of his uncle's home in Philadelphia Mr. Elder was an ardent protectionist and ready at all times to give a reason for the faith that was in him. The Republican party had proclaimed itself in 1860 and afterwards as the advocate and defender of a protective tariff, but when the war was over there were many Republican leaders who advocated a reduction of what were styled the war duties. This compromising attitude called for instant and intelligent activity by the stand-pat protectionists, among whom were General Robert Patterson, Morton McMichael, Henry C. Lea, William Sellers, and Joseph Wharton, of Philadelphia, and Daniel J. Morrell, of Johnstown. Through their in-

fluence and that of other gentlemen of prominence there was organized in 1868 the Industrial League of Pennsylvania, with Mr. Morrell as its president, Cyrus Elder as its secretary, and Johnstown as its home office. The League at once went to work in earnest, disseminating protective tariff literature in every direction and entering into an extended correspondence. Messrs. Lea, Sellers and Wharton formed its executive committee. The League published at Johnstown an Industrial Bulletin, which was sent free in large numbers to editors of friendly newspapers, workmen, members of Congress, and others. It also published for free distribution a farmers' and mechanics' almanac, which was filled with protectionist facts and arguments. The burden of all this work for protection fell upon Mr. Elder, who was the editor of the League publications. The League continued in active existence from 1868 to 1873. We cannot further indicate in our brief space the great work that Mr. Elder did for protection in those years.

VERMONT RECEIVES THE CLARKE PORTRAIT.

Tributes Paid the Late Colonel Clarke in Joint Assembly of the State Legislature—Principal Address by Charles K. Darling of Boston.

A splendid portrait of the late Colonel Albert Clarke, painted by Scott C. Carbee, the noted Boston artist, was unveiled in the hall of the House of Representatives at Montpelier on the evening of January 22, before a joint assembly of the two houses of the Legislature and a large number of visitors. The portrait was a gift to the State by Mrs. Julia A. Pierce and Mrs. Ellen L. Pierce, of Rochester, Vt., relatives of Colonel Clarke.

Representative John E. McClellan, of Plymouth, was chairman of the evening. He spoke feelingly of his acquaintance with Colonel

Clarke and introduced Melville C. Webber of Rutland, who presented the portrait.

"Colonel Clarke," he said, "was proud of Vermont. His early attachment to his native State always remained. It was his hope to spend his last days here but fate ordained otherwise. I speak really for the donors, Julia A. and Ellen L. Pierce, of Rochester, whose generosity is commendable. One of them saw the picture in a gallery in Boston, sought out its owner and learned it was from the brush of a famous artist. They secured it and it is here always to remain. Colonel Clarke was a patriot who was always ready to sacrifice his time and energy. He was a loyal Vermonter and it is most fitting his portrait should remain here. Your Excellency, I have the honor to present this beautiful picture."

Scott Clifton Carbee, the artist, unveiled the picture with a few remarks.

Governor Fletcher accepted the portrait, saying: "It was my privilege to know Colonel Clarke, to respect and admire him, and, gentlemen, on behalf of the State of Vermont, I accept this portrait and I thank the ladies who have presented this magnificent gift, and in that latter sentiment I believe I voice the feeling of the people of the entire State of Vermont."

Gen. Charles K. Darling of Boston was then presented and spoke as follows:

GENERAL DARLING'S ADDRESS.

In one of the oldest of Massachusetts' towns, the town of Rowley, whose rugged uplands now overlook the serene brown marshes and the wintry sea,

stands the quaint house built on the land conveyed to Richard Clarke, one of its first settlers, more than two hundred and fifty years ago. This lot still remains in the possession of his descendants, no less than nine generations of whom have made the house their home. Stated in terms of Vermont's history, this grant was made but thirty-four years after Champlain discovered the lake which bears his name, while it antedated by twenty years the building of Fort Anne by the French on Isle La Motte, and by more than seventy-five years the first English settlement within the borders of this State.

It is well sometimes to recall the beginnings of our New England history, and in no way are they more vividly presented than when linked with the story of the migrations of the descendants of that earlier settlement along the shores of Massachusetts Bay, first throughout New England, then to the middle and the far West; often in the face of dangers, hardships and privations, the tide of emigration went steadily on, until hundreds of thousands of families and millions of people living in every part of this land have ties of kinship to the early settlers in Salem, Newbury, Ipswich, and other of these old Essex towns of the Massachusetts Bay colony.

The descendants of Richard Clarke, farmer and weaver, of Rowley are numerous and widely scattered; but with the advent of his great-great-grandson, Timothy Clarke, as one of the first settlers of Grafton, Vt., to which he came in 1768 from Connecticut, this branch of the family became identified with the history of this State, in the service of which as a soldier at Bunker Hill, on expeditions to Ticonderoga and Bennington, and in the alarm of October 17, 1780, growing out of the burning of Royalton by the Indians, he set a worthy example.

Albert Born in Granville.

Albert Clarke, born in Granville on October 13, 1840, was the great-grandson of this pioneer and revolutionary soldier, and was descended on his mother's side from John Woodbury of Salem, who was sent by Governor Endicott on a message to England; and two, at least, of her ancestors served in the Worces-

ter county regiment in the War for Independence, one with the rank of captain.

Passing his boyhood on a farm in Rochester, he was graduated in 1859 from Barre Academy, then and thereafter, for thirty years, under the principalship of Jacob S. Spaulding, of blessed memory to many of us.

As a young lawyer in Montpelier, the call came to him as to so many thousands of others, to take up arms for his country. You know with what fidelity and gallantry that duty was performed.

Proud, indeed, is the record of Vermont in that great war. Her population in 1860 was 315,098 men, women and children, with 60,719 men subject to military duty. She sent into the armies of the union 35,242 men, of whom more than 5,000 were killed in action or died in the field of wounds and disease; but the sacrifice, the heroism, the patriotism of those times, no mere figures can express, nor can tongue or pen ever give them their full meed of praise.

Enlisting here in Company I of the 13th Vermont, one of the five regiments raised in the fall of 1862, in response to the call for 300,000 volunteers, he became successively sergeant and orderly sergeant of his company, and later was promoted in the field to first lieutenant of Company G in the same regiment. The service of these troops was brief, as measured in years; but their value to the nation was inestimable, for to them and him came that great opportunity which the chance of war sometimes bestows. Stannard's Vermont Brigade, best known now and ever by the name of its intrepid and gallant commander, had been for weary months on interior lines in Virginia, with their winter camp at Wolf Run Shoals, and even the coming of spring, with its momentous battle of Chancellorsville, had found it still waiting the call to action, and the term of enlistment was nearly ended.

Then came the opportunity, and with the suddenness which only alarm can bring, and the alarm was nation-wide. For seven days and nights, through rain and heat, with ever more urgent haste, this brigade marched north to the battle-field of Gettysburg, and Lieutenant Clarke was of those who met and rolled back the high tide of the confederacy on

the slopes of Cemetery ridge. The story has often been told; I shall not now even attempt it, but so long as the repulse of Pickett's charge stands in the annals of history, the part taken by Stannard's Brigade will never be forgotten. It has been at once the wonder and admiration of military students for nearly fifty years.

Stood at Crucial Point.

At the end of the first day's fighting Lieutenant Clarke stood at what was to be the crucial point in this great contest. He faced the next morning an enemy flushed with victory and ready to grasp its full fruits. When the captain of his company fell mortally wounded, he himself, though wounded by the same shell, refused to leave the line, but took command of his company, which was among the foremost of those to execute that famous order which precipitated an attack upon both the right and the left flank of different divisions of Pickett's onrushing force. To have been a witness to those scenes and a participant in those events in the greatest battle of the war, was the high privilege of him whose memory we meet to honor tonight.

On his return to Vermont, Lieutenant Clarke resumed the practice of law here and in Rochester. In October, 1864, he was captain of one of the companies raised after the raid on St. Albans, and in the same year received appointment to the staff of Governor Paul Dillingham, with the rank of colonel, and was also from 1865 to 1867, first assistant clerk of the Vermont House of Representatives. In 1868 he took editorial charge of the St. Albans Daily and Weekly Messenger, which paper he subsequently purchased.

This is not the occasion to follow in detail his busy and useful life in his native State as editor, and member of the State Senate, upon commissions, and in many other departments of activity during the next ten years. They were years in which he accomplished much and wrote his name high among your forceful and dependable men. His speech in the Senate on November 13, 1874, on the constitutional power of the State to regulate railroads, particularly in the matter of forbidding the issuance

of free passes and the then universal practice of rate discriminations has been widely circulated and often quoted.

Prophecy of Things to Be.

The bill in support of which he spoke was entitled an act to prohibit railroads and steamboat companies from granting free transportation to State officials and others, except upon the business of the companies or in exchange with other companies. It is impossible now to read his argument without giving it place as the last word on the subject, and hard to believe that it stands after all as only a remarkable prophecy of things that were to be. I imagine, however, he was not surprised at the result, for at the outset he said he must in speaking "necessarily consume an hour of the Senate's valuable time, and with no expectation of overcoming the predetermination of any man." The vote stood, yeas, 3; nays, 27.

I think in conversation, with me at least, he more often referred to this period of his life than to any other, and I wish I might bring to you something of that warmth of enthusiasm with which he dwelt upon his experiences during those years. His descriptions, and estimates of men long known to me, but whom I had never met, and his graphic accounts of political contests on the West side of the State, echoes of which had come over the mountains in my boyhood, made an evening passed in his company a thing long to be remembered.

He first removed to Massachusetts in 1881, and with the exception of three years in Rutland as editor of the Herald, during the remainder of his life maintained his residence in that commonwealth.

There he engaged in business and in editorial work, notably on the Boston Daily Advertiser, and later was assistant to the president of the Boston & Lowell Railroad.

With Home Market Club.

In 1889 he was elected secretary of the Home Market Club of Boston, which place he held by annual election for 22 years, or up to the time of his death. Of all his numerous positions his name will probably be longest associated with

this organization. He became a recognized and acknowledged national authority in all matters connected with the tariff and the protective policy. In 1899 he was appointed by President McKinley a member of the United States industrial commission, of which body he later became chairman, and edited its valuable and exhaustive report.

He represented the ninth Norfolk district, while a resident of Wellesley, in the Massachusetts Legislatures of 1896, 1897 and 1898; was chairman and member of important committees and the author of much valuable legislation. It was a source of regret, more so I am inclined to believe to his friends than to him, that his splendid talents did not find field as a member of Congress.

Colonel Clarke's life does not lend itself to the charm of rhetoric; he was not a rhetorician, he dealt in facts. He thoroughly believed in the economic theories he advocated, and so earnest was his championship of them that he became in the public eye and mind their very embodiment. Frequently called upon to defend his beliefs in joint debate he was always fair and courteous in his arguments, but he never failed to bring to the support of his cause an array of facts and a power of speech which compelled admiration. While he believed in and advocated but one side, he was willing to meet the best the other could offer. I well remember when he was preparing for a joint debate in a large city, upon the statement by his adversary that the subject in preparation was proving somewhat perplexing, he gladly furnished material in order that he might have a real contest on his hands when they should meet.

He was widely read and accurately informed on a great variety of topics and his early training gave him the greatest faculty of clear and convincing expression. In a life of arduous toil, with little of the holiday in it, he did much work, and it has been estimated that his collected writings would fill forty volumes of three hundred pages each.

Sought in Party Councils.

His acquaintanceship and intimate personal relations with leading men of the nation were large, and he enjoyed to a remarkable degree the confidence of

all, regardless of party or beliefs. Frequently called into conference with leaders of the party and with representatives of largest business affairs, he brought on such occasions to the councils a ripe judgment and an intelligent expression of his position and reason therefor.

Of most notable bearing and appearance of distinction, he had that kindness and gentility of manner which made him a delightful companion. We Vermonters of Boston, who were privileged to meet him often in that association in which he took such great interest, miss him sadly from our ranks. He had, withal, a deep vein of humor. His description, for instance, of his experiences in the Fenian Raid of 1870, when with the warm-hearted and imaginative poet, John Boyle O'Reilly, he essayed covering the battle for a New York paper as well as for the Messenger, where amid flying bullets, he parted with his straw hat, rode bareheaded back to St. Albans and filed a Bible with the telegraph operator to hold the wire until he could write out his story was one of peculiar fascination. The fact that both to him and O'Reilly mortal dangers were not unknown made this story, when told in detail, one of the most delicious and exquisite of reminiscences.

Colonel Clarke was utterly devoid of duplicity. There was never in him the slightest taint of two-facedness or double-dealing. Where duty called him, there he went; and what his conscience told him was right to do, that he did unswervingly and without hesitation.

Cherished G. A. R. Comrades.

He always maintained the most close and cordial relation with his comrades of the war. He attended that first meeting of the Vermont officers in this capitol building, in November, 1864, which took the form of a reception to General Stannard, then invalided-home after the loss of his arm, at Fort Harrison, and thereafter took prominent part in the association then formed, which was not only the first organization of the kind in the country, but has continued through the years to do much to preserve the history and traditions of Vermont's part in that great struggle. He prized his membership in the Loyal Legion and

the Grand Army of the Republic and his record as judge-advocate general of the national body was especially creditable.

But more than all was his abiding affection for those of his old regiment and brigade. His addresses at Gettysburg, on the occasion of the dedication of the regimental monument; at the dedication of the monument to Colonel Randall at Northfield and of the monument marking the birthplace of General Stannard at Georgia, all reveal not only most tender memories of the past but breathe as well his love for those whom the ties of a common service had bound together.

His life was full of efforts for others and good deeds done for others. It was not lived to himself alone. With infinite patience he bore great affliction and in the face of disappointments maintained a spirit of courage and good cheer.

Deep Love for Vermont.

His love for his native State was deep and lifelong. Did ever the call come from you for his services that he did not obey the summons? Time after time he came back to these hills and valleys, and his collected writings will show the depth of his historical research and the permanent contribution he has made to Vermont's history. It was his hope that he might spend here the declining years of his life.

The circumstances of his death were peculiarly sad. Looking forward to attending the reunion of his regiment, on which occasion he was to deliver the address at the dedication of a soldiers' monument at Highgate, he was seized suddenly on the morning of that day with illness and died at Highgate Center on July 16, 1911.

May this portrait, which so faithfully depicts his face and form, inspire the many generations who will look upon it with something of his indomitable spirit, and bring to them the desire to emulate his character as a citizen and a man. So may the sons of Vermont acquit themselves in life's battles, whether their lot be cast within or without her borders, that they may ever reinforce her far-flung line of influence and power, and at the end be as worthy her gratitude and esteem.

WOOL MANUFACTURERS' MEETING.

A Prosperous Year Reported—Discussion of Tariff Changes—President Wood has Little Hope of Preventing Radical Reductions—Secretary Winthrop L. Marvin's Report.

The annual meeting of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers was held at Young's Hotel, Boston, February 5, with a large attendance. At the business meeting these officers were elected: President, John P. Wood of Philadelphia; vice-presidents, William M. Wood, president of the American Woolen Company of Lawrence; Frederic S. Clark, North Billerica; George H. Hodgson, Cleveland; secretary and treasurer, Winthrop L. Marvin of Boston; executive committee, Andrew Adie, Boston; Chester A. Braman, New York city; Frederic C. Dumaine, Boston; Walter Erben, Philadelphia; Frederick C. Fletcher, Boston; Julius Forstmann, Passaic, N. J.; Henry A. Francis, Pittsfield; Louis B. Goodall, Sanford, Me.; Edwin Farnham Greene, Boston; Joseph R. Grundy, Philadelphia; Franklin W. Hobbs, Boston; John Hopewell, Boston; Ferdinand Kuhn, Passaic, N. J.; George E. Kunhardt, Lawrence; Charles W. Leonard, Boston; James R. MacColl, Pawtucket; William Maxwell, Rockville, Conn.; J. F. Maynard, Utica, N. Y.; Joseph Metcalf, Holyoke; Thomas Oakes, Bloomfield, N. J., and William H. Sweatt of Boston.

Charles H. Harding of Philadelphia, a former president and for many years one of the vice-presidents of the association, desired to retire, and the place was filled by the

election of Mr. Hodgson. There were two changes on the executive committee, Mr. Erben and Mr. Maxwell, who replaced his brother, going on. Resolutions highly complimentary to Mr. Harding as a writer and speaker were adopted.

President Wood spoke of the recent tariff hearings at Washington, where on Jan. 27 he presented a brief to the Committee on Ways and Means on behalf of the National Association. He expressed the opinion that the hearings before the committee were perfunctory in the sense that no testimony could change the minds of public men who were committed to a policy of tariff for revenue only. But the committee could not change the entire tariff without hearings, and it was necessary that the association and the industry should be represented. Mr. Wood believed that no material change would be made in the Underwood bill when it is again reported to the House of Representatives, and that no material change in the rates would be made by the Senate. But he emphasized the fact that in saying this he was expressing only an individual opinion.

On motion of Frederic S. Clark, president of the Talbot Mills and vice-president of the association, resolutions appreciative of the work of President Wood were unanimously adopted, as follows:

Whereas, The attacks upon the whole American woolen manufacturing industry have been vicious, persistent and formidable during the two years which cover the incumbency of Mr. John P. Wood, as president of this association and

Whereas, The duties devolving upon the president have been continuous, excessive and onerous, demanding the al-

most complete surrender of his time and ability to the service of this association, and

Whereas, Mr. Wood has with unsurpassed devotion and loyalty given himself freely and fully to this service and has performed it in an intelligent and forceful manner, therefore be it

Resolved, That the National Association of Wool Manufacturers hereby adopt and enter upon the records this minute of their grateful approval and commendation of the work of President John P. Wood and of their purpose to give him their undivided and loyal support in the future as in the past.

Secretary Winthrop L. Marvin's Report.

The year has been more active and prosperous in wool manufacturing than was 1911. A period of reduced production, due to persistent tariff agitation of two years, had so diminished the stocks of goods on hand that large purchases for immediate consumption became necessary, and throughout the latter part of the year particularly, the mills as a whole have been actively and profitably employed, in the face of a second determined attempt at a radical cutting down of the woolen protective duties by Congress. The Underwood wool and woolen bill in the same form in which it had originally been introduced was re-introduced on March 27, 1912, in the House of Representatives. It contained the familiar features of a 20 per cent. duty on raw wool, 25 per cent. on tops, 30 per cent. on yarns, 40 per cent. on cloths, 45 per cent. on dress goods and 45 per cent. on clothing. For this tariff for revenue only measure, protectionist members of the Committee on Ways and Means offered a substitute bill of their own construction, including provisions that practical manufacturers could not but regard as unjust and impracticable.

This substitute was rejected by the House on April 1 and the Underwood bill was for the second time passed and sent over to the Senate, where it was referred to the Committee on Finance. The bill went through the House on a division of 192 to 92—only one Democrat voting against the bill while 20 Republican "insurgents," nearly all from

the West, voted with the Democrats in favor of it. Chairman Underwood, in advocating his bill in the House, virtually rejected the report of the Tariff Board, describing its members as deficient in expert knowledge and experience, and insisting that the method of tariff making long pursued by Congress was preferable to following the guidance of any board.

The Finance Committee on May 23 reported the Underwood bill adversely to the Senate. No action was taken until July 25, when the measure was called up for consideration under an agreement that the bill and all proposed amendments should be disposed of on that day. First a substitute offered by Senator Cummins of Iowa was rejected on a vote of 14 yeas and 57 nays. The substitute, proposed by Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the committee, and described as conforming generally with recommendations of the Tariff Board, was adopted on a narrow vote of 34 to 32. But at this point Senator La Follette of Wisconsin offered as a substitute his own wool and woolen bill of the previous year. After sharp debate and maneuvering, the La Follette bill was accepted by a vote of 39 to 27, the affirmative strength being made up of the Democratic Senators with ten "insurgent" Republicans.

The La Follette bill provided for a duty of 35 per cent. on clothing and 10 per cent. on carpet wools, 40 per cent. on tops, 45 per cent. on yarns and 55 per cent. on cloths and dress goods. The measure was rejected by the House on July 30 in favor of the original Underwood bill, and on Aug. 1 the Senate asked for a conference. Agreement was quickly reached by the conference committee on the same compromise between the original Underwood and the original La Follette bills, which had been arranged a year before and vetoed by the president. The conference report was accepted on Aug. 2 in the House and on Aug. 5 in the Senate. On Aug. 9 President Taft sent in a vigorous veto message, declaring that in the majority of cases the La Follette-Underwood rates were "inadequate to equalize the difference in the cost of manufacture here and abroad." "This is especially true," he added, "of the finest

goods involving a high proportion of labor cost. One of the striking developments of the last few years has been the growth in this country of a fine goods industry. The rates provided in this bill, inadequate as they are for most of the cloths produced in this country, would make the continuance here of the manufacture of fine goods an impossibility."

The President attacked also the proposed rates on tops as "even more dangerous," and also the rates on yarns. "They would disrupt, and to no purpose, the existing adjustment, within the industry, of all its different branches." "Most of the rates in the submitted bill," declared the President, "are so low in themselves that if enacted into law the inevitable result would be the irretrievable injury to the wool growing industry, the enforced idleness of much of our wool combing and spinning machinery and of thousands of looms, and the consequent throwing out of employment of thousands of workmen."

The Underwood-La Follette bill was passed over the veto on Aug. 13 by the House of Representatives by a vote of 174 to 80, with 10 not voting—21 "insurgent" Republicans siding with the Democrats. But in the Senate, on Aug. 16, yeas were 39 and the nays 36, and the bill failed to override the veto, falling far short of the requisite two-thirds majority. Thus for a second time the anti-protectionist assault upon the wool and woolen schedule in the 62d Congress proved unsuccessful.

Early in the past year, when it was seen that another contest over the tariff in Congress was inevitable, the president of this association appointed special tariff committees on tops and yarns, cloths and dress goods to make a careful study of the rates of duty that would be absolutely necessary for the protection of the various branches of the industry. These special tariff committees worked out a large amount of specific and authoritative information which was held at the disposal of public men and others interested. Later in the year other special tariff committees were appointed to aid the president of the association in preparing data for the memorial that was presented before the

Committee on Ways and Means on Jan. 27. The members of these special committees have held many meetings and have attended most faithfully to their work, and the same thing is true of the Advisory and Executive Committees of the Association.

The special Committee on Undervaluations has been continuing its important work. It is believed that frauds upon the revenue, so far as imports of woolen manufactures are concerned, are being gradually reduced to a minimum. The association has received further additions to its membership within the year, its resources have been strengthened, and it is believed that we have never been better prepared than now to represent the great fundamental interests of the entire industry.

MATTERS IN CONGRESS.

Summary of Important Proceedings from January 18 to February 19.

Jan. 18. The Senate refused to act on the House bill to compel banks to submit to investigation by money trust committee.

Jan. 19. In the House, Mr. Peters, of Massachusetts, introduced bills providing for appointment of deputy commissioners to arbitrate differences of shippers and railroads, and to compel all railroads to receive mileage books on all lines operated by them.

Jan. 20. Senator La Follette introduced a bill to create a legislation drafting bureau in the Congressional library. The House passed the Rockefeller foundation incorporation bill.

Jan. 23. The Senate passed a bill to promote efficiency of naval militia.

Jan. 24. Senate Democrats in caucus reaffirmed determination not to act on the President's appointments. Senator McCumber unsuc-

cessfully sought to have eight-hour law amendment reconsidered.

Jan. 27. The Senate judiciary committee approved the Norris bill authorizing the government to seize imported merchandise controlled by a trust. The House passed a bill substituting electrocution for hanging in the District of Columbia. Mr. Calloway, of Texas, attacked his fellow Democrats for their river and harbor bill, which he said was the same old "pork barrel." He said that the waterways are played out, and that every ton of freight carried on the Mississippi river last year cost the government \$30.

Jan. 28. Objections to the Kenyon uniform freight classification bill were filed by railroad traffic organizations.

Jan. 30. The conference report on the immigration bill was again adopted by the House (and by Senate Feb. 1). The Page vocational education bill, authorizing maximum appropriations of more than \$14,000,000 for agricultural and trade educational work was adopted by the Senate as a substitute for the Lever-Smith bill which had passed the House.

Jan. 31. Mr. Humphrey, of Washington, introduced a bill to amend the Payne tariff law, providing for a tax on exports. (Article I, Section 9 of the Federal Constitution reads: "No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.") A proposed constitutional amendment is pending to authorize the imposition of a tax on exports. Senator Jackson, of Maryland, introduced a bill for Federal cooperation with the states for highway improvement—the government to pay one-

half of the cost of improving highways used by mail carriers. After two days of wrangling, the Senate voted down all amendments to the single presidential term resolution providing for a constitutional amendment, including one for abolition of the electoral college and nomination of President and Vice-President by popular vote.

Feb. 2. The proposed constitutional amendment which limits the President of the United States to a single term of six years, and would bar Wilson, Roosevelt and Taft from again seeking re-election, was approved by the Senate by one more than the necessary two-thirds vote—47 to 28. Senators who supported the single term resolution on its final passage were:

Democrats—Ashurst, Bankhead, Bryan, Chamberlain, Chilton, Clark of Arkansas, Fletcher, Gardner, Hitchcock, Johnson, Johnston of Alabama, Kavanaugh, Kern, Newlands, Overman, Owen, Paynter, Percy, Perky, Pomereene, Simmons, Smith of Arizona, Smith of Georgia, Smith of Maryland, Swanson, Thomas, Thornton and Williams.

Republicans—Brandegge, Brown, Burnham, Burton, Catron, Clark of Wyoming, Cummins, Dillingham, DuPont, Gamble, Guggenheim, McCumber, Nelson, Penrose, Perkins, Smoot, Sutherland, Wetmore and Works.

Against the resolution:

Republicans—Borah, Bourne, Bradley, Bristow, Curtis, Gallinger, Jackson, Jones, Kenyon, LaFollette, Lippitt, Lodge, McLean, Oliver, Page, Richardson, Sanders, Stephenson and Townsend.

Progressives—Clapp, Dixon and Poindexter.

Democrat—Shively.

The language which it is proposed to insert in the constitution in place of the first paragraph of Art. 2, is:

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. The term of the office of President shall be six years; and no person who has held the office by election, or discharged its powers or duties, or acted as president under the constitution or laws made in pursuance thereof shall be eligible to hold again the office by election.

Feb. 5. Senator Smith offered an amendment to post-office bill to admit books and small nursery stock to parcel post. In the House, Mr. Clayton, of Oklahoma, introduced a bill permitting national banks in any town not exceeding 50,000 inhabitants to loan money on real estate.

Feb. 8. The Webb bill to prohibit the interstate shipment of liquor into the "dry states" for purposes of sale "or in any manner used" in violation of State laws, was passed in the House, 240 to 65.

Feb. 10. The Webb bill passed the Senate, without a division, as a substitute for the Kenyon-Sheppard bill, after a sharp debate. Senator Root and others denounced the measure as unconstitutional. Senator Crawford introduced bill to restrict issuance of interlocutory injunctions which suspend enforcement of a State statute. The House passed a bill forbidding the intermarriage of whites with Negroes, Chinese, Japanese or Malays in the District of Columbia. Mr. Clayton, of the House judiciary committee, introduced a new six-year term resolution, as a substitute for the one passed by the Senate, which proposes a constitutional amendment limiting a President to one term of six years, but providing that the amendment, if ratified, shall not take effect until March 4, 1921. It is evident, therefore, that this seals the

doom of the Senate plan, as the more radical Wilson supporters have been unwilling to approve a measure which would deny Mr. Wilson the chance to stand for re-election. A member of the House judiciary committee said: "Under this compromise plan, we give every candidate a chance. Mr. Wilson, Mr. Taft and Colonel Roosevelt may run again in 1916, but the President to come into office in 1921 will do so under no false hopes and will understand he is to have one term of six years."

Feb. 11. The House repassed the Webb "Dry State" bill in the same form in which it came from the Senate, without debate or division. House committee on judiciary voted to defer action on the presidential one-term amendment to the next Congress. House naval committee, voted, 14 to 7, to recommend the construction of two battleships. Mr. Mann, of Illinois, made a spirited attack on the Pujio money trust investigation, which he said involved useless expense. Mr. Baker, of California, criticised the committee, declaring that it had expended large sums of money to "enable William Rockefeller to escape the jurisdiction of the House." At this point Mr. Mann arose and said: "I have no doubt that in the opinion of the gentleman from California and some other members of the House, the committee ought to have hanged Mr. Rockefeller off hand without further consideration. If Mr. Rockefeller had not been Mr. Rockefeller, a rich man, neither the gentleman from California nor anyone else would have tried to take his testimony at the risk of his life.

It was only because he was rich, richer than we are, that he was pursued through feelings of personal animosity." The debate was precipitated by the money-trust committee asking for \$35,000 to defray further expense of investigation, making the total \$60,000 to date, with little to show for it. The additional sum was voted, 120 to 114, many Democrats voting with the Republicans against it.

Feb. 12. The counting of the electoral vote for President and Vice-President was performed in the House in joint assembly of the two houses. It was formally stated that Wilson had received 435 votes, Taft 8 and Roosevelt 88. It was announced that the naval appropriation may go over to the special session unless the amount is reduced by \$20,000,000. The House refused an appropriation of \$2,000,000 for government participation in the Panama-Pacific exposition at San Francisco. In the Senate, Mr. Root spoke in support of his bill to repeal the free tolls provision of the Panama canal act.

Feb. 13. Attacks on the Jones Philippines independence bill were made in the House by several Republicans and Democrats.

Feb. 14. The President sent in a veto of the immigration bill, basing his disapproval solely on the ground of the literacy test.

Feb. 15. Tributes to the late Vice-President Sherman were delivered in the Senate chamber by President Taft, Speaker Clark and Senators Root, Gallinger, Martin, Thornton, Lodge, Kern, La Follette, Williams, Curtis, Cummins, Oliver and O'Gorman.

Feb. 17. The Root bill to repeal the free tolls provision in the Panama canal act, was laid on the table by the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, by a vote of 10 to 3, which indicates that it will not be reported at this session. The \$25,000,000 public buildings bill passed the House without a roll call. The Senate struck out a provision in the bill permitting the Connecticut Water Power Company to build a dam at Windsor Locks, authorizing the government to impose a reasonable annual charge upon the use of water powers. The vote was 33 to 29.

Feb. 18. After three hours' debate, the Senate passed the immigration bill over the President's veto, by a vote of 72 to 18—four to one. The majority vote was made up about equally of Republicans and Democrats. Senators voting to sustain the veto were: Clapp, Curtis, Du Pont, Gronna, Guggenheim, McCumber, Oliver, Smith (Michigan), Stephenson and Warren, Republicans; and Catron, Clark (Ark.), Martine, Shively, Smith (Md.), Poynter, Stone and O'Gorman, Democrats. No New England Senator voted to sustain the veto. The House passed the annual pension bill, appropriating \$180,300,000, the largest total of any ever reported, being an increase of \$25,000,000 over the bill of last session.

Feb. 19. The House refused to pass the immigration bill over the President's veto, 213 to 114. Five votes changed from the negative to the affirmative would have given the two-thirds necessary to override the veto.

RUSSIA AS A TEXTILE COMPETITOR.

BY F. G. R. GORDON.

We have not looked upon Russia as a competitor in the world's markets for cotton goods or other textiles, but she is rapidly becoming such. She is now consuming 1,680,000 bales of raw cotton annually and her cotton spindles number 8,672,000. She has 213,179 power looms and produces 300,000 long tons of cotton goods annually. Russia now exports \$15,500,000 worth of cotton

goods annually to China, Persia and Finland. She is increasing her exports into these markets rapidly. In the Russian cotton mills wages average from 15 to 24 cents a day and long hours prevail. There are Free Traders in this country who imagine that by reducing the tariff or cutting it off entirely, we can compete with such conditions. We can compete with this Russian trade in the Far East in just one way only and that by a reduction of wages to less than one-half that received at present.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS ON THE TARIFF HEARINGS.

The Tariff Problem.

It is up to the Democratic party to demonstrate its capacity and its wisdom in handling the difficult job it has now tackled. Heretofore the Democrats have made a botch and a dismal failure of the undertaking whenever it has come their way. The past gives no hope or promise that they will do any better this time. The country is in a waiting, patient mood, but it is from Missouri and will have to be shown before it places much faith in Democracy. Grover Cleveland's wild horses ran away with him. Woodrow Wilson is evidently assuming the reins of government quite sanguine of his ability to manage them more happily.—Manchester Mirror.

The Democratic Program.

The Democratic program with relation to the tariff provides for a general tariff bill, instead of revision schedule by schedule. President Wilson, it is understood, will not call the special session of Congress until such time as the omnibus tariff bill is ready. A tariff bill of this character is preferable to a revision by

schedule, inasmuch as the general scheme of any tariff system, high or low, is a matter of relation, one schedule to another, or there can be no equitable result. If the product of an industry is to be thrown open to competition to the extent that it may be found necessary to establish a lower standard of wages, then lower costs of living should be provided by reducing the tariff on food products, costs of material reduced, that our mills may be built at a figure nearer the cost abroad, and so on. A scientific tariff can only be secured by so adjusting one schedule to another, and it is for this reason that the promise of an omnibus bill will afford satisfaction.—New Bedford Mercury.

Carded Wool.

The Carded Woolen Manufacturers' Association has sent to the committee on ways and means, at Washington, a brief, which contains a suggestion that is reasonable and should have its influence with the framers of tariff legislation. The proposition made by the association is that at least six months be

allowed to elapse between the changes in duty on raw materials and the changes in the duty on manufactured material. The justification for this is found in the fact, with which all are conversant, that purchases of the raw material are made months before that raw material is to be used and changed into the finished product. If the tariff is to be changed, it is to the interest of the whole country that the changes should be such as will not disturb, unduly, the trend of business. The adoption of such a principle, as that outlined to the ways and means committee, would take much of the power for disturbance out of the new tariff legislation.—Boston Advertiser.

Free Shoes.

Knowing what may be expected the manufacturers should begin to get ready for it. Their representatives argued in Washington that the foreign nations can make shoes as good as ours and sell them here cheaper than we can. If that is so it is hard to see how we are able to build up a foreign market for American shoes. But the manufacturers knew their business, and indeed pressed their point so well that they made a decided impression on Mr. Underwood. What they assert is that, with a lower duty, there will be lower wages in the United States. And for that our operatives would hardly stand. Would they in that case blame the Democratic party and turn it out of power? We shall see. But it is evident that the new Congress is to take the matter of tariff reduction seriously.—Lynn News.

The Democratic Tariff Revision.

The Transcript has not felt hopeful that the hearings before the Ways and Means Committee would produce much effect. The Southern Democrats in particular are out to "do" New England. It is to be earnestly hoped that in carrying out their platform pledges on the tariff they will have the good sense to modify their punitive purposes with respect to New England, but we cannot find fault with Mr. Underwood's determination to hold his party to its platform pledge on the tariff, because the Democrats made their campaign on that plank. The Transcript opposed the Democratic can-

didate for the Presidency on that plank in particular. The issue was complicated to some extent by the presence of a third party in the field. Nevertheless, Mr. Wilson was elected and if the people find they have made a mistake on the tariff, as we firmly believe they will, and that soon, there is the opportunity to correct that mistake at the Congressional elections two years hence. That opportunity, we believe, they will not be slow to take advantage of by again lining up in favor of an honest protective tariff, subject to revision upon the recommendations of a non-partisan board of tariff experts.—Boston Transcript.

As to Hurting Business.

Chairman Underwood of the ways and means committee said the other day that there is no disposition among the Democratic tariff revisionists to "hurt business." That statement was made when a nervous manufacturer timidly inquired what all the tariff tinkering is about. Even the resourceful Mr. Underwood, by some accounted the shrewdest Democrat in Congress, was not able to answer that question; and Democrats generally are vague in discussing the reasons for their being committed to a tariff tinkering policy. But they do insist that as long as party traditions and the Baltimore platform put them down in favor of lower tariff schedules there is no way of escape. They are bound to revise downward and deeply, whether there is any sound sense in such a course or not.—Providence Evening Tribune.

No Intent to Ruin.

Chairman Underwood need not tincture with asperity his declaration that his committee does not intend so to cut rates of duty as to ruin the business of the country. Nobody, not even those who believe he is entirely wrong, thinks he has any such deliberate intention. It seems to be a fair presumption that there are those who would not mind ruining the business of one section for the sake of building up the business of another; but Mr. Underwood does not appear to be that sort of a man. It is undoubtedly as unfair to rate himself such as it would have been to accept as

gospel Woodrow Wilson's scarecrows about financiers who contemplated starting panics.—New Bedford Standard.

Will History Repeat Itself?

Andrew Jackson was swept into the office of president of the United States by a tidal wave not unlike that on the crest of which Woodrow Wilson rode to victory. The same conditions that confronted Jackson stare the new leader of Democracy in the face. "Old Hickory" was no sooner in the White House than he began the work of insisting upon a reform of the tariff. At every point, however, he encountered the formidable opposition of the combined forces of protection and special privilege just as Woodrow Wilson must expect to find such opposition. The forces of protection and special privilege in Jackson's day, however, had the advantage of more brilliant leadership in congress than they have today. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster led those forces in 1833. The protectionists have no such leaders today. Their most valuable men have either voluntarily retired from the senate and house or were caught in the great slumps of 1910 and 1912. Webster and Clay were successful in the effort to defeat the will of the people as expressed in the election of 1832, but Jackson was relentless and he made another appeal to the people, who gave him a vote of confidence and the money power was eventually defeated.—Norristown (Pa.) Register.

Radicals and the Tariff.

Representative Underwood is classed as a conservative, and radicals who do not approve his plans for moderate revision have declared their intention to take a hand in the work of making up the new ways and means committee. In a general way it is understood that Mr. Underwood will try to make the bills passed at the last session the basis of revision at the extra session. The radicals believe that the rates should be lower than those in the Underwood bills. They hope to capture the party caucus to be held early in March, at which the ways and means committee of the new Congress will be named. This does not mean that they intend to remove Mr. Underwood as chairman.

What they have in mind, according to well-informed Washington correspondents, is the packing of the committee with men who advocate lower rates than those favored by the chairman.—Rutland (Vt.) Herald.

Should Watch Results.

The political problem involved in all this isn't going to be adjusted by the changes that may be made in tariff. It never has been and never will be, but it behooves those people who have felt that the high cost of living is entirely due to the "robber barons" who keep the mills running, to watch pretty carefully results of the present agitation, and learn for themselves whether the men who have believed that American industry must have protection in order to maintain American standards, are wrong; or whether those who are mistaken are the theoretical, educated, reform element who buy English woollens for their clothes, and who sell English notions in political economy to the students of the United States. In nine cases out of ten these men become the theoretical free traders without any recognition of the practical value of protection, which has made it possible for them to secure their present superior theoretical education.—Andover (Mass.) Townsman.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The following table gives the nine suffrage States, the dates when they gave the franchise to women, the number of their electoral votes, and their population:

Wyoming	1869	3	145,965
Colorado	1893	6	799,024
Utah	1896	4	373,351
Idaho	1896	4	325,504
Washington	1910	7	1,141,990
California	1910	13	2,377,540
Kansas	1912	10	1,690,949
Oregon	1912	5	672,765
Arizona	1912	3	64,356

The constitutional amendment providing woman suffrage in Michigan was defeated by 594 votes, according to figures compiled in the Secretary of State's office at Lansing from every county in

Michigan. The winning of Michigan had been celebrated by the suffrage party.

In Arizona, where every county is reported as giving a majority for equal suffrage, the Legislature has repeatedly refused to submit the question to the people, and the opposition has succeeded in keeping the Constitutional Convention from adopting a suffrage clause. The women, however, took advantage of the "initiative and referendum" clause to bring the question before the voters, and won "hands down." In Arizona and Wisconsin the question this year was submitted for the first time; in Michigan it was submitted for the second time; in Kansas for the third, and in Oregon for the sixth.

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw predicts that "in the next Presidential election every political party will have a woman suffrage plank in its platform," because "women will hold the balance of power in the West, and every political party will try to gain the favor of the woman voter." It is a notable fact in this connection that in spite of Colonel Roosevelt's conversion and the insertion of a woman's-suffrage plank in the Progressive platform, four of the six suffrage States voted against him.

THE SIX-YEAR TERM ABSURDITY.

From the Boston Herald.

It is hard to understand how men of any comprehension of the mechanism of any government can support the six-year term idea, which, in the shape of a constitutional amendment, has already received the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate. This would increase the inelasticity of our system. That element is already an evil, surely by contrast with the delicate responsiveness of the parliamentary system abroad.

One concrete example is worth a page of theory. Mr. Taft entered

the presidency in 1909 with Congress and the country behind him, and so with real leadership. After 1911 he ceased to lead, the country having elected a Democratic House. He has had two years of effectiveness and two years of ineffectiveness. Would it have been better, good man as he is, that a six-year term of his should have been divided between two years of effectiveness and four years of ineffectiveness?

This is all there is to the issue. The fear of Roosevelt is of a day. The constitution is of the centuries. It needs more responsiveness to the will of the electors. This plan of one term of six years would reduce even the small degree of responsiveness which the constitution already possesses.

From the Boston Transcript.

The adoption by the Senate of a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment fixing the Presidential term at six years, the President to be ineligible to reelection, marks the mingling of two influences: the influence of the present political situation and the influence of that hysteria which sees "Caesarism" in every bush along the nation's highway. In the beginning of the Senate's discussion the purpose of certain of the proponents of the change to head off Roosevelt, if not precisely evident, was to be inferred readily enough. As, however, it was a little too much for them to train the biggest piece of constitutional ordnance on one personality, they aimed it at Taft and Wilson as well. This scheme failed, and the net result of the Senate's cogitation of a problem it would have liked to avoid is a resolution that if approved by

the House and by three-fourths of the States of the Union will render it impossible for the people of the United States to continue in office, no matter what national crisis may arise, a President whose policy they approve. Neither will it be practicable to elect to the Presidency a vice-president who has "succeeded to the high office." Briefly, if the intention of the framers of the amendment is to prevent the American people from doing what they want to do they could not have drawn it up in any form better calculated for their purpose than that in which it leaves the Senate.

THE PAPER MAKERS' CASE.

William B. Wheelwright in the Boston Herald.

Next to food and raiment, paper may fairly be considered of the greatest importance to civilization, for as your own George Fitch so aptly remarked: "The world was wise before paper was invented, but only in spots."

Under President Taft and his board of tariff experts the paper industry was sorely menaced. The experts reported the costs of production to be \$4 a ton greater in the United States than in Canada, but Mr. Taft saw fit to sign the act known as section 2 of the reciprocity treaty admitting paper and pulp free of duty from such ports of Canada as placed no export duty on wood pulp or pulp wood. There was no concession given to American producers, who have to pay 15 per cent. duty on all paper sent into Canada.

President Taft knew he was wrong in approving the act—he tacitly admitted as much when he appeared

last winter as guest of honor at the Boston paper trade dinner, and after acknowledging the courtesy of the association added smilingly: "Under the circumstances, gentlemen, I am surprised you wish to have me with you tonight."

Foreign nations with vastly lower scales of wages are clamoring for similar privileges as their right under the most favored nation clauses of their treaties with us. And their contention is a fair one in the minds of many paper men. Should the demands be granted the paper manufacturers who call on Europe for clay, chemicals, alum, wire cloth, feltings, etc., all dutiable articles, would be forced to buy their raw materials in part, at least, in a protected market, while selling the product of these very materials in a free market.

The situation calls plainly enough for the repeal of section 2. Thereupon a new arrangement might be enacted which would guarantee a supply of print paper for the news publishers at reasonable rates, and at the same time would give our country some quid pro quo and free our manufacturers from foreign competition under the utterly unfair conditions described.

I am not pleading for high protection for paper-makers. We have never had high protection—the present duty ranges from 5 to 20 per cent. ad valorem, while the average duty on all articles of imports averages 43 per cent.

We can bear our share in reduction of duties, and we can bear our share in duties providing revenue for the government, but we cannot bear longer to see our welfare im-

perilled by the present unfair threatening outlook, and if class legislation for the benefit of a few is wrong, class legislation to the detriment of a few is worse. We believe if the conditions involving the paper trade were understood throughout the land that public opinion would demand their prompt rectification in the repeal of "Section 2."

FREE RAW MATERIALS.

From the Boston Advertiser.

All through the campaign, the Democratic orators in this section of the land assured voters that, whatever else might be done in the next tariff bill under Democratic statesmanship, it was certain that the great manufacturing industries would have free raw materials. Some of the eminent spellbinders, who made that promise, even professed righteous wrath at the incredulity expressed in these columns as to the wholesale adoption of any such policy. Yet our skepticism has been borne out by the facts. The Democratic tariff makers have evidently come to the conclusion that they are not bound by any such pledges; for they are refusing in some cases to make any reductions whatever upon the rates on imported raw materials for American manufacture. They have shown wisdom in that refusal, if one judges their policy from the standpoint of national prosperity; but they have broken all their ante-election promises.

DEMOCRATIC TARIFF EMBARRASSMENTS.

Robert Ellis Thompson in the Irish World.

The present Ways and Means Committee seems to assume a continuity of this Congress with the next, which will give their conclusions a permanent value. This is not so certain. The membership of the next House is going to be very different from the present, and its

attitude on many questions may be quite different. It is said that more than one hint has been given Mr. Underwood as to the necessity of moving slowly and cautiously in this matter of the Tariff. It is certain that his tone has been different from what it was, and that the representatives of our manufacturers are heard with a patience and treated with a courtesy, which is as new as it is pleasant.

In fact, the very victory of the Democrats in districts interested in manufactures introduces to the House a new type of Democrat. He is not particularly in love with Free Trade. He knows how important to the country's welfare are the manufactures which a rural member might account of little advantage except to their owners. And being ambitious of going back to Congress two years hence, he is not anxious for such a revolution in public opinion as swept his party out of power in 1894, after about a year's experience of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff.

On the other hand we may look to the White House for just such a pressure upon Congress for a sweeping reduction of the Tariff as Mr. Cleveland exercised in 1893-94. Mr. Wilson is like Mr. Cleveland in his absolute temper and his devotion to theory. His course as Governor of New Jersey shows how ready he is to stretch to the breaking point all his influence and his patronage to carry his policy into effect. He not only knows he is right, but that every man who opposes him is morally wrong, and unworthy of consideration. His temperament unfits him for the government of a great and free people, and his

record in Washington will be like that at Princeton and that of Trenton. His first practical step, his veto of the Inaugural Ball, shows him unable to understand any point of view but his own, and to see the awkwardness of breaking down an established usage, even though it might have been as well never to have established it in the first place.

THE COTTON SCHEDULE.

From Fibre and Fabric.

With thousands of fine goods operators well contented with a good wage, and with fine cottons selling below a parity with raw material, there is no occasion to reduce the tariff on fine cottons or on fine yarns even one per cent. The consumer will not benefit five cents a year, as prices for counter goods and ready-made stuff will not be reduced, and when ready, foreign manufacturers will flood the markets and American mills will curtail or close.

With English manufacturers pretty well occupied just now, perhaps the effect of revenue tariff duties will not be so bad for a few months or for a year following the enactment of the law. But our English competitors may be making preparations that are not heralded broadcast, and if our markets are not loaded with English goods within three months of the passage of a revenue tariff, we shall be agreeably surprised.

No better class of operatives exist than those employed in our fine goods mills. They handle valuable material, produce costly goods, are paid well for service rendered, and are well satisfied if left to work out their own salvation. More of the old

school mill workers are found in fine goods centres than elsewhere, and the majority have homes or bank accounts or both.

There is no over-pricing for the product of this help. The consumer gets 100 per cent. value for every dollar expended in any fine yarn fabrics made in this country, and the manufacturers who were in Washington recently made a mistake, in our judgment, when they did not unite in opposition to any change from prevailing rates.

CONGRESS AND BUSINESS INTERESTS.

From Marshall Ouching's Magazine.

The manufacturer has been friendless for a long time. Now that election is over his troubles will accumulate. It is even possible they may fall so thick and fast upon his enterprises and his enterprise that he will organize to defend himself. He will need in his endeavor the help of other business men, and he will need the help of the working people. This he can get, if he will manage it; for, after all, the interest of every business man, and of every working man and every working woman, harmonizes with his own.

Manufacturers, employers, merchants, business men of all kinds, will try to continue operating their enterprises, no matter how hard the condition under which Congress proposes that they shall stagger. They like to try this, and they must—because they cannot sacrifice what they have without a struggle. These men will breed no panic or cessation of business. If they transact less business it will be because they cannot transact more. If they employ less labor, it will be because they haven't the work for the men laid off. If they pay less wages, or, choosing the alternative, shut down for a time, that will be because they won't know how to continue all the time. Their eyes will be on Washington all the time, however, and out of the present situation may yet

come an organized and effective gospel of economic, political and social truth that will turn things over again.

SHODDY AND LOWER PRICED FABRICS.

Brief submitted to the Committee on Ways and Means by Channing Smith, of the Valley Woolen Mill, Cherry Valley, Mass.

The undersigned, proprietor of the Valley Woolen Mill and treasurer of the Chapel Mills Mfg. Co., Cherry Valley, Mass., representing eighteen sets of cards with four hundred and sixty looms and a capital of \$400,000, presents the following brief in regard to the tariff rates in paragraphs 373, 374 and 478 of Schedule K of the Tariff Act of 1909.

To qualify as a petitioner of some judgment in the matter, will state that the undersigned is the third generation of his family in the woolen business, having begun active work in mills at eighteen years of age; a graduate of the Philadelphia Textile School, and operates up-to-date mills—as well equipped low grade mills as there are in the United States, and mills with as low legitimate labor cost as any.

We manufacture cotton warp shirtings and low grade suitings, using, I am frank to say, shoddy, that much-abused ingredient of many lines of goods. I think "wool substitute" would be a more dignified name to use.

The public can never bring themselves to the point of believing that shoddy in its best sense, is a god-send to them and without it we would all go more scantily clothed from the cradle to the broadcloth-

covered box of our last earthly home, the grave.

Our business is on an active home competitive basis and I ask for the right to maintain an existence, to conserve our capital invested, and to keep at their present level the wages of our employes without jeopardizing it with a low ad valorem duty.

Our products, the lower grade of goods, I maintain, carry a larger percentage of labor cost than the more expensive goods and should have an equal, if not greater, measure of protection against the cheaper labor of England and the still cheaper labor of Germany, than the more expensive grade. These countries can still give us lessons in the manufacture of low grade goods. As to the duties to be assessed upon our raw materials under paragraphs 373 and 374 of the Tariff Act of 1909, I believe they should be specific and materially lowered, as they are the by-products of other industries and do not represent the principal product of those industries. As to the duty to be assessed upon our finished product under paragraph 378, I feel that there being such a great chance of undervaluation, the best experts being unable, I believe, to judge the value of such imports within a range of 5 to 10 cents per yard on goods running in value to from 15 to 50 cents per yard.

I ask that whatever duty be determined upon, be so assessed as to prevent undervaluation and would urge a specific duty of at least 45 per cent. above that of the duty on raw materials.

If a straight specific duty is not adopted then I ask that part of the duty be made specific at a square

yard rate on goods valued at not more than 40 cents per pound.

My idea in asking for part of the duty specific at a square yard rate or a compound rate is for two reasons, first, to protect our labor and insure our mills a reasonable profit. Second, keep out of the United States the not bad, but rotten, stuff for clothing we saw imported under the Wilson Bill of 1893. I have said above, Germany and England can still teach us in the manufacture of low grade goods, and I repeat this statement to impress the fact that their low grade stuff is made from the lowest grades of stock—lower than we can use, owing to their ability in handling it, making a slightly but tender piece of goods. I take pleasure in submitting samples, not only of shoddies, but manufactured goods.

Respectfully submitted,
Channing Smith.

THE RAILROADS AND THE PUBLIC.

From the New York Tribune.

The consideration which the railroads have shown to the public entitles them to look for consideration from the public. This arbitration which has now been agreed upon will unquestionably award an increase of wages to the firemen. The railroads concede that an increase is due. The only question is how much the increase should be. The engineers have already received an award of increased wages. After the demands of the firemen have been disposed of the other classes of railroad labor are expected also to prefer demands. A scaling up of wages all along the line is looked for. The payroll of the railroads will be many millions larger when the process is ended. The public is being saved from loss and inconvenience in adjusting these wage differences. The railroads have just consented to a form of arbitration which they felt to be de-

fective, because the public decreed that form and because the public insisted upon it. The least that the public can do after public commissions have determined the size of the new payrolls is to give the railroads a fair and unprejudiced hearing if they find the returns from present freight rates too low to meet their increased charges.

WILSON AND HAMILTON.

From the New York Tribune.

President-elect Wilson, speaking a few days ago of Alexander Hamilton, characterized him thus:

"A great man, but, in my judgment, not a great American."

Men are so often heard to describe something which they don't like or are envious of as "un-American" that it is worth while to see the sort of man who in the view of the new statesmanship, though a great man, rendering inestimable services to America, yet is "not a great American."

Guizot said of Hamilton:

"There is not in the Constitution of the United States an element of order, of force or of duration which he has not powerfully contributed to introduce and caused to predominate."

Every student of American history, whatever he may think of Hamilton's temperament and measures as contrasted with those of Jefferson, knows this is true. Yet if Governor Wilson is right the man who more than any other shaped our Constitution into an instrument of orderly, powerful and enduring government, who contributed so wonderfully to the development of the American nation in greatness, prosperity and stability, was not a great American. Then it must be that this great work, while great, was not American. We have heard that said before of late. A certain group of radicals grows increasingly fond of preaching that stability and order are not American and that the Constitution which Hamilton helped to make, with its predominating elements of order, force and duration, is "un-American." If that is true, if the American spirit, if thinking in terms of American life, were not reflected in the fundamental structure of our Constitution, then certainly Hamilton was not a great American. If those elements in

our national life which find the Constitution their fitting instrument are American, then Alexander Hamilton was a great American and it is only the new statesmanship that is un-American.

STATEMENTS AT TARIFF HEARINGS.

List Filed by Members of the Home Market Club.

- American Optical Company, Channing M. Wells, Southbridge, Mass.—Optical Goods.
- Bausch & Lomb Optical Co., J. J. Bausch, Pres., Rochester, N. Y.—Optical Goods.
- Nicholson File Co., Mr. Wallace L. Pond, Providence, R. I.—Metal.
- Davis & Furber Machine Co., George G. Davis, North Andover, Mass. (Brief submitted by Geo. L. Hamilton), Metal.
- Cheney Bros., Horace B. Cheney, South Manchester, Conn.—Silk.
- Home Market Club, Thomas O. Marvin, sec'y, Boston, Mass.—Paper.
- Gloucester Board of Trade, Thomas J. Carroll, Gloucester, Mass.—Fish.
- Simeon B. Chase, Fall River, Mass.—Cotton.
- Albert F. Bemis, Bemis Bros. Bag Co., Boston, Mass.—Bags.
- Floyd Cranska, Moosup, Conn.—Cotton Thread.
- Royal Worcester Corset Co., of Worcester.—Corset.
- Arthur H. Lowe, Fitchburg, Mass.—Cotton.
- Andrew G. Pierce, Jr., New Bedford, Mass.—Cotton.
- Home Market Club, Thomas O. Marvin, Sec'y, Boston, Mass.—Article on Lace.
- Hope Webbing Company, Mr. Charles Sisson.—Cotton.
- (The following three statements are included in the testimony of William S. Bennett):
- Vari Lace Mfg. Co., 149 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.—Lace.
- William H. Smith, Supt., American Textile Co., Lyman B. Goff, Pres., Pawtucket, R. I.—Lace.
- Cadoza Lace Company, Emil Ozanne, Pawtucket, R. I. (Comparative table).—Lace.

- Blake & Knowles Steam Pump Works, East Cambridge, Mass. (One of thirteen companies who submitted combined statement.)—Machinery.
- Chapel Mills Manufacturing Co., Channing Smith, Cherry Valley, Mass.—Wool.
- National Association of Wool Mfrs., John P. Wood, Pres., Winthrop L. Marvin, Sec.—Wool Memorial.
- Sulloway Mills, A. W. Sulloway, Treas.—Hosiery.
- Joseph Benn & Sons Co.—Wool.
- Ames Bonner Co., Joseph C. Bonner, Pres., Toledo, O.—Brushes.
- Charles T. Paye, North Attleboro, Mass., Sec'y Tariff Committee of New England Manufacturing Jewelers' & Silversmiths' Asso., and Statement presented by B. A. Levett.—Jewelry.
- Grand Rapids Brush Co., J. E. Coulter, Treas., Grand Rapids, Mich.—Brushes.
- Florence Mfg. Co., William Cordes, Treas., Florence, Mass.—Tooth-brushes.
- J. C. Pushee & Sons, Boston, Mass.—Brushes.
- John L. Whiting—J. J. Adams Co., Lew C. Hill, Pres., Boston, Mass.—Brushes.
- United States Fastener Co., W. S. Richardson, Treas., 95 Milk St., Boston.—Snap fastener.
- Home Market Club, Thomas O. Marvin, Sec'y, Boston, Mass.—Miscellaneous.

SOUTHERN PROTECTIONISTS.

Cor. of New York Journal of Commerce.

The growth of protectionism in the Southern States was never more clearly exemplified than it is today when Southern Democrats are rushing to Washington with demands for duties on cottons, lumber, iron and steel, lead and zinc, vegetables and citrus fruits and a large variety of other items. Geographical lines of division with regard to the tariff have been fading for a good while past and they are now practically invisible. The effect of this growth within the party itself is, of course, unavoidable and obvious. It necessarily means that Democratic leaders cannot afford, politically speaking, to go to great lengths in

the reduction of the rates of duty. But this practical elimination of one of the distinguishing characteristics of Democratic policy must contribute materially to the disintegration of the party.

A SIDELIGHT ON THE TARIFF.

From the Lawrence Telegram.

The garment makers' strike in Boston affords a sidelight on the tariff, on the Schedule K part, that is decidedly interesting and should be enlightening to those congressmen and others who have built their case against it on the assumption that it adds largely to the cost of the cloth that goes into a suit of clothes.

Samuel Zorn, who is acting as chairman of the striking garment workers declared recently that a suit of clothes which retailed for \$20 cost the retailer \$10 and the manufacturer \$6. He said that on this sort of suits the labor amounted to \$2. He stated that he made the announcement to show the public what clothes actually cost and how much the worker received out of the garments.

In other words, the mill man who made the cloth in such a suit received less than \$4 for it. No tariff on that amount of cloth, no matter how high, could have an appreciable bearing on the cost of the finished suit.

Mr. Zorn's statement though does an injustice to the retailer if it leaves the impression that he receives a profit of \$10 on every \$20 suit. By the time the retailer has reckoned in all the expenses in the way of rent, clerk hire, reductions from first of season's prices, non-salable goods,

etc., that he undergoes to sell the suit, his profit is nowhere near what it seems by such a bald statement.

THE BEET SUGAR INDUSTRY.

From the Industrial Digest.

In 1898 the beet sugar production of the United States was 36,368 tons; in 1911, 606,033. In an important issue (November), containing a number of illuminating charts, the American Sugar Industry (Chicago), says:

"There has never been a time when the United States beet sugar industry had a brighter outlook, and the pity of it is that over it looms the ominous tariff clouds. According to Dr. Alexander Herzfeld, director of the German Sugar Institute of Berlin, who just returned from the United States, where he was in attendance at the Eighth International Congress of Applied Chemistry, the United States has the greatest range of climate and soil adapted to sugar beets of any country in the world, and the only thing that could possibly stay the development of the industry to the point where we will produce all the sugar required for home consumption is adverse legislation at Washington. It is the opinion of this authority that the United States has an opportunity to rival Germany in the production of beet sugar if the industry is not throttled at this stage in its career. Coming from such a distinguished source, this opinion is worth more than passing consideration."

CONSIDER THE PRODUCER

From the London Standard.

Whether trade be good or bad, the radical difference between free trade and tariff reform remains the same—namely, that while the former is conceived mainly in the interest of the consumer, the latter is conceived mainly in the interest of the producer.

No thinking man requires proof that the producer is of greater importance than the consumer, but for the benefit of free traders it may be explained that

the consumer, as such, is of no value to the country, but the reverse, since he or she is only another mouth to feed. On the other hand, the producers, who include, directly or indirectly, every workman in the country, not only maintain the consumers, but they, and they alone, have created and can increase the country's wealth, and consequently each one's share of that wealth. The producer, in short, is all important. If it be well with him it will be well with the consumers and with the country as a whole.

That is the principle which has been grasped and acted upon in every other civilized country, and it is the principle which, sooner or later, must be accepted and acted upon here if we wish to maintain our place among the great industrial nations.

THE "PROTECTION DEMOCRATS."

From the Washington Post.

There will be one great force in the next congress whose ability to accomplish anything will depend almost solely upon a realization of its own strength. At least 40 members of the new Democratic majority were elected on personal platforms, promising a continuance of the protective principle in tariff making. In addition to these frank protectionists, there were many others who promised to see to it that the industries of their own districts received proper protection.

It is undoubtedly because of this situation that the Democratic leaders lean very strongly toward single schedule revision. Were a general bill brought in, nearly all members would find at least one reason for objecting to it. When a single schedule is brought in, however, the only opposition comes from the state or states whose interests are directly affected, the disinterested members being largely in the majority.

The Democratic protectionists owe it to themselves and their states to realize their own power, and to form coalitions for their own protection. They may not be able to give their own industries the degree of protection expected, but at least they can use their influence toward

modifying the entire tariff program. By pursuing the selfish policy of demanding protection for themselves, and not caring about the other fellow, they cannot expect to accomplish anything. But by joining hands, and taking action for mutual protection, they can accomplish a great deal.

The Democratic party is likely to come to grief on account of the Tariff—whether it tackles, or ignores it.—Dallas (Tex.) Express.

The Pujo Committee, having learned the least and worst side of Wall Street, will now be able to write a ten-volume report on curtailing its usefulness to legitimate business.—Wall Street Journal.

With the beet sugar crop ten per cent. larger than last year it ought not to take the Democrats long to figure out what effect Free Trade will have upon this growing industry.—Norwich (Conn.) Bulletin.

If President-elect Wilson takes many more steps toward simplifying life at Washington, it may be expected that residents of the national capital will, after March 4th, go to bed with the chickens.—San Francisco Chronicle.

The subject of the cost of living does not arouse enough interest in Congress to cause that body to back up President Taft's proposition to make a worldwide inquiry into the cause. The apathy is easily comprehended. There is no desire on the part of Democrats to investigate. They fear that they might find out something which would convict them of ignorance or expose their insincerity.—San Francisco Chronicle.

The average advance on many farm products is twenty-two per cent., and yet some people charge the high cost of living to the Tariff. Good times and high prices always go together. Ten cent corn and fifty cent wheat mean low wages and idleness. It is better to pay high prices with plenty of work at fair wages, than to have low prices and no work at any wages.—Freeport (Ill.) Journal.

WHY PRICES ARE HIGH.

From the Boston Advertiser.

One of the "reasons" offered for the extra session in the coming spring, by the Democratic leaders, is that the cost of living is excessive. It is, and changing the tariff will not reduce the cost of living in this country appreciably—unless it lowers wages, too. The cost of living is high, because taxes are high. The most of the necessities of life always bear the taxation, and the country is spending money as never before, in times of peace. No country has less reason to fear invasion than the United States, yet the American expenditures on naval construction this year, are to be ahead of those of every other country of the civilized world. The taxes must be raised somehow to meet this enormous outlay, and whether they are raised by the tariff or by some other method, they will be collected out of the necessities of life. Changing the tariff will not of itself decrease the national total of taxation, and will not lessen the cost of living.

WHO ARE THE LABORERS?

One of these socialist economists, says the New York Journal of Commerce, declared that any wages were too low that left any surplus for dividends. This is one form of the demand that the product of labor should go to the laborers.

So it should and so it does. But who are the laborers? Certainly the men and women who tend the spinning frames are not all the laborers. They are but a small part. Give them the raw material and their bare hands, and how much would their labor produce? They work with machines made by other persons and those persons are entitled to their pay. They work in mills which other laborers built. These other laborers must get their pay.

Certain persons called capitalists paid for the machines and for the buildings. The product of the looms is sold and the proceeds divided among all the laborers. Those who erected the buildings and made the machines had to be paid a long

time ago. They would have starved to death if they had had to wait till the cloth was sold before they got their share of the produce. Compensation for their labor was advanced to them. When the cloth was sold wages were paid to the spinners and weavers, but a large part of the proceeds were divided among the persons who had paid for the buildings and machines.

As a matter of convenience these payments are called dividends, but they are really the payment of labor out of the products of labor. They went to indemnify the persons who had advanced money to pay the men whose labor went into the buildings and the equipment.


The plea of the rice growers of Louisiana and Texas before the Ways and Means Committee for the retention of the protective tariff on rice and sugar, is another illustration of the truth of the saying of General Hancock which excited so much derision at the time, that the tariff is a local issue. So it is; but it is a national issue also; and in the end it must be adjusted on a national basis.—Portland Argus.

Samuel Gompers broke an unusually long period of silence—for him—by denouncing a proposal to enact a compulsory arbitration law. Gompers and his like have much to lose through compulsory arbitration. It would rob the professional agitator of the chance to live without working, because the settlement of wage disputes would become a matter of decent and orderly procedure before a court or arbitration board. It is time the rights of the public were considered in such cases.—New York Commercial.

Washington despatches report the introduction of a bill by Representative Byrnes of Tennessee exempting farmers and laborers from the Sherman anti-trust law. It is hard to say how often this exemption has been attempted, but it is sure that it will be necessary to oppose it as often as it is brought forward. The proposal to exempt anybody from any law is an unfailing sign either that the law or the exemption is wrong. Any law which cannot be applied universally is unworthy the name of law.—New York Times.



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APRIL, 1913

President Wilson's Inaugural

The Parker Cotton Schedule

Tariff Duties and Prices

A Competitive Tariff

Forstmann Wool Rates

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PUBLISHED BY THE

HOME MARKET CLUB

77 Summer St., Boston, Mass.

Vol. XXIV. No. 12.

10 Cents Each, \$1.00 a Year

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THE PROTECTIONIST.

A Monthly Magazine of Political Science and Industrial Progress

THOMAS O. MARVIN, Editor.

Signed articles are not to be understood as expressing the views of the editor or publishers.

VOL. XXIV.

APRIL, 1913.

No. 288

PRESIDENT WILSON'S INAUGURAL.

In his speech accepting the Democratic nomination President Wilson said that "the platform is not a program." The same can be said with even more precision of the President's inaugural address.

It is not a program. It points out no definite line of action and contains no definite recommendations. The country is still in the dark concerning the policies of the administration and must await the course of events for light on the new legislative program.

There should be no doubt, however, as to the spirit and purpose of the administration. The unusual character of the address occasioned surprise and some amazement, but both the friends and opponents of the President undoubtedly have other surprises in store for them. Evidently the President has decided to move cautiously and carefully, but when his mind is once made up he will move with a rock-ribbed determination upon which the pleadings of his friends and the opposition of his foes will beat in vain. He may be wrong but he will not be weak. He may fail to rally his

party but he will try to rouse the country.

His inaugural address was not a call to party action. It was an appeal to the conscience of the people, an effort "to lift everything that concerns our life as a nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right;" something which "it is inconceivable that we should do as partisans."

At a great national crisis Lincoln appealed to the conscience and patriotism of the people, and merchant and mechanic, farmer and financier, in answer to the call, offered his property and his life. President Wilson, at a critical time in our history, appeals to all fair minded men to uphold his efforts step by step to make our economic system what it should be, which is all anyone can want it to be. And there will be many who will heed his call, for patriotism is stronger than partisanship.

Mr. Wilson erred in saying that there has been a change in government. There has been a change in

administration but not in government. The government instituted by our fathers and perpetuated by the devotion and sacrifice of a century and a quarter, "the government of the people, by the people and for the people" still endures and to it all American citizens owe allegiance.

The administration starts with the good will of all the people and if it conserves the welfare of the country, guards our material interests and promotes the development of a keener national conscience it will continue to hold the allegiance of patriotic Americans.

It is on questions of policy where the real test will come. On moral issues the country will be united; on

political issues the division will be sharp and clear. Economic policies that have stood the test of time and vindicated themselves by a wonderful material progress cannot be changed radically merely to accord with partisan theories or in a spirit of experiment without producing a change in public sentiment which will sweep the administration from power and transfer the government to wiser and more experienced hands.

As the policies of the administration unfold, its capacity for government will be revealed and its hold upon the good will of the country will depend upon the good which it can do for the country.

A COMPETITIVE TARIFF.

Such a revision of the tariff as will bring about an increased competition between American and foreign manufacturers is the avowed purpose of the Committee on Ways and Means. This object will be accomplished by reducing the present rates sufficiently to stimulate the importation of foreign made goods.

Chairman Underwood expresses the hope that this increased importation can be kept within "reasonable" limits, but the impossibility of restricting that competition within reasonable limits, if duties designed to stimulate importations are adopted, is more apparent to the manufacturers than it seems to be to the Committee.

A duty low enough to let in 10 per cent. of the foreign made goods pressing for sale in the export

market will let in all that is available for our market. It is as impossible to stop the importation at a reasonable amount as it would be to stop the inflow of the ocean if the dikes of Holland, which hold the sea in reasonable control, were removed. We have prospered under a tariff policy which restricts importations. That prosperity will be seriously affected by a tariff policy which encourages importations.

The leading wool manufacturing countries of Europe had, in 1907, a surplus for export amounting in value to \$309,000,000. Our total production of the manufactures of wool, for the corresponding period would be less than \$400,000,000. With a "competitive tariff" which is low enough to allow the importation of foreign made woollen goods, how

is it possible to prevent the importation of the entire European surplus suitable for our market? A duty low enough to allow part of the European exports to enter our market will let in all that is available for export.

The four leading cotton manufacturing countries of Europe have a surplus production for export amounting in value to \$745,000,000, over \$100,000,000 in excess of our total production. If only one-quarter of the surplus cotton manufactures of England, Germany, France and Switzerland is admitted to this country, these importations would displace an amount equal to

the entire production of the cotton mills of Massachusetts. If the duties are low enough to admit one-quarter of Europe's surplus, how is it possible to keep out the rest?

The American manufacturer does not need to lose 100 per cent. of his business to close his mill. If he loses 50 per cent. or 25 per cent., he cannot run his mill at a profit, and is as inevitably forced to close as though he had lost all his business.

The exigencies of the Government never have required and never should require the destruction of American industries in order that revenue may be raised on goods, wares and merchandise imported from foreign countries.

THE PARKER COTTON SCHEDULE.

SHOWING COMPARISON WITH PAINE-ALDRICH AND DINGLEY RATES

YARNS SINGLES IN THE GRAY:

Yarn numbers	1 to 9 per cent 10	10 to 19 per cent 12½	20 to 39 per cent 17½	40 to 59 per cent 25	60 to 99 per cent 30	100 and over per cent 35
Parker rate						
Payne-Aldrich, 6 months 1910		1 to 20 per cent 15.98	31 to 40 per cent 23.09	51 to 60 per cent 24.16	61 to 70 per cent 17.44 71 to 80 per cent 26.86	111 to 120 per cent 37.57
Payne-Aldrich, 12 months 1912	1 to 15 19		21 to 30 18.05 31 to 40 20.98	41 to 50 29.54 51 to 60 26.37	71 to 80 29.33 91 to 100 36.15	
Dingley rate, 1908		up to 15 9.18 (16.07) 18s 8.69	20s 7.98 22s 19.17	40s 20.12 45s 22.13	60s 23.23 75s 30.15	100s 31.90 114s 36.13 120s 39.41
(1907)		19s 17.79	24s 19.55	50s 28.18	80s 32.11	
			25s 28.63	55s 24.89	90s 14.62	
			27s 12.55		96s 27.96	
			35s 21.42			

YARNS
COMBED, TWISTED DYED OR COLORED
 or advanced in manufacture beyond singles, in the gray:

Yarn numbers.....	1 to 9 per cent 15	10 to 19 per cent 17½	20 to 39 per cent 22½	40 to 59 per cent 30	60 to 99 per cent 35	101 and over per cent 40
Payne-Aldrich, Fiscal Year 1912.....		1 to 24 22.63	25 to 30 23.66 31 to 40 24.22	41 to 50 28.88 51 to 60 29.19	61 to 70 30.16 71 to 80 33.95 81 to 90 34.56 91 to 100 37.12	101 to 110 46.80 111 to 120 43.56 121 to 130 39.58 131 to 140 40.72 141 to 150 39.96 151 to 160 37.25 161 to 170 34.82 171 to 180 33.54 181 to 190 29.26 191 to 200 29.82 211 to 220 23.13 231 to 240 21.07 251 to 260 20.03
Dingley rate, 1908.....		up to 20s 20.58	22s 12.20 30s 16.46 31s 24.11 39s 19.24	40s 22.29 45s 18.74 48s 27.68 59s 38.64	60s 27.82 68s 33.38 80s 33.90 95s 45.31 98s 31.11	100s 32.95 105s 49.11 145s 48.33

Payne-Aldrich average duty on total cotton yarn, 1912..... 31.54 per cent
 Parker schedule average duty on total cotton yarn, 1912..... 21.66 per cent
 Underwood-LaFollette rates on yarns 10, 15 and 20 per cent. Average..... 15 per cent
 Payne-Aldrich, thread or yarns when mercerised, in addition, 1-40c pr. no. pr. lb.

THE PARKER COTTON SCHEDULE
Cotton Cloths
 Class 1

Containing Yarns	1 to 9	10 to 19	20 to 39	40 to 59	60 to 99	100 and over
<i>Class 1</i>						
Cotton Cloth, including calico, sheeting, and plain weaves, not including cords, stripes, checks, plaids or figures, made entirely of single yarns, except selvages, in the gray.	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
Parker rate.....	10	12½	15	20	30	30
(To correspond with the rates on yarns of equal Nos., these rates should be.....)			(17½)	(25)		(35)
Payne-Aldrich rate, 6 months 1910.....					50 to 100 per cent 20.01 to 38.75	100 to 150 per cent 18.80 to 51.35
Payne-Aldrich, 6 months 1910; total cotton cloth, not bleached, dyed, etc., average 40.70 Parker average.....19.5 Underwood-LaFollette.....20.						
If advanced in any way beyond the gray condition by any one or more processes, similar to and including bleaching, napping, dyeing, printing, mercerising, coloring, or other processes not specifically otherwise provided for:						
Parker rate.....	1 to 9 per cent 15	10 to 19 per cent 17½	20 to 39 per cent 20	40 to 59 per cent 25	60 to 99 per cent 35	100 and over per cent 40
(To correspond with the rates on yarns of equal Nos., these rates should be.....)			(22½)	(30)		

Cotton Cloths, Class L.—continued.

Payne-Aldrich rate, 6 months, 1910	1 to 50 per cent 20.45	50 to 100 up to 6 sq. yds. to lb. per cent 18.03 6 to 9 sq. yds. to lb. 26.49 Over 9 sq. yds. to lb. 35.92 Valued at 15 to 16 sq. yd. 39.49	100 to 150 Valued at not over 11c. per sq. yd., 4 sq. yds or less to the lb. per cent 23.09 4 to 6 sq. yds. to lb. 36.81 6 to 8 sq. yds. to lb. 35.92 Exceeding 8 sq. yds. to lb. 43.26
Payne-Aldrich, 6 months, 1910; total cotton cloth, bleached, average			42.82 per cent
Parker average			25.4 per cent
Underwood-LaFollette			25. per cent

THE PARKER COTTON SCHEDULE

Cotton Cloths
Class 2

Containing Yarns	1 to 9	10 to 19	20 to 39	40 to 59	60 to 99	100 and over
<i>Class 2</i>						
Cotton cloth of fancy or figured weaves of any description, cords, stripes, checks, plaids, figures, drills, twills and kindred weaves, crepes, terry pile, weaves, gauze and leno weaves, and cloth composed wholly or in part of any of the foregoing:— In the gray; cotton cloth composed of two-ply or more yarns, either wholly or in part, except if in selvages only in the gray	per cent 15	per cent 17½	per cent 25	per cent 30	per cent 35	per cent 40
Payne-Aldrich rate, 6 months, 1910		50 to 100 Exceeding 9 sq. yds. to lb. 40.54 per cent Valued at 12½ to 14 sq. yd. 52.82 per cent Over 14 sq. per sq. yd. 48.62 per cent			100 to 150 Valued at 7 to 9c sq. yd. 52.06 per cent. 10 to 12½ sq. yd. 54.52 per cent 14 to 16 sq. yd. 56.31 per cent Over 16 sq. yd. 54.40 per cent	
(Underwood-LaFollette rate, 20, 25 and 30 per cent.)						
If advanced in any way beyond the gray condition by any one or more processes similar to and including bleaching, napping, dyeing, printing, meroerising, coloring, or other processes not especially otherwise provided for	1 to 9 per cent 20	10 to 19 per cent 22½	20 to 39 per cent 30	40 to 59 per cent 35	60 to 99 per cent 40	100 and over per cent 45
Payne-Aldrich rate, 6 months, 1910		1 to 100 Valued at 16c per sq. yd. 51.08 per cent			100 to 150 Not over 11c per sq. yd. 6 to 8 sq. yds. to lb. 67.17 per cent 12 to 15c per sq. yd. 59.14 per cent 15 to 16c per sq. yd. 61.65 per cent 16 to 20c per sq. yd. 61.40 per cent Over 20c per sq. yd. 56.07 per cent	

THE PARKER COTTON SCHEDULE

Cotton Cloths
Class 3

Containing Yarns	1 to 9	10 to 19	20 to 39	40 to 59	60 to 99	100 and over
<i>Class 3</i>						
Cotton cloth of jacquard weave:—	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
In the gray.....	25	27½	30	35	40	45
Payne-Aldrich, Jacquard weaves, 50 per cent.						
If advanced in any way beyond the gray condition by any one or more processes similar to and including bleaching, napping, dyeing, printing, meroerising, coloring or other processes not especially otherwise provided for	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
Payne-Aldrich, jacquard weaves, 50 per cent.	30	32½	35	37½	45	50

THE PARKER COTTON SCHEDULE

Cotton Cloths
Class 4

Containing Yarns	1 to 9	10 to 19	20 to 39	40 to 59	60 to 99	100 and over
<i>Class 4</i>						
Cotton cloth composed wholly or in part of bleached, colored, dyed or meroerised yarns, selvages excepted, shall pay the same rates of duty according to construction as provided for cotton cloth of classes 1, 2 and 3, when advanced beyond gray condition, namely:	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
Class 1.....	15	17½	20	25	35	40
Class 2.....	20	22½	30	35	40	45
Class 3.....	30	32½	35	37½	45	50

SUMMARY

Payne-Aldrich, computed ad valorem, 12 months, 1912:	Total Cotton Yarns, 31.54	Total Cotton Cloths, 42.75
Parker Schedule average.....	Total Cotton Yarns, 21.66	Total Cotton Cloths, 29.27
Underwood-LaFollette average.....	Total Cotton Yarns, 15.	Total Cotton Cloths, 22.50

N. B. Cloths composed wholly or in part of combed yarns should be included in Class 4.

THE WOOL SCHEDULE.

The Rates Proposed by Mr. Forstmann
and Comparisons with the Under-
wood and Payne-Aldrich
Rates

An able statement in behalf of the wool industry was submitted to the Committee on Ways and Means by Julius Forstmann of Passaic, N. J. Appended is the table of rates proposed by Mr. Forstmann with comparisons based on the Underwood bill and the computed ad valorem rates of the Payne-Aldrich law.

In explanation of the rates given below, Mr. Forstmann said:

The figures are based on years of manufacturing experience and represent an average covering all possible cases for a long period of time. To give in detail the figures from which these averages are compiled would involve an enormous amount of work and would, on account of complexity, be confusing rather than explanatory. Experience has shown, however, that the total costs of production in the United States—material, labor and overhead charges—are from 49 per cent. for the cheapest goods to 76 per cent. for the fine goods higher than in Europe. These figures are the justification of the sliding scale of duties in the accompanying schedule, compensating for the dearer material and higher

conversion costs, compared with European material and conversion costs, actually incurred by the manufacturers of fine woollens and worsteds in the United States, and with all items of the tariff—wool, tops, yarn and fabrics—carefully and correctly adjusted with respect to

to provide sufficiently higher duties on the finer manufactures—a principle which is accepted and carried out in all foreign tariffs. If the new tariff is to be really a competitive tariff, it must be one which without question permits of competition between American and Eu-

COMPARISON OF UNDERWOOD RATES AND RATES PROPOSED
BY MR. JULIUS FORSTMANN:

Underwood Bill Per cent.	Mr. Forstmann's Proposed Rates Per Cent.	Payne-Aldrich Com- puted ad. val. 1912 Per Cent.
Wool..... 20	20	(Total Wools) 43.61
Greasy, washed, scoured, noils, waste shoddy, top waste.		
Tops 25	32	88.95
Yarns, woolen, single or twist, gray, bleached or col- ored..... 30	Not over 33 cut Over 33 cut	(Total Yarns) 79-44
Rovings Yarns, worsted, gray, bleached or col- ored..... 30	45 50 38	
	Single Twist	
	Not over 15s	42 45
	15s to 30s	47 50
	30s to 45s	52 55
	45s to 60s	57 60
	60s to 75s	62 65
	Over 75s	67 70
Worsted yarns, hard twisted, additional duty of.....		10
Worsted yarns, hard twisted and singed, additional duty of		20
Cloths and dress goods: Foreign value not over 30c. per lb... 40		55 (Total Cloths) 94.38
Foreign value 30c. to 50c. per lb..... 40		60
Foreign value 50c. to 70c. per lb..... 40		65
Foreign value 70c. to 90c. per lb..... 40		70
Foreign value over 90c. per lb..... 40		75

each other. Without such graded compensation the latter would not be on a competitive parity with the European manufacturers; and the fine goods industry, which has only in late years been successfully established in America, could not continue its successful development. Former tariffs, whether protective or revenue tariffs, have all failed

European manufacturers in all stages of manufacturing from raw wool, tops, and yarn to the finished fabric. And I do not hesitate to assert most positively that with rates below those proposed the American woolen and worsted mills could not compete with those abroad.

The rates proposed are not protective and represent only the compensation

necessary to place the American manufacturer on a competitive parity in the American market with European competitors as regards his higher overhead charges, higher wages, and dearer materials and supplies. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the competitive feature of the rates applies solely to the enabling of European manufacturers by American legislation to compete with American manufacturers on an equal footing in the United States. As long as the present economic system exists here, however, with its all-prevalent higher standard of values, no tariff legislation will enable American woolen and worsted manufacturers to compete at all in the open markets of the world. Under these competitive rates, therefore, Europeans will have the advantage

of being able to decrease their productive costs by the increased output made possible by their ability to compete in the American market, and in times of industrial depression in Europe, to unload their surplus products here, and thus still further accentuate the competitive feature of the tariff; while manufacturers in the United States will be absolutely unable to decrease their productive costs by increased output due to foreign sales, or in times of domestic slackness to seek relief by disposing of their products abroad.

The proposed rates are based upon a flat ad valorem rate upon wool of 20 per cent. Should a lower or higher rate be adopted, the rates for partly and wholly manufactured products would be lowered or raised accordingly.

INAUGURATION OF WILSON AND MARSHALL.

Elaborate Ceremonies—Inaugural Addresses of the President and Vice-President—The Cabinet.

Woodrow Wilson was on March 4 inaugurated President of the United States, with Thomas R. Marshall as Vice President, amid scenes of stirring animation and with impressive ceremonies, marked in the main by simplicity, and yet retaining that degree of dignity, with some of the pomp and spectacular display, which attaches to the induction of a new chief executive of the nation. The elaborate ceremonies of the day followed a fixed program covering practically five hours. It began in the morning with the drive of the President, President-elect and Vice President-elect from the White House to the Capitol.

The inauguration of Vice President Marshall took place shortly after noon with the assembling of

the new Senate and the swearing in of new senators. Following this, the chief ceremony of the day, the inauguration of President Wilson, occurred at the east front of the Capitol. Then came the return of the presidential party to the White House and the review of the inaugural parade, lasting well along into the afternoon.

President Wilson took the official oath surrounded by his entire Cabinet-to-be, the Supreme Court, Senators and Representatives in Congress, representatives of foreign nations, officers of the Army and Navy, and before a mighty concourse of spectators, who filled every available foot of the great plaza fronting the Capitol. The oath was administered by Chief Justice White. The Presi-

dent delivered his inaugural clearly, but his voice did not carry far, and comparatively few heard the whole address.

Mr. Taft, in accordance with the time-honored custom, accompanied his successor back to the White House, taking his leave as soon as the Executive Mansion was reached. The ex-President, Mrs. Taft and a party of friends left Washington for Augusta, Ga., at 3.30 p. m.

The inauguration parade was splendid and impressive, well organized and well handled. But it was too long, as are all inaugural parades, and it was after dark before the last section had passed the reviewing stand in the brilliantly illuminated Court of Honor.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

There has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been completed. The Senate about to assemble will also be Democratic. The offices of President and Vice President have been put into the hands of Democrats. What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds today. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion. It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the nation now seeks to use the Democratic party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown them-

selves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

Life Is Very Great.

We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. It is great, also, very great, in its moral force. Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate suffering, and set the weak in the way of strength and hope. We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and fac-

tories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

Duty to Correct Evil.

At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without repairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great. We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

A Few Errors Adumbrated.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of pri-

vate interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; water-courses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

Law Should Keep Society Sound.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which Government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

These are some of the things we

ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new day: to lift everything that concerns our life as a nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they cannot tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto.

A Day of Dedication.

And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heart-strings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics, but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

ADDRESS OF VICE-PRESIDENT MARSHALL.

The proprieties of this occasion probably require a few words from one who is grateful to the American people for the honor heretofore done him and this day consummated. No senator has, I trust, a keener appreciation of the necessities in the way of tact and courtesy now devolving upon me than I myself. I offer no surety as to my discharge of duties other than a personal pledge that I will seek to familiarize myself with them and will endeavor always to exercise that complaisance and forbearance which are essential to him who ably presides over great debates upon great public questions by great men.

Would Look at All Sides.

Divergent views relative to this body would be less divergent if the American people would come to realize that on all sides of real questions much may truthfully be said. Such an attitude of the public mind would eliminate the view that this body is distinctively deliberate and not thoroughly patriotic. Charges of bad faith based upon an attitude of mind or upon conduct should never be made until it is clearly established that the resultant action is the outcome of personal interest or improper and dishonorable business or social relations.

Your action has not always met with universal approval, but up to this good hour no workable substitute for the exercise of the functions of this body has been proposed. It is not needful for me here and now to accept a brief in your defence. This body will continue to stand not because of its presiding officer, but because of the patriotism and intelligence of its constituent members and their devotion to our system of government.

Government Harness; Senate Blinders.

To my mind, government is the harness with which a people draws its load of civilization. If the harness be properly adjusted, the load, though heavy, will be drawn with ease and no part of the people will be galled. The Senate is the blinders, intended to keep the people from shying at imaginary dangers and toppling into the ditch our system of government. So long as the blinders

serve this purpose they are a most valuable part of the harness, but if they be drawn so closely to the eyes as to prevent the seeing of real dangers, then they should either be spread or done away with entirely. I am one of those who think that we can so adjust our blinders as to meet new conditions and render us sanely responsive to every reasonable demand of the people without disturbing any of the checks and balances of our system of government and preserving with loyalty and fidelity the ancient ideals of the Republic.

Senate Guardian of People's Honor.

With neither right nor desire to infringe upon the prerogatives of the President so soon to be, I beg the expression of the opinion that whatever diverse views may be held relative to the work of this body all persons are agreed that under the Constitution the Senate of the United States is singularly the guardian of the people's honor; that more and more, as righteousness is exalted among this people, the idea is becoming more firmly fixed that it is not vast territory, great wealth nor large learning which mark the real status of America; that America is to be measured by the golden metewand of honor; and, as the idea in her formation was the inherent right of men to rule themselves, that now she can ill afford to announce this doctrine in her own land and renounce it for an instrument of oppression in other lands.

Varied Views of Honor.

Unfortunately there is no fixed standard of honor outside the dictionary. The gambler may hold it to consist in paying his gaming debts; the member of the smart set, in divorcing his neighbor's wife before taking her unto himself; the senator, in eliminating personalities. But when we enter the chancelleries of the world and submit to their judgments not only our right to be but our right to be respected we can hope to be measured in but one way; and we must be able to show that the solemn treaty obligations of this republic will be kept with the same scrupulous honesty, both of spirit and letter, whether made with the humblest people of this

continent struggling for self-government or with the mightiest monarch of the old world. This high sense of honor constitutes the panopoly of the American people. Armies and battleships furnish no substitute for it. These are valuable but the people never intended that authority should use them as accessories to a burglar's kit.

A Fervent Hope for Peace.

If anyone in the name of the American people, either in violation of treaty obligations or the manifest purpose of the Monroe Doctrine, has taken aught while this body was deliberating, it is your duty to ascertain all facts thereto. And if wrong or injustice has been done, even to the humblest republic, let this people be brave enough and sufficiently honest to make reparation. The real greatness of this republic rests upon its unsullied honor and it is the duty of this body to search down rumors of bad faith and dishonesty and rectify wrong wherever wrong is discovered.

Here in this most sacred spot where war has been made and peace declared, here in the presence of the distinguished representatives of the Governments of the civilized world, here, within the hearing of the beauty, culture and ripened statecraft of his own land, may one humble American express the hope before he enters upon a four-years' silence that all our diplomacy may spell peace with all peoples, justice for all Governments and righteousness the world around.

THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET.

President Wilson's cabinet, as confirmed by the Senate, March 5, is as follows:

Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska.

Secretary of the Treasury, William Gibbs McAdoo, of New York.

Secretary of War, Lindley M. Garrison, of New Jersey.

Attorney General, James Clark McReynolds, of Tennessee.

Postmaster General, Albert Sidney Burleson, of Texas.

Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, of North Carolina.

Secretary of the Interior, Franklin Knight Lane, of California.

Secretary of Agriculture, David Franklin Houston, of Missouri.

Secretary of Commerce, William C. Redfield, of New York.

Secretary of Labor, William Bauchop Wilson, of Pennsylvania.

The Cabinet is made up of men of varied experience. Each member is about 50 years of age. Mr. Bryan is too widely known to require particular notice. Mr. McAdoo, a native of Marietta, Ga., is regarded as one of the country's best-informed public men in matters relating to transportation. He built and equipped and has ever since operated the Hudson River tunnels under many difficulties. Mr. Garrison has been vice-chancellor of the New Jersey Chancery Court since 1888, and is regarded as a man of unusual administrative ability. He was born in Camden, N. J. Mr. McReynolds is a native of Elkton, Ky., and has achieved fame through his connection with the government suit against the American Tobacco Company. He was formerly a Professor of Law in Vanderbilt University. Mr. Burluson is a native of Texas, and has served seven terms in Congress from that state. Mr. Daniels, who was born in North Carolina, has been an editor of newspapers in that state, and was press agent in-chief for the Democratic National Committee last year. Mr. Lane was born in Prince Edward Island in 1864, going to California at an early age. He has been a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission since 1905. Mr. Houston was born in North Carolina, and was formerly President of the University of

Texas, and recently Chancellor of Washington University of St. Louis. For two years he was President of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas. Mr. Redfield was born in Albany, N. Y., is a manufacturer of iron and steel forgings, and has served one term in Congress. He has taken an active part in recent tariff legislation in the House. Mr. Wilson, Secretary of the newly-created Department of Labor, was born in Blantyre, Scotland, in 1862, and was brought to Pennsylvania in 1870. He began his working career as a miner and always has been active in trade union affairs. For eight years, from 1900, he was international secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America.

THE COTTON SCHEDULE.

Opinions of Various Cotton Manufacturers.

On the fine counts, we are up against competition from the other side. On our Payne-Aldrich schedule, we import goods and yarns, say 100/2 ply and above, at less than we can afford to make them here, and would like, of course, additional protection on these extreme fine numbers.

Just at the present time the demand seems to be for heavy goods, but if it should swing to the fine end again, we would be out of the competition.

Our conviction is that full protection must be given to our manufacturers of the higher grades of textiles where the percentage of labor cost is large.

Even with more co-operation from labor in efficiency methods, the struggle would probably be a losing one to the United States, on the present wage basis in event of a considerable reduction in the tariff.

While we agree the Parker bill is considerably of an improvement over the Underwood bill, yet we do not feel as

though protection would be ample, especially on the finer end.

On page 444, table 136, in the Tariff Board's Report, the cost in the United States of sample No. 91 is given as 25.27 cents per linear yard in comparison with the English selling price of 19.97 cents.

Since the Tariff Board made its report, the cost of manufacturing in Massachusetts has been increased by a reduction of two hours in the working week, and a flat increase in wages of 10 per cent. This amounts, we find, to about 1.89 cents per yard. If to this we add interest on the investment, which was omitted in the Tariff Board's report, and which amounts to .75 cents per yard, it results in a total cost of 27.91 cents per yard for manufacturing sample No. 91 in Massachusetts today.

Fancy weaves are made extensively in New England, and especially in New Bedford. This mill, for instance, has more than half of its looms on dobby weaves. Mr. Parker, in his letter to the committee, advocates an additional duty of 5 per cent. on dobbies and 10 per cent. on jacquards. There should be an additional duty on this class of fabric, inasmuch as it requires more skill, better weavers, and consequently higher cost to the mill.

We are anxious to get the best bill we can, but as I stated, it is going to hit us pretty hard at the best.

Regarding extreme fine yarns, I think you have found in your investigation of the lace industry that these can now be imported on a competitive basis.

Print cloths come within the range of cotton cloth, yarns 20s to 39s, class 1, and are dutiable in the Parker bill at 15 per cent.

With the present price of cloth say 28 cents per pound, the duty would figure 4 $\frac{2}{10}$ cents. This figure, I think, might be considered sufficient protection if honestly figured, provided the duty was specific. But the price of cloth varies considerably and it is among the possibilities that it might drop to 21 cents a pound on the same labor cost. At that

price the duty would be 3 $\frac{15}{100}$ cents per pound. This, in my opinion, is too close.

When in Washington in January, I had several talks with Mr. Parker, and he told me that his labor cost for print cloths was 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound and mine is 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents. He is, therefore, beating me in labor cost, on which the duty should be levied, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ cents per pound. This is a fixed advantage and not subject to the tariff, so that while I am satisfied with 15 per cent. ad valorem on 28 cents, which equals 4 $\frac{2}{10}$ cents per pound when cloth gets to 21 cents with its 3/15/100 cents per pound protection, Mr. Parker will have a 4 $\frac{9}{10}$ cents protection, which is all that I want on 28 cent cloth.

It seems obvious that a specific tariff is much better than an ad valorem.

That when I need 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound specific duty on print cloths, which I can only get on a 4 cent market for cloth, when cloth gets to 3c. on the proposed Parker bill, I am only protected 3 cents per pound, while Mr. Parker has with his advantage in cost, all the protection which would satisfy me.

It looks like a bill favoring the Southern manufacturer of print cloths, and in my opinion an ad valorem tariff should not be based on the lowest cost section of production. It would be more fair to make it at least on the average between the lowest and the highest producing costs.

The range of yarns in the Parker bill relating to print cloths which is class 1—Cotton Cloth containing yarns 20s to 39s—should be changed to read 20s to 38s.

I have studied them (the schedules) and fail to see the reason for less protection on the cloth than on the yarns from which it is made. For instance, 30 per cent. on grey cloth, class 1, made of 100s or over, the duty on yarns of these numbers is placed at 35 per cent.; and again in class 1, the duty is increased 5 per cent. by advancing the conditions of the cloth in each of the groups of numbers, with the exception of 100s and over, where the difference is 10 per cent. You will notice that in the other classes,

where the condition is advanced that the difference is 5 per cent. on these numbers.

40s to 50s yarn has 5 per cent. more protection than cloth composed of these numbers of yarn. This and "100s and over" are the two worst groups. The 100s and over in class 1 we cannot live under, if the demand for these numbers in plain goods supercedes the present market conditions.

Where the basis for adjusting the tariff is on the numbers of yarn which enter into the manufacture of the cloth and the count of threads per inch is disregarded, it is possible for two pieces of cloth to be made of the same yarns and one of a light construction of threads per inch to be fully protected while the heavier construction with its higher percentage of labor cost will not have a sufficient protection.

One other feature that should not be overlooked, is the protection of the manufacturer who uses our goods to make into garments. If we should be so fortunate as to get a bill that would allow us to manufacture cloth and sell at a profit, and the garments—say shirts for example—could be imported cheaper than they could be made here, we would lose the market for our goods and in this way not receive the benefits we anticipated.

In answer to your inquiry as to my opinion on the Parker schedule and its bearings on the cotton industry, if it should be adopted by Congress, I wish to state that as a whole it has been worked out with very good judgment in classifying the yarns as to fineness, and cloths as to weaves and graduating the duties accordingly. This principle agrees fully with my views, and is a great improvement upon the Underwood bill.

The proposed duties up to No. 60s will enable us to exist in competition with England, but when the next graduation, 60-100, is reached, the finer counts can be landed here duty paid for less than production cost here. From 75 to 100 there should be at least 5 per cent. more duty than 50 to 75 if the finer mills are to keep on making fine counts. On the other hand, I think that from 1 to 15 the duty could be lowered without

hurting the business on coarse carded yarns, because cotton is the principal item of cost.

It is a fact that today 2-ply yarns from 70s up can be imported here for less money than we can produce them, and duties on these numbers at present are not protective at all, and should be rather increased than reduced to put fine goods mills on as good a competitive basis as the coarse mills.

Pile weaves, double warp piques or welts, gauze and lenos, should be put in Class III, same as jacquards, because on these weaves weavers can run even less looms than on damasks.

As a general principle I do not believe in ad valorem duties. Specific duties arranged on a similar classification could be just as easily figured out, and would prevent trickery on the part of importers and exporters, which has always existed more or less. Specific duties would also be more equitable in the case of price fluctuations of raw materials, for example, if cotton ever should be cheap again the ad valorem item on low cotton would work against the American spinner, and in favor of the foreign manufacturer.

After carefully studying the rates proposed in the Parker schedule, I feel as though the coarser numbers of yarn are considerably better protected than the fine counts.

Numbers up to 40s may possibly be considered on a competitive basis, allowing a fair margin of profit in competition, when the yarn market is active, with plenty of business, but on the numbers above 40s, the proposed rates are not sufficient. In order to bring numbers from 60s to 100s to a level with the coarser counts, the duty should be 40 per cent. or more.

Even under the present tariff fine count imported yarns are selling at practically our costs.

Chairman Underwood wears an Italian made hat, which costs 70 cents to make in that country and carries a duty of 40 cents. He paid \$5 for the hat and yet he thinks the removal of the Tariff would be a benefit.—Norwich (Conn.) Bulletin.

TARIFF MAKERS AT WORK.

Sweeping Reductions Proposed—Senate Tariff Committee in the Hands of Southern Men Opposed to Protection—Hitting the Farmers—Workmen and Manufacturers.

From Our Washington Correspondent.

Washington, March 25, 1913.

The prospect now is that the Democrats will have their tariff bill ready for action by the House of Representatives early in April. They are preparing a single measure; but Mr. Underwood says that it will remain for the caucus to determine whether that shall be divided into a separate measure for each schedule, or be introduced as a single bill. If divided into sixteen bills it will consume much more time in getting through Congress than if introduced as one measure. Mr. Underwood and other of the leaders would like to save the time and hasten the passage of the legislation, because of the benefit to business in settling what is to be done. But there is fear of trouble in the Senate, which they think may more easily be overcome by separate bills which would allow less latitude for combinations. What will be done by the caucus depends on the outlook at the time it is held. Like other Democratic theories the one in regard to a separate bill for each schedule rests on no foundation other than that of convenience in getting through these "revenue" measures.

The Senate Reorganization.

The methods followed in reorganizing the Senate so as to give the

Democrats control, have not contributed to harmony. The recognition of seniority in the assignment of members to committees was neither abandoned nor adhered to. Mr. Simmons, of North Carolina, succeeds Mr. Penrose as chairman of the Finance Committee, but its work, so far as financial legislation is concerned, was turned over to a new committee on banking and currency, of which Mr. Owen of Oklahoma is chairman. The Finance Committee is now limited to the tariff, but it has been made up in a way satisfactory to the radical Democrats. The Democratic members other than the chairman are: Stone of Missouri, who was born in Kentucky and is a fervent Free Trader; Williams of Mississippi, the most radical Free Trader in the Senate; Johnson of Maine; Shively of Indiana, a new member, who has a Free Trade record; Smith of Georgia, another new member with a strenuous Free Trade record; Thomas of Colorado, a new member of the Senate, who was born in Georgia; James of Kentucky, another member of the Senate who comes from the House Ways and Means Committee, and is a radical; Hughes of New Jersey, who also comes from the House Ways and Means Committee; and Gore of Oklahoma, who was born in

Mississippi and educated in that State and in Tennessee and was a delegate to the Populist National Convention in 1896, and was defeated for Congress as a candidate on that ticket in Texas in 1898. Mr. Gore is a radical Free Trader and is frequently called to the White House to consult with President Wilson.

The South in Control.

Seven of the ten Democrats on the committee are Southern born Free Traders, and the other three Democrats are safely on that side of the fence. Of the seven Republicans, La Follette is, as was shown in the last Congress, in favor of a low tariff and he is one of the men whom President Wilson has called to the White House for consultation. The other Republican members — Penrose, Lodge, McCumber, Smoot, Gallinger and Clark, are sound Protectionists. It can be seen that the House measures will meet with no obstacles in the Senate committee, but the Democratic majority in the Senate is small, and Martin of Virginia, who was deprived of the leadership in the Senate; Bacon, of Georgia, who was driven out of the office of President pro tem, and Tillman who was refused the chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee to which he was entitled by seniority, and some others have been greatly irritated, and there is fear of the result. President Wilson, however, thinks La Follette, Poindexter and Bristow can be relied upon for help if needed. The patronage will not be distributed to any great extent until after the tariff bills have become laws. It is probable that the House committees, with two or three exceptions, will not be named, and everything will be

done to put through the bills as formed in committee. Chairman Underwood of the Ways and Means Committee consults frequently with President Wilson, and the tariff bill is being framed to meet his views.

The Ways and Means Committee is in the control of Southern men, as is the Senate Committee, and of the 42 important committees in the Senate 25 have Southern men for chairmen. Every important committee in the last House, with one exception, had a Southern man for chairman. But the Southern States have only one-fifth of the population of the United States, and a less proportion of its wealth, while nearly one-half of the population is made up of negroes who are practically denied the franchise and a right to hold office. Evidently the control of the government by the South is almost if not quite as great as it was in the Free Trade days before the war. The Walker tariff of 1846 is now the model which the Democrats keep in view.

What the House Committee Has Done.

Nothing positive is given out from the Ways and Means Committee, but the members say that they have adopted, to a large extent, the bills passed by the last House of Representatives. The wool question has been up in committee, and Secretary of State Bryan has spoken in favor of free wool, but Mr. Underwood has the support of the President in favor of a "revenue duty" on wool, probably the same as in the Underwood bill in the last Congress, 20 per cent. That will mean comparatively small protection for manufactured goods, and representatives of that industry, who have appeared here, say that many thousands of working people

have already been thrown out of employment, because the manufacturers are afraid to produce for future sales for fear of the flood of European goods. Many orders have been taken by European houses contingent on the passage of the law reducing duties. A few months ago nearly 200,000 persons were employed in the woolen industry, and another vast army in producing wool. When the Democrats get through with legislating it is probable that at least one-half if not a much greater number will be looking for something else to do. There has been a large increase in the imports of cotton goods,—the total for the last calendar year was \$68,000,000 and has exceeded \$66,000,000 every year under the new tariff, but was \$49,000,000 in 1904 and less in 1905,—and will be twice as much under the rates tentatively agreed upon by the committee for revenue purposes. Boots and shoes will go on the free list. Sugar will be put on the free list by the House, but it is not thought that the Senate will agree to destroy that great and growing industry. It is admitted by a member of the committee that paper now free from Canada will be put on the free list so as to admit it free from every other country. Chemicals, metals, etc., will be slaughtered as was proposed in the last House.

hitting the Farmers.

The Agricultural Department reports that staple crops, wheat, etc., are over 21 per cent. lower than a year ago. Consumers do not profit from the reduction, but farmers feel the loss, and they will get a much greater blow under the new tariff. Farm products are to go on the free list, and a sop is to be offered to the

farmers by putting agricultural machinery, bagging, implements, etc., on the free list, the same as was proposed in the bill passed by the last House. That will be a tremendous "boom" for Canada which has been increasing instead of diminishing rates on American goods. The Agricultural department reports that farm wages have increased on the average, in the entire country, 34 per cent. since 1902 and over 7 per cent. in two years. But the average wages paid in that industry in Alabama, Mississippi and other Southern States that are framing this tariff bill is much less than one-half the average paid in the North, and less than one-third the average in many Northern States. That is why the Southern men, growing cotton, in the nature of a monopoly, can afford to vote for free trade for the Northern farmer. At least they think they can, but time will show them their mistake.

The Cost of Living.

Little is said now about reducing the cost of living. Representative Mott of New York a few days ago called attention to the fact that, according to the London Economist, the average of prices in Free Trade England increased 7 per cent. last year, and more in the previous year. The same advance has taken place in other countries, but only in the United States has there been a steady advance in wages. The Democrats by their legislation will stop that advance. They appropriated in the last Congress \$86,860,049 more than was ever appropriated by a Republican Congress, though they appealed for votes because of the alleged "profligate waste" of a Republican Con-

gress. They cut the appropriation for the navy so that the deterioration in the vessels will be greater than will be made up by new ones—going backwards instead of forwards. Now they will add to such work by inviting greater imports, though the average ad valorem duty on all imports last year was the lowest since 1861, when the imports per capita were a mere fraction of what they were last year. The average rate of duty on all imports so far this year is 6 per cent. less than the average in 1850 under the Walker tariff, which shows

how ridiculous is the outcry for a lower tariff. Nearly 59 per cent. of all the imports in December were free of duty.

Reports received in this city show that the Germans and other foreigners are preparing to greatly increase their exports to the United States when the new tariff goes into effect; and orders are being taken here for that purpose. An income tax bill to produce \$100,000,000 is in preparation to go with the tariff reduction. Americans are to pay the taxes instead of foreigners.

TARIFF DUTIES AND PRICES.

Extracts From Speech of Hon. Nicholas Longworth, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives.

I desire to speak of the effect of tariff duties upon retail prices. It seems to me that the most salient fact brought out during the hearings was the wide difference between the producer's and the retail price of commodities in this country, all of which goes to prove that the grossest misapprehension exists among people even of the highest intelligence as to the effect of tariff duties upon the price that the consumer pays for any article used in his daily life. The testimony throughout shows that the retail price—that is, the price the consumer has to pay—of articles produced in this country, not only in the factory but on the farm as well, is in most instances from two to three and, in some cases, even many more times as high as the price the farmer or the manufacturer gets for the same article. I quote two instances only to show the truth of this general statement:

On page 2666 of the hearings as first published there is a table which shows that the average wholesale price of

oranges on January 16, 1913, in Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh was less than 17 cents a dozen, while the retail price was more than 43 cents a dozen.

An interesting instance of the wide diversity between the wholesale and retail price of manufactured articles is to be found on page 3171. A Mr. Chase, a large cotton manufacturer in Massachusetts, detailed to the committee a sale made by him of 50,000 yards of cotton cloth to a retailer at 8 1/2 cents a yard. He says:

"I could, at 8 1/2 cents, get possibly a little over a cent a yard profit, but I sold the goods. The man hurried me a good deal for delivery. I went to the city where the merchant did business a short time afterwards and went into the store and wandered around, until I came to the counter and recognized the goods that I had made. I asked the clerk how much it was, and I found it was then selling for 25 cents a yard."

Must it not be apparent that the duty

on oranges or cotton cloth or on any article where the difference between the wholesale price and the retail price is so great can have only an infinitesimal effect upon the price the consumer pays?

Take the case of coffee, another article of daily use, upon which there is no duty at all—and we are the only country in the civilized world that does not tax coffee. I have not the figures at hand for the last three or four years, during which I understand that coffee has largely increased in price, but for the 10 years previous the average price of coffee landed at any port in the United States, prepared and ready for consumption, was less than 10 cents a pound, whereas the retail price of the same coffee to the consumer averaged between 25 and 30 cents a pound. It is interesting to note that the difference in the wholesale and retail price of coffee, an article which carries no duty, is just about the same as the difference in wholesale and retail prices of oranges and cotton cloth, articles upon which rather high duties are imposed.

This wide divergence between wholesale and retail prices is, I think, peculiar to this country. Germany, for instance, is a great coffee-drinking country and consumes the same kind of coffee that we do, almost all of it imported from Brazil. There the average import price was the same during the years I have mentioned as ours—that is to say, 10 cents a pound—but the retail price was less than in this country, the average being about 23 cents a pound, and that in spite of the fact that there is a 7 cents a pound duty on coffee in Germany.

In the face of these facts is it not an absurdity to say that the tariff is responsible for the high cost of living in this country? You must seek for other remedies, gentlemen, than the general reduction of the tariff if you desire seriously to reduce the cost of living.

I think that the real reason why there is so much misinformation as to the effect that tariff duties have upon the price the consumer pays is that people, even of great intelligence, do not stop to differentiate between the price paid for goods actually imported and similar goods produced in this country. If a man buys a suit of clothes in England,

brings it back with him, and pays the duty upon it, of course the whole of the duty is added to his cost. If he buys in this country goods actually imported, the duty is probably added to the price he pays; but if he buys similar goods actually produced in this country, the duty, whether high or low, is by no means added to his cost.

I think it can be said with absolute authority that there are few cases, if any, where the whole of the duty is added to the price the producer gets for an article actually produced in this country, and that in the vast majority of cases only a very small portion of the duty, if any, is, in fact, added to the producer's price. As a matter of fact, there are many things being sold today in this country at a price actually less than the duty.

I do not intend to be considered as using this as an argument for unnecessarily high duties. The mere fact that in the case mentioned by the Tariff Board only a small per cent. of the duty of 150 per cent. is added to the price of goods produced here does not in itself present a good ground for maintaining a duty of 150 per cent. In my judgment such duties should be greatly reduced. I intend it only as an argument to combat the statement so generally made by those opposed to protection in any degree that the tariff is a tax which the consumer pays, whether the article is imported or not. This is an absolute misstatement of fact, and it is most unfortunate that so many people seem to believe it.

The question may be asked, "If it is true that the duty on articles produced in this country is not added to the cost to the consumer, where does it go?" My answer is that where the duty is anywhere near the point required to measure the difference in the cost of articles produced in this country and abroad, it goes to labor. The record of the hearings fairly bristle with examples of this sort. I made it a point to bring out testimony of this kind wherever it was possible, and there was hardly a day during the progress of the hearings that the statement was not made by some American producer that if he could pay the same rate of wages

paid by his competitors abroad he would not need or ask for any protection at all.

A very large number of gentlemen representing the labor unions appeared before the committee, all protesting against a reduction of the duty on the goods produced by them, upon the express ground that the existing duties go to labor and that any cut would result either in the reduction of their wages or the loss of their employment. I have not time to quote from any of these statements, and I will only refer to as typical that made by Mr. J. M. Neenan, representing the National Window Glass Workers, at pages 634 and 636 of the hearings.

Given the fact, as is conclusively established, that the American in every line of industry receives wages at least twice as high as those paid to workmen in any other competing country; given the fact that the American employer is making only a reasonable profit, and that a fair share of that profit is finding its way into the pay envelope; given the further fact that the American producer is almost invariably at a disadvantage in cost of material and overhead charges as compared with his rival abroad, does it not stand to reason that a cut in duties below the difference in the production cost must necessarily cause a cut in the contents of the pay envelope?

This description of conditions I believe applies to the great majority of American industries today. Here and there, of course, we find duties which are absolutely prohibitory and which offer to the producer a possible opportunity, whether he actually takes advantage of it or not, to make unreasonable profits. Here and there, of course, we may find instances where a fair share of the profits is not finding its way into the pay envelope. It is not such duties as these that we who believe in a system of reasonable protection are seeking to defend. We do not advocate duties to protect unreasonable profits. We do not stand for the coddling of industries by the use of the tariff-making power of Congress where profits are being unfairly divided between employer and employee; but we do contend that the fact that such cases may exist is no ex-

cuse for recklessly applying the pruning knife to tariff duties everywhere, with the inevitable result that the chief sufferer in the end will be the American workingman.

It is a favorite argument nowadays of those who are opposed to the principle of protection that, admitting the truth of the fact that American wages are at least twice as high as in any other country, our labor is so much more efficient than labor anywhere else as to more than make up for the additional cost to the American employer. This argument has been used frequently in speeches made upon the other side of the aisle, and notably by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Redfield]. The trouble with the gentleman's argument is that he invariably cites extreme cases. He has said, for instance, if I remember rightly, that he would rather have 1 American carpenter do a job for him than 20 Chinese carpenters. He might have cited a more extreme case than that. When I was in Canton, China, six or seven years ago I remember talking with an English gentleman who was engaged in building a line of railroad. One of the principal pieces of work that had to be done was the cutting down of a hill and placing it in a hollow. He had to rely on Chinese laborers, whose equipment consisted of a small basket, which they filled with material dug from the hill and carried on their heads and dumped in the hollow, a quarter of a mile away. The work was proceeding so slowly that, thinking to expedite matters, this gentleman ordered a large shipment of wheelbarrows and showed the Chinaman how to use them. What was his surprise the next day to see them coming down from the hill with the wheelbarrows loaded with dirt upon their heads. No amount of argument convinced these Chinamen that there was any other proper way to carry dirt except on their heads, as their ancestors for thousands of years had done before them. Comparisons between the efficiency of this sort of labor and of American labor, equipped with modern tools, is merely ridiculous; but such instances as these have no bearing whatever upon actual labor conditions in this country and in those enlightened countries like

Germany, France, and England, with which we are in competition in almost every line of production.

Of course, as a general proposition it is true that a workman who is well clothed, well fed, and well housed has an advantage in efficiency over another who is poorly fed, poorly clothed, and poorly housed. In this respect American workmen have an advantage over their competitors in any other country, and this is largely because laborers abroad are willing to do without those things which have become necessities under the American standard of living. But from this it does not follow that American labor is anything like doubly or trebly as efficient as foreign labor costing only one-half or one-third as much in wages. As a matter of fact, in many highly competitive industries, as, for instance, the chemical, metal, and woolen industries, American labor is no more efficient—and oftentimes even less efficient—than similar labor in Germany, England, and France. Under these conditions the scaling of duties down to a point below that necessary to make up the difference in the actual production cost must inevitably be felt by labor, and if applied throughout the tariff schedules must inevitably result either in the discontinuance of these industries here or the scaling down of wages to a point somewhere near the wages of foreign labor, and in the end this will affect not only the wages of men actually employed in protected industries but in industries also which are usually classed as non-protected. There can be no general cut in the wages of factory hands without a cut following in the wages of carpenters and bricklayers and workmen generally. The wages of men of whom is required substantially the same degree of effort, industry, and skill must always be at about the same level, no matter what their particular industry may be. If we are to preserve the American wage scale in all forms of industry, we must preserve duties which shall at least protect the wages of workmen who are in active competition with workmen abroad.

I shall feel that I have been justified in submitting these observations if I have been able to bring out clearly the two points which it seems to me have

been developed by these tariff hearings more fully than ever before—first, how little the tariff has to do with retail prices and how greatly it has to do with producers' prices—in other words, how the American citizen, whether employer or employee, as a producer, is vitally affected by tariff duties on the article which he produces and how remotely he is affected as a consumer by the tariff on the article he consumes. Is it possible to substantially reduce retail prices through the medium of lowering the tariff merely without reducing producers' prices below a living point? In other words, can you reduce substantially the cost of living through the tariff-making power of Congress without diminishing the purchasing power of the people of the Nation? That is the problem that will confront the party in power in the next Congress, and upon its wise solution you will stand or fall.

In my judgment you are doomed to failure. I do not believe that general prosperity in this country can be maintained under a policy of tariff for revenue only. I agree that much depends upon how that policy is to be construed and applied. If applied in one way it would have no effect whatever upon the cost of living. If applied in another it would probably reduce the cost of living, but only at the expense of the ruin of the industries and the business of this country. Applied as it has been in some of the bills which passed this House in the last session of Congress it will give needlessly high protection to some industries and worse than free trade to others, for your newly invented policy of placing the finished product of the American producer on the free list and maintaining duties on all the intermediate products is worse than free trade and can be justified by no existing theory of political economy.

The truth of it all is that it is a "condition and not a theory that confronts you." You have come to a realization of the fact that the tariff is not responsible for the increased cost of living in the last few years in this country. You have come to the conclusion that nothing short of a most radical reduction all along the line will have any perceptible effect upon consumers' prices, and you

fear to go that far lest the whole industrial and business structure of this country come clattering down upon you. You hesitate to grasp either horn of the dilemma. You are still in doubt whether to put through a revision which will not cause great business disturb-

ance but which will not reduce the cost of living at all, or, on the other hand, whether your one object shall be to reduce the cost of living at no matter what the damage to the industries and purchasing power of the people of the Nation.

THE TAXATION OF FOOD IMPORTS INTO BRITAIN.

From Our London Correspondent.

London, March 15, 1913.

In a recent article I pointed out the difficulties which beset the Unionist Party in its desire to carry out a scheme of fiscal reform embracing taxation of foodstuffs. I endeavored to make it clear that the mass of British people are, at present, opposed to the imposition of any such duties. After much heart burning, the Unionists have abandoned that part of their policy, at any rate for the present, and intend to put duties only upon certain imported manufactures, retaining our existing duties on certain articles of food and drink, for be it remembered that, under Free Trade, we annually raise more revenue from duties on the common necessities of life than does any protective Government, and we so arrange it that the whole duty falls on our consumers as a tax.

Now let us look on the side of the food taxers. What agricultural results have accrued under our present fiscal system? (1) We have enormously decreased the annual production of wealth from our fertile land. (2) Cast away steady employment for more than a million men. (3) Driven

these to emigrate, or migrate to our centres already crowded in search (and often in vain) of precarious casual employment at poor wages. (4) Diminished by one-half, our race of skilled food producers. (5) Secured dearer, not cheaper food. (6) Made it so that there are few if any articles of food imported which we could not ourselves now profitably produce at the present prices or at lower.

These results, say the food taxers, are undeniable, and they are the very reverse of what Cobden promised to our fathers. At present we are on the top of an industrial wave, with the other parts of the world; but experience teaches us that we shall shortly be in the deeps again. Now what happens to a large section of our workers, not the wastrels and dissolute, but the steady and industrious? They have a brief good time, employment, wages, food; then depression, no work or wages, savings spent, debt to the storekeeper and the landlord; the best clothes pawned, furniture sold for bread, hunger, public relief funds. Again a better time, but to be followed ere

they can repay their debts, get back clothes and furniture and save a little, by yet another depression. They really never get their heads above water.

Duties on manufactures will be all right for that limb of the body politic, but what about the other sick one, the important one of agriculture? What the State needs is a balanced production from land and workshop. The restoration of agriculture to its pristine prosperity, to its old position as an absorber of labor, is essential and this can best be done by duties on imported farm produce. People who oppose this forget the millions of pounds we annually raise by food taxes. A duty is not the same as a tax. Now in 1891, the United States produced 2,000 tons of tin plates, imported 300,000 tons, and the price to the consumer for these imported goods was 4.4 cents. In that year the McKinley tariff imposed a duty of 2.2 cents per pound on imported tin plates. The American production has grown to 600,000 tons or three hundred fold. The price to the consumer was in 1912 3.6 cents per pound, i. e., almost 20 per cent. less. Thus America has built up a great producing industry which gives work to thousands of people and cheapens the cost to the consumer.

And this same wise policy should be followed in food duties. For instance, our sugar duty, with its countervailing excise duty is wholly a tax. Remove the excise, and the sugar duty will do for England as the tin plate duty has done for America. It will create alike for agriculturists and artisans, a great beet and sugar producing industry with more em-

ployment at better wages, and will tend to cheapen prices. We can get cheaper sugar only by producing it duty free for ourselves. The main object of every real fiscal reform must be to increase home production, home employment, home wages. And from this point of view it does not matter whether competition comes from our Colonies or from foreign countries. Our national policy should be to produce all we can for ourselves; but buy when we must from our colonies rather than from our foreign competitors.

Under our existing method we have an ill-balanced and insufficient home production, an instability of employment, an inelasticity of wages; certain outward and visible signs whereof are a growth of emigration, the degradation of a very large number of those left into ill-paid laborers and casuals and a great increase of those dependent upon public and private charity.

F. C. CHAPPELL.

THE PROPOSED INCOME TAX.

As a Substitute for the Customs Revenue—Class Taxation.

From the Albany Journal.

Occasionally, some leading Democrats have taken pains to deny, with some emphasis, that the logical conclusion of their party's Tariff policy is Free-Trade. Not long ago, President-elect Wilson was reported to have said something to the effect that Free-Trade could not be, for the reason that the need of revenue would always make imposition of duties necessary. And, in fact, it was the hope of all who appreciate

that American prosperity has developed and rests upon the basis of adequate Protection for American industries, that this need of revenue would serve to save some part of Protection from annihilation by the political forces that are seeking to destroy it.

That hope must now be renounced. Not even the Democratic party's declaration of a policy of *Tariff-for-revenue-only* is sincere. It has, in effect, given notice that if it is left in power, it will continue to make provision for revenue from import duties only until it can establish a system of taxation that will provide substitute revenue.

Even before the income tax amendment had been ratified by the required number of states, the information came from Washington that an income-tax bill was being prepared, from which the revenue, estimated, would be \$100,000,000. The purpose of that did not require the explanation which accompanied the information. It is obvious, on the face of the proposition, that this new revenue is designed to take the place of a deficit in the Tariff revenue that will result from contemplated immediate Tariff reduction and additions to the free list.

That is the beginning of the movement toward Free-Trade. When once a tax upon incomes yielding \$100,000,000 revenue has been imposed, the way will be open to such increase, or successive increases, of the income tax rate as will yield other hundreds of millions of dollars. The one obstacle may be that when American industries, left without Protection, are ruined, it may be impossible to find enough taxable in-

comes to yield the required revenue.

In view of the announced plan, the Democratic party can no longer deny that it is committed to Free-Trade. It is proposed for the present to exempt incomes up to \$5,000 from taxation. Later, smaller ones may be included, to help swell the revenue as the last vestige of import duties is made to disappear.

But even now, since such a tax is to be levied, all incomes should be included. An income tax law with exemptions will be class legislation. It will create a privileged class, not called upon to contribute its share to the cost of maintenance of government.

The principle that there should not be exemption for any part of the citizenry from taxation for the purpose of maintaining the government was laid down in the opinion of the United States Supreme Court which accompanied its decision, declaring the income tax law which was enacted in 1894 to be unconstitutional, in these words:

Under wise and constitutional legislation every citizen should contribute his proportion, however small the sum, to the support of the government, and it is no kindness to urge any of our citizens to escape from that obligation. If he contributes the smallest mite of his earnings to that purpose he will have a greater regard for the government and more respect for himself, feeling that, though he is poor in fact, he is not a pauper of his government.

Yet, unquestionably, the reliance of the promoters of the scheme to substitute revenue from income tax for revenue from Tariff, for immunity from general public protest so strong that it could not be resisted, is upon the promise that there shall be exemption for the majority of the

citizens, since only a minority enjoys incomes above the \$5,000 up to which there is to be exemption.

If it had been understood that all incomes should be taxed, the amendment to the constitution would never have been ratified by three-fourths of the states. It may be doubted that it would have been ratified by the Legislature of any state. Among the same people who gave the proposition approval, or at least viewed it with equanimity, while it was pending, the strongest kind of opposition would have developed. And even now, if the bill to be soon introduced in the Congress provided for the taxation of all incomes, a storm of protest against it would sweep the country.

But the bill is recognized as a measure that will tax only the wealthy and the well-to-do. In the states of the South and West there is rejoicing because by far the greater part of the burden will fall upon New York and the other wealthy states of the East. In some of those states, too, there is the anticipation that the Free-Trade policy will operate to their advantage and to the disadvantage of the East. And so it will, directly; but very soon the whole country must suffer from disaster that comes upon any part of the country.

The question suggests itself whether an income-tax law with exemptions might not be properly attacked in the courts on the ground that the amendment does not confer upon the Congress the power to enact legislation, taxing only part of the citizenry. The amendment provides that "the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on

incomes from whatever source derived." It does not provide that the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on such incomes as it may select for taxation. Exemption of any incomes is in violation of the spirit of the constitution in that it creates inequality of citizens before the law.

From Fibre and Fabric.

Taxing incomes to make up a deficit in revenue to run the Government, said deficit being due to a low tariff that opens our markets to our foreign competitors, may be good business and good policy, but just where and how it is very difficult to say.

In textiles, the scheme will work out in a way that will be disastrous to the party in power, unless we are greatly mistaken. Thousands depending upon daily labor in the mills for a living will pay the income tax, stand a fine chance of getting present wages reduced, and foreign goods for suits and overcoats, dresses and domestic uses will not be \$5 per family cheaper by the time the consumer buys them. Investors in mill securities will suffer reduction in their investment returns, pay the income tax and not gain \$5 a year in purchasing textiles for personal and household uses.

If our Government was carefully administered and American industry and labor properly protected by a tariff that would keep out the product of foreign competitors and give our domestic mills business to keep them going every working day in the year, the income tax would be all right and there would be no serious objections while industry was pros-

perous and incomes and wages were advancing rather than declining. But to sell our American industry to foreign competitors, reduce thousands of incomes and then put on a tax to make up the amount necessary to operate the political machinery, should cause an uprising that would jar the seats of the industry killers at Washington and bring them to their senses.

The legislation proposed is going to reduce all incomes, is going to curtail the spending power of all wage earners, and on top of that, there is likely to be a tax on the earnings of the great middle classes that will add to the burden, no matter how small it may be.

How prosperity can be possible with a revenue tariff that runs revenue \$100,000,000 below needs and an income tax to make up the deficiency, takes some peculiar reasoning. Our idea of prosperity is an increasing wage and expanded purchasing power of the American people. Nothing can be gained if our present standards are destroyed and the spending power curtailed. It will be a costly experiment.

UNITED STATES LEADS THE WORLD IN EXPORTS.

A comparison of the 1912 Trade returns for the United States and the United Kingdom respectively reveals some noteworthy features. Such a comparison is especially desirable in view of the claims made, in perfectly good faith, in regard to the exceptional increase in the volume of British exports. These claims seem to be urged with insufficient reference to the simultaneous

and greater advance made by the United States. In the following table the importance of this consideration becomes apparent:

Domestic Imports.

	United States	United Kingdom
1910	\$1,829,023,000	\$2,095,975,000
1912	2,362,696,000	2,373,804,000
Increase ..	533,673,000	277,829,000
" per cent.	29.2	13.3

It will be seen that while the much exploited boom in British trade has resulted in an increase of 13.3 per cent. in domestic exports in the two-year period, the United States shows an advance of 29.2 per cent.—more than double. A recent Parliamentary Return puts an even worse complexion upon the British results, showing that the 1912 United States export business as a whole exceeded that of the United Kingdom by more than \$24,000,000. This constitutes a record, in placing the United States for the first time at the head of the export list. The London "Globe" of February 22 refers to this with the remark that British "Free Traders" can no longer take refuge behind the assertion, "Well, we still lead the world in exports at any rate." The same newspaper emphasizes the circumstance that this phenomenal increase in United States exports has been achieved, "despite her huge internal market."

Now that the new President has been inaugurated, plenty of people are foolish enough to believe that the cost of living is going to be reduced right away. Excepting meats, there is no high cost of living at the present time, but rather a reduced cost as compared with forty years ago. It is the luxuries that make the high cost and it is cost of high living rather than high cost of living.—Fibre and Fabric.

FOOD TAXES IN FRANCE.

A favorite argument of the British "Free Trade" party against the imposition of so-called "food-taxes" is the alleged inevitable increase—corresponding to the full amount of the duty—in the price of food supplied to Britain's toiling millions. The fallacy underlying this assumption has been so often exposed and refuted that its resuscitation is almost a matter for surprise, but a further blow was recently given it in the House of Commons by a "Free Trade" Government spokesman, Mr. Sydney Buxton, President of the Board of Trade.

Replying to an inquiry as to the average price of taxed wheat in France in the year 1908, as compared with the average free import value in England, he gave the following facts. In France, with an import duty of 36 cents per bushel of 60 pounds, wheat sold in 1908 for an official average price of \$1.17, as compared with \$1.08 in England. In 1909, the relative selling prices were \$1.22 and \$1.19. Taking the mean of these figures in each case, it will be seen that there was a difference of only 6 cents per bushel in favor of the English selling price, while, according to Free Trade theories, the French cost should have exceeded the English by 36 cents—the full amount of the French import duty.

The same inevitable tendency towards equalization in selling prices, in the face of varying cost factors, is illustrated by Mr. R. P. Houston, M. P., a Liverpool ship owner, in a letter to the Liverpool Daily Post of February 21. He shows that a freight of 27 cents per bushel is paid on Australian wheat

imported into England, as against 9 1/2 cents for Canadian—a difference of 17 1/2 cents per bushel. And yet, the difference in the selling price of the two products in London, January 30, was only 3 cents.

Mr. Houston pertinently asks: "Who paid, or bore the cost of, this sum?"—the difference between 17 1/2 cents and 3 cents. "Was it the Australian seller or the English buyer?" And he proceeds to show that if an import duty of 17 1/2 cents, instead of a handicap in freight to that extent, had been in question, "it would be the producer, and not the consumer, who paid in the same manner that the seller of the higher-freighted wheat, in competition with the seller of the lower-freighted wheat, has to bear the difference in freight, or, in other words, the tax."

The "Paper Mill" is very certain that there will be no change made in Section 2 of the Reciprocity act, except to extend its operations to all countries by a general revision of the paper and pulp schedule. It is stated that the Customs Court will not decide the question of the right of European nations to send wood pulp and paper into the United States free of duty until it has considered the validity of Section Two. The Cliff Paper Company in a test shipment of wood pulp imported at Buffalo from Canada, raises the question of the validity of Section Two, contending Congress intended that no part of the reciprocity act should take effect until Canada adopted all the reciprocal legislation provided by the agreement, which Canada failed to do.

THE WORK OF THE SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

From Speech of Hon. Luther W. Mott, of New York, in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, when this Congress began its work we heard much from our political opponents of what they were going to do in the way of economy and reform, but now that they have gotten through they will not be bold enough to claim that they have accomplished anything in that direction. One of their campaign assertions was the alleged extravagance of the Sixty-first Congress, but the appropriations made by this Congress will exceed those of any of its predecessors, and if all the bills passed by the House had become laws the aggregate would have been much greater. We have had a large number of Democratic investigations and a great deal of money has been expended in that way without any good result. The monetary question, which is in great need of action by Congress, has been absolutely neglected, but committees have been seeking to make political capital by investigations into various lines of business, without any good result whatever. In the District of Columbia the Government is paying \$600,000 a year rent, but bills to provide the Government with necessary buildings have met with great opposition. A pension bill, however, was promptly passed, and the expenditures for that purpose ran up to an enormous sum, probably because it was thought it would help the party get votes.

Soon the question of the tariff will be taken up. It has already been greatly agitated and much time and money wasted in that way, without any result except harm to the country. The statistics of our foreign commerce, showing an enormous increase in imports under the new tariff in 1909, make it clear that there is no great need of tariff reduction, but from our experience with the bills passed in this Congress it is evident that whatever is done in that direction will be to the injury of the business of the country.

Tariff Misrepresentation.

In the year 1912, 54.58 per cent. of all imports came in free of duty. In December 58.42 per cent. came in free. In 1871 the highest percentage of free imports for any month of that year was 9 per cent., and it was only 1 per cent. in January of that year. But last December over 58 per cent. of the imports were free. That shows how the tariff has been reduced, though the free traders give the party that has made that reduction no credit. They take the average ad valorem rate of duty on the dutiable imports alone as the basis of their criticism, without making any allowance for the free list. The average ad valorem rate of duty on articles entered for consumption in 1890 was 29.59 per cent.; in 1908, 23.88 per cent.; and in 1912, 18.58 per cent., showing a very consider-

able reduction made under the existing tariff. The imports per capita in 1890 averaged \$12.16; in 1908, \$13.11; in 1912, \$16.94, thus showing a large increase in imports with the lower rates of duty under the existing tariff.

The Democratic Tariff Handbook, in use by the Ways and Means Committee, gives the wealth of the country in 1912 as \$175,000,000,000 and in 1909 as \$150,000,000,000, making an increase of \$25,000,000,000 in the wealth of this country in three years under the existing tariff. It places the wealth of the country in 1900 at \$88,500,000,000, showing an increase in 12 years of \$65,500,000,000. Nothing like that was ever before accomplished in the history of the world by any country, and would not have been accomplished here except for the protective tariff. The per capita wealth of the country in 1900 was \$1,164 and in 1912, \$1,801, an increase of \$637 in that comparatively short time in the wealth of the country for every man, woman, and child within its limits. That does not look as though there was anything wrong with the country, so far as the tariff is concerned, and certainly there is nothing wrong that we can expect any remedy for from our free-trade opponents. According to this tariff handbook the estimated production of the country on Jan. 1, 1912, for the year was \$22,014,000,000, and with this remarkable showing they propose to begin their experimenting in the way and manner they followed when last they were in power; and we all know what followed then, when, according to Mr. Gompers, the labor leader, some 3,000,000 persons were thrown out of employment, and soup houses had to be

provided to keep them from starvation.

What the Country May Expect.

In this handbook is given the average ad valorem duties for 1912 on the various articles dealt with by the bills passed by this House and the average amount of reduction proposed under the Democratic policy. For instance, the average rate of duty on the articles contained in the free-list bill was 18.46. That is the bill that puts agricultural implements, boots and shoes, and various other things on the free list. In the wool bill the average duty on raw wool is stated to be 43.61 per cent., and that, according to the Democratic statement, was to be reduced to 29 per cent., and on wool manufactures from 82.98 to 48.36 per cent. The difference between the duty on raw wool and manufactured goods under the existing law is an average of 39.37 per cent. The difference under the Democratic law, according to their own figures, will be 19.36 per cent., wholly insufficient to protect American workmen. On cotton goods the reduction is to be from an average of 45.51 to 27.06, and on metals from 34.35 to 22.42, and on chemicals from 25.91 to 16.66, while sugar, on which the average duty is given as 48.18, is to go on the free list. Other schedules, which were not dealt with by the present Congress, will meet with similar average reductions.

To make up for this enormous loss of revenue we are to have an income tax. The alleged tariff rates which our Democratic friends have given are not necessarily correct, but they afford an idea of what is in store for us. As many producers have testi-

fied before the Ways and Means Committee, the reduction can only be accomplished by reducing the wages of labor. How much higher wages are in this country than abroad is not a matter of dispute. In many lines imports are now large, for the simple reason that workmen will not accept in this country, and are not asked to accept, the low wages paid in Europe and elsewhere. But with the reduced rates of tariff they will either have to accept such wages or else go without work. The Japanese and Chinese are rapidly developing manufacturing industries, and with their low rates of wages our workmen cannot hope to compete. It is a sorry outlook, and we can only live and hope for the best.

To be concluded in May number.

PRESS OPINIONS ON THE INAUGURAL.

Boston Transcript: The Golden Age which he would bring about by what seems to him a process of "restoration" is a generous ideal, but the message, while its literary merits and high intentions will be freely acknowledged, will disappoint the country, nevertheless, because the country is looking for details and not for philosophic recommendations or even admirably turned epigrams.

Boston Herald: To all our new President's acts and utterances there is a striking individuality. His inaugural address is unlike any other of recent years. In its avoidance of anything like concrete recommendations it stands out conspicuously.

Boston Advertiser: The dreamy pastoral which the new President delivered to the country at large sent no shivers down the spine of Wall St. It did not stop the wheels of any factory. It did not influence a single quotation on agricultural or metal products. But it made delightful reading for a spare hour, to those who had that time to give to the

contemplation of the President's message to the nation at large.

Hartford Post: It is a remarkable document—disappointing, perhaps, in the main, but, after all, as good as if it had covered many columns of newspaper space, as has been the custom with presidential messages in recent times.

New York Tribune: The Tribune thought the Democratic candidate's speech of acceptance altogether too ingenuous in its avoidances and felt obliged to note in his later campaign addresses two absolutely contradictory lines of suggestion. The inaugural, in so far as it touches lightly on "the precise and the definite," labors somewhat under the same defect, since it speaks in one breath of altering "a tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation and makes the government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests," yet in the next announces that the alteration must be undertaken with extreme caution, lest "the economic system as it is" be deranged and injured.

New York Journal of Commerce: President Wilson sets before the people a high ideal toward which they must strive, using their Government as a help instead of permitting it to be a hindrance. It was not an occasion for suggesting methods or prescribing measures, for he was appealing to sentiment as a preliminary to practical efforts in due time. There is a touch of the practical spirit in reference to the economic system gone wrong, when our mentor tells us that it must be modified and corrected step by step and not torn up in haste. It is not a party question, he says, but a question of humanity.

Washington Post: The address is an epitome of "the new freedom" brought up to date, and, except as to its appositeness, contains nothing that Woodrow Wilson has not consistently and untiringly set forth as his political creed. It is as yet untried, and, as its author frankly concedes, must be tested in the crucible of experience before its applicability to the great undertaking can be proved beyond doubt.

New York Herald: The inaugural

keynote is found in the references to the "high enterprise of the new day" which is "to lift everything that concerns our life as a nation to the light that shines from the hearth fire of every man's conscience and vision of the right." This is a noble sentiment. It rises as high above the actual performances of the Democratic House of Representatives that has gone out of being with the Taft administration as the furthestmost star above the surface of the earth. A well intentioned man is the new President.

Philadelphia North American: President Wilson's statement, each word and phrase of which shows careful selection, contains every element that it needed to make it historic, and it contains nothing to save it from oblivion. Time alone will solve this paradox.

New York Commercial: The address is conceived in the spirit of a great consecration to a great work. It manifests that kind of egotism which must exist in a strong man impelled by intense conviction, if he would have the people believe in him, that kind of belief constituting the *vis a tergo* which makes a leader successful in his high purposes; for, if man is great, men are infinitely greater. The whole inaugural has the ring of a trumpet blast, but its key is pitched to what is finest in human ideals of political and social uplift. Such is the promise. We now await performance.

Philadelphia Bulletin: No other President in many years has taken the oath of office in the midst of so much uncertainty as to how he will interpret into policies the principles which he and his party professed in their campaign. Little or no additional light is shed on this uncertainty by Mr. Wilson. For the most part his discourse concerns general statements of principles and duties with which it will be quite easy to obtain at once the philosophical concurrence of all of us.

Hartford Times: The address may be called a prose-poem, but it is also a collection of aphorisms. It is the rhetorical culmination of all the addresses which the new President has delivered since he first presented himself to the American people as a candidate for the highest office in their gift. It is a bril-

liant and impressive condensation of the philosophy of "progressiveism." It begins and ends with a declaration that the new Administration is not to be merely a party Administration.

Baltimore American: One may be in doubt as to some of the specific things that the new President proposes to do, and he does not hesitate to avow his own lack of precise policies in some regards. But it is different with principles. As to these he is firm and assured.

Chicago Tribune: To many citizens the message must come as a disappointment, since it presents no definite recommendations for action. No better statement, in general outline, of the forward movement throughout the nation has been given, but it is an outline on a very large scale, and what we are all anxious to know now is how this new sprung leader and Chief Executive proposes to fill it in.

New York Sun: We quote five words from President Wilson's inaugural: "We shall restore, not destroy." This is the promise, the pledge, the platform. The rest is eloquent surplusage. If the promise is kept, the pledge redeemed, the platform obeyed, the administration now beginning with the good will and good wishes and best hopes and reserved judgment of all Woodrow Wilson's fellow citizens will be in the truest sense progressive and in the truest sense conservative; and what more could any patriotic American desire?

Philadelphia Public Ledger: There is an evident effort to make it plain that this is to be no shallow-pated, revolutionary, haphazard Administration, but the "high course of action" shall be guided by deliberation, sanity, regard for precedent, law and Constitution. At the same time there is the grim determination, decisiveness and boldness of the man thoroughly in earnest.

Providence Journal: At the rate of speed at which even a friendly Congress moves, Mr. Wilson may count himself fortunate to achieve any considerable part of the reforms which he considers desirable within the space of his presidential term. How far is his party prepared to follow him in a crusade against "the things that ought to be altered?" We shall see.

New York Times: Mr. Wilson speaks

as a just man, as a man moved with the desire and with the intention to see that justice is done among men, that the country's laws shall be based upon truth, upon the principle of equality, and that the impulses of humanity as well as of justice shall prevail in their making. Mr. Wilson speaks as an able man, as a man competent to initiate with courage and direct with wisdom the reforms he proposes—proposes in principle, not yet, of course, in practical detail. The words of the President are deeply significant because they come from a man who now has the power of embodying in national policies and, to the extent of his great influence, in statutes, those principles of just and equal treatment of all men which he proclaims.

Springfield Republican: Certainly, conservative people, the established interests, all the pillars of society have no cause for alarm if this inaugural reveals the high mission of President Wilson, as he himself interprets it. He stands firmly for the fundamental principles of the older Democracy, which recognized the rights of property and the safeguarding of the individual's freedom. But he does and will make valiant war upon the abuses of the time; the while seeking in every possible way to put the Government at the larger service of humanity.

London Express: It is the address of an academic professor, called upon to deal with practical politics, full of noble sound, but difficult to tell what it may signify.

London Morning Post: It remains to be seen whether President Wilson is a great statesman. But at least it may be said that his address has statesmanlike qualities. Its thesis is no less remarkable because not pugnacious. It strikes a new note in American politics of what over here we call social reform.

London Chronicle: The United States must be heartily congratulated upon having such a true Democrat and such a fearless statesman at its head, and when some of the greatest nations seem to be making a mockery of humanity as well as democracy his clarion call should echo far beyond the American shores and bear fruit.

London Mail: The President's address conveys a somewhat too black

impression of modern American life and conditions. One fact, at least, clearly appears. The era of free competition is over in the States, and the day of Government control of industry is at hand.

London News: President Wilson has set up a fine ideal and, like a brave and upright man, has delivered himself into the hands of his judges by giving them a measure by which to test his loyalty to his cause and his fitness to undertake it.

Baltimore News: What Mr. Wilson says in this first message is not startlingly definite. For the most part it breathes of reform. A note of uplift pervades it. It is much the sort of utterance we frequently get from the pulpits. In a definite way it specifies the tariff as chief of the iniquities and crimes of a benighted system. The President further criticises our money system and our wastefulness as a nation. The address does not make it clear how these iniquities are to be overcome. The message is not seriously disturbing.

THE MINIMUM WAGE FAD.

From the New York Sun.

If the wages of one class of workers are to be fixed in accordance with their needs rather than their earning capacities or the state of the labor market it seems only fair that the same principle should prevail with all wage earners. This extension of the application of the theory will lead the speculative observer to interesting conclusions.

Thus if a single woman deserves a certain wage to support herself in comfortable decency, obviously a widow with a child must have a higher wage, a widow with two children still more money, and so on up to the working woman having the largest number of children. These wages must be readjusted whenever the earner's obligations change, as, for example, when each child goes to work for itself.

But if women are to have wages measured by their needs, the same treatment must be given to men. The unmarried man without dependents does not need so much money as the unmarried man with a sister or a mother to support, or as the married man with wife and children to feed and clothe and educate. Again the man whose sons show an early instinct for trade and enter one of the numerous employments, mostly soliciting and peddling, to which the youth of the land is so earnestly entreated by publishers, manufacturers and merchants, does not need so high a wage as the father of children less enterprising. Nor does the father of a child whose ambition is to "get to work" need an income as large as that parent whose offspring aspires to practice one of the arts.

Were the attempt made to adjust all wages to meet the obligations of each employee, rather than to recompense him for services rendered, it is plain that the employer would have to deal not with the individual worker, but with his family. Not, What can you do? but, What must you have? would be the question put to the seeker for work. A man may doubt the practicability of such a system without thereby writing himself down as entirely ignorant of the inequalities and injustices of the present competitive order.

From the New York World.

Henry Siegel, the proprietor of department stores with 6,000 employes, expresses the opinion that if the minimum wage of \$2 a day for women, which has been proposed by the Illinois investigators, were put into effect, women would be driven

from business places and men would take their places. In that event "more women will be upon the streets of our cities than ever before in the history of the country."

This is obviously true. A minimum wage of \$2 a day for women would mean an annual minimum income of \$626. This is above the average yearly earnings of men in this country. As men are stronger than women and can do more work, the natural tendency would be to substitute them for women, unless the Legislature also provided that no man should be employed at any work that a woman could do.

There is as much social danger in a minimum wage that is too high as in one that is too low, and when government tries to regulate wages the mischief is likely to outweigh the benefits. Publicity is often more profitable than legislation.

TAFT'S VETO OF THE WEBB BILL.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

In passing the Webb liquor bill prohibiting interstate shipments over President Taft's veto Congress has done an unwise thing which is certain to be rebuked by the courts. The fundamental point at issue is not the desirability of the measure—although that may well be questioned—but the disposition to refuse the responsibility of "turning down" bills demanded by a large body of enthusiasts, and to throw this responsibility upon the Supreme Court. This is an old method of evasion which has long since become familiar not only in Washington but elsewhere under our constitutional system of divided powers. It is regrettable because it subjects the courts to more of the unwarranted abuse and contumely from which they are now suffering, and because it suggests that demagogues and agitators are attaining a hold upon legislation that is too strong to be resisted. The Webb

bill itself will in no respect secure the observance of prohibition laws, but may bring them even more into contempt than at present.

From the New York Tribune.

Whether the courts will sustain the act or not, President Taft is entitled to great credit for fixing attention on the duty of the lawmaking powers to square their measures with the Constitution, instead of carelessly laying that burden on the Supreme Court. In earlier days Presidents and Congressmen were particularly scrupulous in this matter. Jefferson and Madison maintained that they were just as much the guardians of the Constitution as the judges. Part of the impatience with the courts is due to the recklessness with which Congress and legislatures have passed half-baked bills in response to half thought out demands for reforms which the courts have had so frequently to invalidate as to gain the reputation of habitually blocking progress. If the lawmakers took their duties seriously enough they would save the courts from much of this criticism and more readily accomplish their purposes. Three-fourths of the schemes of social betterment which are overridden in the courts owe their failure not to any inherent impossibility under the Constitution of accomplishing the end sought, but to the failure of legislators to consider duly the bearing of the fundamental law on the details of their projects.

COAL PRODUCTION IN UNITED STATES AND UNITED KINGDOM.

The increase—absolute and relative—in the United States' domestic consumption of coal continues to attract attention in Great Britain, where it is recognized that "the home consumption of coal affords the truest test of a nation's industrial prosperity." An article in "Engineering" (London, February 21)

states that ' ended with portional coal Kingdom an the coal proc been altoge actual output in the follow

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HONOR

From the

It would be action of the of Bridge and re-electing as victed in the ing to promot ing outrages. Ryan could fin stances in his years in the sentence given cials implicat crimes. Probab ers who have Ryan would c

life the practice of dynamiting neighbors with whom they happened to have business differences. Ryan may be himself in ordinary social intercourse a man of peace and moderation, with no wish to defy the laws which protect property and person. But he has been convicted of breaking these laws in his official capacity, and the willingness of his followers to condone his crimes because they were committed in the association's supposed interest is an abominable perversion of the natural instincts of justice and conscience.

ENGLAND'S CONSUMPTION OF PIG IRON.

The relative stagnation of British industry under Cobdenism is effectively illustrated by a reference, in the London "Pall Mall Gazette" of January 29, to a Trade Return recently issued by the British Government. The following figures deal with the consumption of pig iron in the respective countries during the last twenty years, using tons of 2,240 pounds in each case:

	Tons 1892	Tons 1902
United Kingdom ..	6,630,000	8,498,000
Germany	4,738,000	14,632,000
United States	8,332,000	23,676,000
France	1,922,000	4,577,000
Russia	1,045,000	3,545,000
Belgium	837,000	2,684,000
Austria	939,000	2,115,000
	Increase Tons	Increase per cent.
United Kingdom ..	1,868,000	28
Germany	9,894,000	209
United States	15,344,000	184
France	2,655,000	138
Russia	2,500,000	239
Belgium	1,847,000	221
Austria	1,176,000	125

It will be seen that while the increase in "Free Trade" Britain's consumption has amounted to little

more than one-fourth, there have been much larger gains in the other countries, every one of these being under Protection. Germany has more than trebled her consumption, and the United States is within measurable distance of that rate. In Russia and Belgium even the highest of these rates of increase is exceeded.

TARIFF AND STRIKE.

From the Textile Manufacturers' Journal.

The status of the wool, yarn and goods markets for the immediate future will be influenced to such a marked extent by pending tariff revision that it is almost impossible to gauge the full effect upon these markets that may be exerted by the clothing strike. In fact it is practically impossible to differentiate the effect upon the market that has thus far been exerted by the strike and the tariff. We know that more lightweight goods would have been manufactured and sold and more wool and yarn consumed if there had been no strike and if the tariff problem had been the only restrictive factor. There is good ground for belief, however, that wool dealers and manufacturers are inclined to overestimate the total restrictive influence of the strike and to underestimate that exerted by the tariff.

Even had the strike not intervened, there would have been radical curtailment of production by many mills during the last two months. Here is where the menace of tariff revision comes in. The majority of spinners and manufacturers would have adopted their present conservative policy of running only upon an order basis, even though there had been no strike, and even though there had been a fair prospect of a good future demand for stock goods. A few manufacturers would undoubtedly have had "the nerve" to run for stock on both lightweights and staple heavyweights, but it is extremely unlikely that they would have been numerous enough to prevent materially the present comparative scarcity of stock goods.

The Protectionist

Published monthly at

77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
by the Home Market Club.

To subscribers in the United States, British North
America, Cuba and Porto Rico \$1.00 a year, postpaid

To other Countries.....\$1.50, postpaid
Single numbers, 10 cents each.

Advertising rates furnished on application.

Time of issue, the last week in each month for next
month.

Entered at Boston (Mass.) Post Office as second class
mail matter, May 25, 1899.

APRIL, 1913.

The second largest cotton crop
ever grown in this country was pro-
duced in 1912, amounting to 14,295,-
000 bales.

President Wilson has been pre-
sented with a "big stick" of Irish
blackthorn. He will need it much.
He has a Democratic Congress on
his hands.

The Arkansas Legislature has re-
pealed the State anti-trust law. The
fact that much capital was leaving
the State for more congenial parts
may have promoted this action.

The critics of President Wilson's
inaugural address agree that it is
very pessimistic in tone, but no one
has suggested that it may have been
modeled in part after the Lamenta-
tions of Jeremiah.

Another attempt at freak legisla-
tion is reported in the Ohio Legis-
lature,—a Cincinnati member having
introduced a bill providing for the
appointment of a Commission of
three members to "prescribe the
fashions to be worn by women in
the State of Ohio."

Coming East: During the past
year there have been more Vermont
farms sold to persons in the West,
the Middle West and the Northwest
than ever before in any previous
year in the history of the State.

A Washington correspondent
says: "The House Democrats are
confident that they have framed a
tariff measure that will be in faithful
conformance with their party plat-
form." Something wrong here: the
Democratic platform declares all
protection unconstitutional, and
there will be at least some protec-
tion in the new tariff.

The United States Supreme Court
decides that railroads carrying
household goods from one State to
another may make valid contracts to
limit their inability in case of loss or
damage, which upsets an Arkansas
decision; and that the roads may re-
quire in bills of lading that suits for
loss or damage must be brought
within ninety days, which reverses a
Texas decision.

The election of a Democratic
Senator in New Hampshire makes
the political complexion of the
United States Senate: Democrats,
50; Republicans, 42; Progressives,
2. Two vacancies exist in Illinois,
but even if the Republicans get both
of these, the Democrats will still
have an adequate majority in the
Senate for all legislative purposes if
they continue united.

It is announced that not only is
President Wilson opposed to the de-
moralizing practice by Congress of
putting "riders" on appropriation
bills, but that he has given notice to

the House leaders that he is opposed to the exemption of labor unions or farmers' organizations from the operation of the Sherman anti-trust law. Thus he stands pat with ex-President Taft on this question.

A despatch from El Paso, Texas, says that contracts are already being written by Mexican cattle raisers designed to appropriate any decrease in our tariff rates to their own profit. The contracts stipulate that if Congress reduces the tariff the price paid them for cattle must be increased proportionately. Thus the American consumer will get no relief from the proposed tariff reduction on Mexican cattle.

That the new Governor of Kansas is a "progressive" of the extreme type, is shown by his recommending the abolition of the Legislature, and committing its functions to a commission of sixteen members, two from each Congressional district. He has not yet gone so far as to recommend the abolition of the courts, but this may be expected to follow in due course of time, if this Governor continues to progress.

Recently, the German Government, yielding to public clamor, suspended the import restrictions on cattle. A Berlin correspondent tells the result. Immediately after the import restrictions were removed, the prices of cattle from Denmark were raised, making the purchase of such cattle unavailable to reduce the cost of meats. This may be regarded as a striking refutation of the common belief that removing the tariff on meat or live stock would reduce the cost to consumers.

The California Legislature proposes to limit the working hours of women in the fruit industry in that State. The San Francisco Chronicle says: "All women who do this work are protesting most vigorously against this proposed curtailing of woman's opportunity, just as all growers of fruit are protesting against being compelled to let a great part of their fruit rot. Incidentally it would increase costs and consumers must stand it."

Commercial Agent Lincoln Hutchinson, in an article on the Panama Canal and Foreign Trade Competition, is not impressed with the idea that foreign trade is the only trade of much importance, for he remarks: "The domestic trade of the United States is so stupendous in amount that their foreign commerce sinks into relative insignificance. Estimates vary greatly, but the lowest reliable one puts the value of the home trade of the country at two and one-half times as great as all the foreign of all the nations of the world together. Some estimates put it as twenty times as great."

King George, of Greece, who was killed by a cowardly assassin who shot him in the back, in Salonica, March 18, had reigned successfully for nearly fifty years, and was much beloved by his subjects. His successor is Crown Prince Constantine, who has become a popular hero in the war with Turkey. The assassin, who is an anarchist of the conventional type, assigns no motive for his crime except that he is a foe of all government. Sympathizers with the anarchist movement seek to palliate the act by offering the insanity plea.

but this assassin is no more insane than are all anarchists, and they are all public enemies.

Constitution tinkering is expensive business. As the result of the ratification of several amendments to the Vermont Constitution, it is said that about 400 laws will have to be changed; the Governor will have to call a special session of the Legislature at a probable cost of \$50,000, and the revision of the Public Statutes will probably cost another \$50,000. The session of the Legislature which adopted the proposed amendments was the longest in the history of the State, and cost the people over \$183,000.

The Silk Association of America, which was organized in 1872, has taken new quarters at 354 Fourth Ave., New York. When the Association was founded, the products of the silk industry in this country were \$25,000,000 a year. Today the output of the mills, represented by members of the Association, exceeds \$200,000,000. The officers of the Association are: President, Jerome C. Read; Vice-Presidents, Charles Cheney, H. Schniewind, Jr., and Louis Stearns; Treasurer and Secretary, Ramsay Peugnet.

In an address at Des Moines, March 14, Senator Cummins declared it to be his deliberate judgment that the door of opportunity "is now swinging wide for the Republican party and that if we do not enter, our temporary defeat may become final and our organization disappear from the political world." After saying that the Republican

party in its organization had ceased to be representative, and citing the preponderance of Southern delegates in the Chicago convention as proof of his statement, the Senator urged the importance of a national convention before 1916 to formulate new rules for the party.

Hon. Joseph G. Cannon said to an interviewer in Chicago, recently: "I fully expect the Republican party to be back in the saddle four years hence. We Republicans will remain Republicans and the doors of the party always will be open to those who wish to enter as Republicans with no adjectives attached to their party label. I don't care to discuss the question of a coalition between Progressives and Republicans. Such a combination would be impossible. I'm not out of politics, but that does not mean I'll ever run for office again. I'm out of office, but like the man who got religion, I don't feel any different than I did before."

Evidently, William J. Bryan, Secretary of State, forgets that he is no longer a private citizen. In his speech at the St. Patrick's Day banquet in Washington, he congratulated the Irish Nationalists on their success in the matter of home rule and predicted the "virtual end of hereditary rule in the British Empire." His remarks have provoked much criticism of an unfavorable kind from the English press. The London Post characterizes the speech as a "blazing indiscretion." The London Standard describes the speech as "a fine example of virulent and inflated nonsense which the inferior king of demagogues talks when he wants to catch Irish votes. Probably Mr. Bryan will in future

exercise more caution in his reference to the political affairs of other nations.

The San Francisco Chronicle says: "Statistics of production show that while a great part of Germany has quite poor soil, the average yield of wheat in Germany is thirty-one and one-half bushels to the acre, while our average yield is but twelve and five-sixths bushels per acre. Similar conditions exist as to other crops. The reason is that prices for farm products in Germany are such as to justify their production at the increased cost necessary to produce such yields, which is not so great as it would be here by reason of the lower cost of farm labor in Germany and the fact that much of it is done by women whom the law does not compel to quit after they have worked eight hours."

The Textile Manufacturers' Journal says: "The State of Ohio is easily holding its position as the leader in radical labor legislation. A bill just approved by the Labor Committee of the Ohio House of Representatives is not only intended to prevent discrimination and boycotting of employes because of labor union affiliations, but would prevent employers from keeping records of the ability and character of their operatives and from informing other manufacturers of these records. Another proposed bill would limit the legal working time for women to an eight-hour day and a 48-hour week. Other textile States are facing demands for a 54-hour week, and manufacturers are much disturbed thereby; and well they may be, for as soon

as the radicals obtain a 54-hour week they will commence their campaign for a shorter working day just as they have done in Ohio."

The American Economist commends the selection of William G. McAdoo for Secretary of the Treasury. It says that he is an exceptionally fine type of the American business man; a man who commands the confidence of his fellowmen, and who possesses a high order of executive and administrative talent; a man who will not tolerate crookedness of any kind in his department; and a man who will enforce the law as he finds it, no matter what his personal view of the law may be. The American Economist is confident that in the matter of honest collection of the revenue, the protection of honest importers from undervaluation, and the protection of domestic labor and production from the unfair competition which comes through undervaluation and false classification, Mr. McAdoo will make good. Let us hope that the American Economist has made no mistake in this high estimate.

The deadlock over election of United States Senator in the New Hampshire Legislature, which had continued since January 14, was broken on March 13 by the election of Henry F. Hollis, Democrat, on the 42d ballot, by 189 votes, three more than the number required. John H. Bartlett, the new Republican caucus candidate, had 121, and Edward N. Pearson, Republican, who had retired from the contest, 14. Henry B. Quinby, Republican, had 18, and Robert P. Bass, Progressive, had 12. The scattering votes num-

bered 17, and there were three members absent and 54 paired. Two Republican members, and all except two Democrats, voted for Hollis on the final ballot. The newly elected Senator is a native of Concord, where he has been engaged in law since being graduated from Harvard University in 1892. He is forty-two years old. He was a candidate for Governor and for Congress, but the only elective office that he has held was a single term as Representative in the Legislature in 1899. He is the first Democrat to be elected to the United States Senate from New Hampshire since J. W. Williams, Democrat, was retired nearly sixty years ago.

A WINNING PLATFORM.

Agitation, investigation and denunciation have brought the country to the verge of hysteria. The reaction is beginning to set in. The results have not justified the agitators, the investigators and the demagogues. The country is fast tiring of the spectacle and is recovering its senses. It will insist on a period of upbuilding and progress and the abandonment of misrepresentation and iconoclasm.

The party which first catches the spirit of the new age and translates it into a wise and wholesome policy will have back of it the power and influence of the fair and sober minded majority.

The Pittsburg-Gazette-Times believes that "some day, possibly, a man will achieve the presidency, with a party back of him, on the simple pledge that he intends to give the people a fair change at 'life, lib-

erty and the pursuit of happiness' under existing laws."

The dawn of that day may not be far distant. It would prove a winning platform, for the old ideals of the Republic are not dead and the conserving and conservative forces of the nation will be needed again to rear the temple of national prosperity.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

A New German Review.*

"Of making of many books there is no end" is a saying peculiarly applicable to Germany, and the critical reader has become so accustomed to a degree of completeness and finish in the process, as there exemplified, as to create a high standard of expectation in regard to the literary productions of the Fatherland. In the present instance, the expectation has abundant promise of fulfilment, both as regards the extensive domain which it is proposed to cover in these substantial volumes and the manner in which the initial difficulties of the work have been overcome.

Edited by Dr. Bernhard Harms, of the University of Kiel, assisted by more than 300 collaborators in all parts of the world, the work is based on the conviction that a systematic investigation of modern social-political conditions is a necessity of the times. It is proposed to

* "Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv: Zeitschrift für Allgemeine und Spezielle Weltwirtschaftslehre."—Part I of Vol. I; price per volume 20 Marks (\$4.70). Published by Gustav Fischer, Jena, January, 1913.

conduct such an inquiry on strictly scientific lines, to the exclusion of political and ethical tendencies, and to establish the review as a clearing house for studies in the various branches into which the comprehensive general subject naturally adjusts itself.

Part I, a book of nearly 400 pages, reveals a painstaking attention to the bibliography of a wide and varied field. Reviews in English, French and German, dealing respectively with publications in these languages, include a critical introduction to Capt. A. T. Mahan's work on "The Interest of America in International Conditions," and there is an illuminating article, in German, on the international exchange of commodities. It is intended, moreover, to draw upon the literature of other countries, including Italy, Spain, Scandinavia, Holland, Russia and Japan.

The Review can be confidently recommended to those who are desirous of acquiring, almost at first hand, an intimate acquaintance with the world's economic literature, as dissected by a body of authorities eminently qualified for the task they have been encouraged to undertake.

ENGLISH SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Mr. Philip Snowden, the well known Socialist member of the British Parliament, let in a little necessary daylight upon English social conditions in a speech at Blackburn, Lancashire, February 22. Referring to the undoubted and exceptional trade prosperity of Great Britain at this time, he felt obliged to point out

that the workers had gained no advantage corresponding to the greatly increased power to produce the necessaries of life. Today, he said, a large mass of the population has conditions as bad, as unfortunate and as deplorable as those of the workers at any period in the history of the country.

In many trades wages were shamefully low, so that if every penny were spent in the most economical manner the income would not be sufficient to provide the necessaries of physical health, not to mention the decencies of civilized existence. The latest trade returns showed that even in the textile (the best organized) industry, more than 48 per cent. of the adult men earned less than six dollars per week and that there were, on the railroad systems, about 90,000 grown-up men receiving less than five dollars per week.

END OF SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

Summary of Closing Proceedings, from February 19 to March 4.

Feb. 19. The Senate ratified a supplementary treaty with France, extending the operation of the present arbitration treaty, and a general treaty with foreign nations for the handling of epidemic diseases.

Feb. 20. House naval committee reported a bill carrying \$146,618,364 appropriations and providing for two new battleships. Fillibustering against the two battleship proposals continued through three days. The House passed the sundry civil appropriation bill, with a provision exempting labor unions and farmers' organizations from prosecution under the anti-trust law.

Feb. 25. The Senate passed the pension appropriation bill carrying \$180,000,000, and the Indian appropriation bill. In the House, the labor committee reported a bill to fix an eight-hour day for women workers in the District of Columbia. A bill to prevent Washington hotels from raising their rates during inauguration week was passed, 119 to 65, but was not acted upon in the Senate. The Senate passed the railroad physical valuation bill, as amended in the House. It will entail an expense of probably \$5,000,000 to \$6,000,000 on the government, and about the same amount on the railroads, and is likely to take three or four years to complete the job.

Feb. 26. In a message sent to Congress, President Taft recommended the adoption of a budget system of regulating proposed expenditures to expected revenues. A minority report from the House committee on patents was presented, which contented that the Oldfield bill designed to correct alleged patent monopoly, would benefit only the large concerns and freeze out the small dealers. The Senate passed the post-office appropriation bill, which carries 12,000,000 more than the bill of last year, on account of the parcel post system. Provisions for pensioning postal employees, and for the election of fourth-class postmasters were stricken out. The House passed the naval appropriation bill, but the Democratic opponents of two battleships, aided by 28 Republicans, reduced the number to one by a vote of 174 to 156. The House general deficiency bill, carrying over \$24,000,000, provides for the retention of the Commerce Court until next Congress. The Senate

passed the House bill creating a Department of Labor, making the head of it a member of the Cabinet.

Feb. 27. The Senate passed the agricultural appropriation bill carrying \$18,000,000, and appropriated \$1,500,000 for government exhibit at San Francisco fair. The House passed the general deficiency appropriation bill carrying \$24,658,243. The Senate passed the sundry civil bill carrying about \$120,000,000, and endorsed the provision in the House bill prohibiting the use of any of the \$300,000 appropriated for the enforcement of the anti-trust law to prosecute labor unions or farmers' organizations. The Senate also passed bills to prevent the desecration of the American flag by using it for advertising purposes, and its mutilation.

Feb. 28. The Pujio money trust investigation committee presented their report. There were also two minority reports. The majority report asserts the existence of a money trust; declares that the situation thus created is full of peril to our institutions; recommends incorporation of clearing houses, and would prohibit the fixing of rates by them for collection of out-of-town checks, discount or interests on deposits; and would prohibit the loaning of securities. The President sent in a veto of the Webb bill, designed to prevent the shipment of liquors into "dry states." This veto was based on the ground that Congress had no power under the Constitution to impose the proposed restriction on interstate commerce in the manner provided in the bill. In support of his objections he transmitted a memorandum from the Attorney-General. The President said he did not feel at liberty under

his oath to leave the constitutional question to the Supreme Court, and that so long as the doubt existed it was safer to keep within the limits of the fundamental law. The Senate indicated its contempt for the opinions of the President and his Attorney-General, by passing the bill over the veto by a vote of 63 to 21. Of the Senators who voted to sustain the President six were Democrats—Senators Foster, Martine, O'Gorman, Paynter, Percy and Pomerene. The Republicans were Senators Bradley, Brandegee, Catron, Crane, du Pont, Guggenheim, McLean, Penrose, Perkins, Richardson, Root, Stephenson, Sutherland, Warren and Wetmore. The Senate, by a vote of 56 to 16, substituted two battleships for the one provided in the House bill. An amendment offered by Senator Brandegee for three battleships was rejected, 21 to 40.

March 1. By a vote of 244 to 96, the House re-passed the Webb bill over the President's veto. It is believed that sooner or later the Supreme Court will have to pass upon the constitutionality of the law.

March 2. The rivers and harbors, army, and public buildings bills were disposed of. The Norris bill, which had passed the Senate, requiring publicity in all cases heard by masters appointed to take testimony under the Sherman anti-trust law, passed the House. The Senate, 41 to 20, passed the Burton bill designed to abolish involuntary servitude of seamen and improved conditions of labor and living on American merchant ships, as a substitute for a House bill, but the bill was defeated by a "pocket veto" by the President, who, while not objecting

to the purpose sought to be accomplished by the bill, held that it violated treaty stipulations with several countries. The House reduced the appropriation for the Panama-Pacific exposition from \$1,500,000 to \$500,000. Congress was notified that the President had accepted the Treasury Department's plan for rearranging the customs districts so they will be reduced from 140 to less than 50, but disapproved the plan to abolish the naval officers and surveyors. All attempts to enact the workmen's compensation bill were finally abandoned in the Senate.

March 4. The President vetoed the sundry civil appropriation bill, because of the clause it contained exempting labor men and farmers from prosecution for infractions of the Sherman anti-trust law. The President said this was class legislation and reprehensible to the extreme. The House passed the bill over the veto by a vote of 270 to 50, but the Senate failed to act. The Indian appropriation also failed to become a law, because of a filibuster against it by Senator Fall of New Mexico. The Senate adjourned sine die at 12.35 p. m., and the House at 12.04 p. m.

The Record of Two Years.

The Sixty-Second Congress opened in 1911 with a special session called by President Taft to consider Canadian reciprocity. Perhaps the most important developments of the entire Congress are the following:

Canadian reciprocity law passed, but rejected by Canada.

Wool, cotton, metal and free list tariff bills passed, but vetoed by President Taft.

Constitutional amendment for popular

election of senators submitted to the States.

New Federal Bureau of Labor created, with cabinet officers at its head.

Webb bill, prohibiting shipment of intoxicating liquors to prohibition States, passed, vetoed and passed over veto.

Physical valuation of the property common carriers ordered to form basis for rate making.

Arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France negotiated, but failed of ratification because of changes made by the Senate.

Notice served on the world by the Senate, that the United States will not permit foreign nations to secure military or naval footholds where they might threaten safety of this country.

Children's Bureau created in Department of Commerce and Labor.

Panama Canal law passed, establishing free passage for American coastwise ships, and barring railroad-owned vessels from the canal.

Campaign publicity laws passed, requiring a complete public accounting of all campaign funds.

Eight-hour law covering Government contracts.

Admission of Arizona and New Mexico to statehood.

Use of poisonous white phosphorus in match-making prevented by excessive tax.

Pure drug law amended to prevent misleading labels on patent medicines.

Wireless communication brought under careful regulation, the law requiring the wireless on all ocean vessels to be adequately manned.

Government transports required to carry an ample number of lifeboats.

Tariff Board virtually legislated out of existence.

Industrial Commission authorized to study relations between capital and labor.

The following measures failed to become laws—one by veto of the President, and the others because not approved by both Houses:

"Literary test" immigration bill passed, but vetoed by President Taft.

Single six-year presidential term amendment passed by Senate.

Life prisoners in Federal prisons made eligible to parole.

Federal control of water powers defeated in the Senate.

Manufacturers of foods required to state the net weight and contents on outside of food packages.

Government authorized by law to seize trust-controlled goods as soon as imported into the United States.

This Congress has witnessed the ratification of many important treaties; and there has been an epidemic of investigations, some of which have been costly, and fruitless in practical results. The total appropriations made for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1914, amount to the vast sum of \$1,035,575,846.

President Taft has used the veto power freely throughout the Congress. Fully twenty bills have met his disapproval, including Democratic tariff bills, appropriation bills which contained Commerce Court, civil service and army reorganization and legislation of which he did not approve; water power bills in which the principle of Federal control was not recognized; and the immigration bill containing the "literacy test" feature.

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

Special Session of the New Senate.

The Senate of the Sixty-third Congress convened at noon on March 4, and thirty new or re-elected Senators were sworn in.

The re-elected Republicans are: Borah of Idaho, Kenyon of Iowa, Nelson of Minnesota, and Warren of Wyoming. The new Republican Senators are: Edwin C. Burleigh of Maine, John W. Weeks of Massachusetts, George W. Norris of Nebraska, L. B. Colt of Rhode Island,

James H. Brady of Idaho, Thomas Sterling of South Dakota, and Nathan B. Goff of West Virginia.

The re-elected Democrats are: Bankhead of Alabama, Bacon of Georgia, Simmons of North Carolina, Owen of Oklahoma, Tillman of South Carolina, Sheppard of Texas, and Martin of Virginia. The new Democratic Senators are: John T. Robinson and W. M. Kavanaugh of Arkansas, J. F. Shafroth of Colorado, Willard Saulsbury of Delaware, Wm. H. Thompson of Kansas, Ollie M. James of Kentucky, Joseph E. Ransdell of Louisiana, James K. Vardeaman of Mississippi, Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, William Hughes of New Jersey, Harry Lane of Oregon, Thomas Shields of Tennessee, Key Pittman of Nevada, and W. R. Webb (independent Democrat) of Tennessee.

Vice-President Marshall delivered his inaugural address (printed on another page) in the presence of President Taft, President-elect Wilson, the Supreme Court, Diplomatic corps, and members-elect of the new House of Representatives. The oath had been previously administered to the Vice-President by Senator Gallinger, who is the oldest Senator in point of service.

In General.

The Democrats of the Senate, in caucus selected Senator Kern, of Indiana, as their floor leader, and Senator Newlands, of Nevada, as vice-chairman.

Republican Senators also held a caucus, and selected Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire, as floor leader. Senator La Follette was present at the meeting, but Senators Bristow, Poindexter and Clapp,

classed as Progressives, did not appear.

The House Democratic caucus made the following nominations for ratification by the House when it meets in extra session on April 1:

Speaker—Champ Clark of Missouri.

Ways and Means Committee—Representatives Underwood of Alabama (chairman), Francis Burton Harrison of New York, Dorsey W. Shackelford of Missouri, Claude Kitchin of North Carolina, Henry T. Rainey of Illinois, Lincoln Dixon of Indiana, Cordell Hull of Tennessee, W. S. Hammond of Minnesota, Andrew J. Peters of Massachusetts, A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania, Timothy T. Ansberry of Ohio, John S. Garner of Texas (new), James W. Collier of Mississippi (new), Augustus O. Stanley of Kentucky (new).

Clerk of the House—South Trimble of Kentucky.

Doorkeeper—J. J. Sinnott of Virginia.

Sergeant-at-Arms—Robert B. Gordon of Ohio.

Postmaster—William M. Dunbar of Georgia.

Chaplain—Rev. Henry N. Couden of Washington, D. C.

On March 13, the Senate elected Senator Clarke, of Arkansas, President pro tempore, and these other officers: James M. Baker, South Carolina, secretary; Charles P. Higgins, Missouri, sergeant-at-arms; Forest J. Prettyman, Washington, D. C., chaplain; Thomas W. Keller, West Virginia, assistant doorkeeper; Carl A. Loeffler, Pennsylvania, acting assistant doorkeeper. Mr. Baker has been assistant-librarian in the Congressional Library, and was the personal choice of Senator Tillman. Rev. Mr. Prettyman is pastor of a Methodist church. Mr. Loeffler is a Republican. The personnel of the new Finance Committee, which handles all tariff bills, is as follows:

Democrats — Chairman, Simmons, North Carolina; Stone, Missouri; Williams, Mississippi; Johnson, Maine; Shively, Indiana; Gore, Oklahoma; Thomas, Colorado; James, Kentucky; Hughes, New Jersey.

Republicans — Penrose, Pennsylvania; Lodge, Massachusetts; McCumber, North Dakota; Smoot, Utah; Gallinger, New Hampshire; Clark, Wyoming; La Follette, Wisconsin.

Assignments of the new New England Senators on committees include: Weeks, Massachusetts, banking and currency, Philippines, public health and conservation. Burleigh, Maine, claims, public buildings, fisheries and coast defenses. Colt, Rhode Island, civil service, immigration, patents, post offices and revision of the laws. Hollis, New Hampshire, banking and currency, military affairs and woman suffrage. Other important assignments are: Lodge on finance and foreign relations; Dillingham on judiciary, foreign relations, appropriations, privileges and elections; Gallinger on rules, appropriations and finance; Page on naval affairs, Indian affairs, and interoceanic canals; Lippitt on territories and interstate commerce; Brandegee on judiciary, patents, and interstate commerce; Johnson on finance, pensions, privileges and elections, and naval affairs; McLean on manufactures, the Philippines and territories.

Senator Bacon, of Georgia, heads the committee on Foreign Relations, Senator Culberson, of Texas, that on the Judiciary; Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, that on Banking and Currency; and Senator Martin, of Virginia, that on Appropriations.

The special session ended on March 18. The complete rearrangement of the committees and the

division of patronage were deferred to the extra session, April 7. It is reported that the Senate will consider some general legislation, while waiting for the House to pass the tariff bill.

Extra Session Called.

President Wilson, on March 17, issued a formal proclamation convening the Sixty-third Congress in an extra session on April 7. The call simply states that the public interests require an extra session and gives no specific reason. It is believed that the President's message will deal almost exclusively with the tariff, but he may invite attention to currency legislation.

It is reported that only such committees will be appointed as are necessary to conduct the actual organization and pass the appropriation bills which failed in the last Congress. When the House meets April 7 there will be three candidates for Speaker: Champ Clark, Democrat (for re-election), James R. Mann, Republican, and Victor Murdock of Kansas, Progressive.

The Tariff Situation.

From now to the extra session, we may expect many conflicting reports and divergent views on the tariff situation. All that seems reliable is that Chairman Underwood of the Ways and Means Committee is writing the tariff bill supported by a majority of the committee who are conservatives. Among these are Peters of Massachusetts and Palmer of Pennsylvania—the committee standing eight to five for a fairly moderate tariff bill. It is reported that the Democratic members of the

Senate finance committee and President Wilson are co-operating with Mr. Underwood in framing a bill which they hope to push through both Houses with but little amendment. It is stated that the Senate finance committee will give no hearings, and that there will be a single tariff bill instead of separate schedule bills. Republican Senators have notified the Democrats that they will insist on debating the tariff measure.

It is stated that the rates now fixed in the different schedules are merely tentative. Mr. Underwood says he has given out no information regarding the rates, and all published statements are absolutely misleading. It is now contemplated to include the income tax as a rider upon the tariff bill, and levy tribute upon all incomes above \$4,000, instead of \$5,000, as at first proposed. A conservative estimate is that the income tax must produce considerably more than \$100,000,000 in revenues if the Treasury balance is to be maintained.

PREPARE FOR FOREIGN COMPETITION.

From the Boston Transcript.

American woolen manufacturers, confronted with probable radical changes in the duties on their product, are taking very serious thought as to the future conduct of their business. Some of them have been relying to a considerable extent upon the published reports that English and Continental manufacturers have so many orders on their books that no serious competition was to be expected from abroad for a long time. In view of current developments, it may be questioned

whether this is not a mistake. Foreign manufacturers are undoubtedly very busy, with a large volume of orders still unfilled, but it is certain that they will make a determined effort to take care of any profitable business which may be offered from this side of the water. In fact, private advices are not nearly so reassuring in their tenor as are the public cablegrams and press reports. In previous years, when tariff legislation was imminent, orders for goods have been freely placed in Yorkshire conditional upon a reduction in the American customs duties. It is fair to presume that similar action will be taken in the present juncture, and private letters from England bear out this theory. If these advices can be relied upon, large orders for goods already have been placed in Bradford conditional upon a material reduction in the duties prescribed by Schedule K. This may be the cause of a rude awakening of those manufacturers who have been confident that there was to be no immediate competition from that quarter.

That foreign goods manufacturers are looking with longing eyes over the tariff barrier that now separates them from the rich American markets, goes without saying. Nothing is surer than that they will gladly give up less profitable contracts for those which may be forthcoming from this side, even if the moderate protection afforded by the Wilson bill should be written in the Underwood bill when it finally becomes a law.

American manufacturers, both of cotton and wool, must have such competition in mind when shaping their business policy for the coming

year, and evidences are being multiplied that very serious consideration is being given by them to this aspect of the tariff situation.

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC SENATOR.

From the Boston Advertiser.

Mr. Hollis is to be senator from New Hampshire. Mr. Hollis is about as near to being a free trader as a man can be. He is on record as having declared that he would like to stamp out some of the chief industries of his state. Whether his bite will be as bad as his bark will be seen in the session which begins next month. Of course he does not represent the people of New Hampshire in such a position. They know what the tariff schedules mean to them. Had not the protectionists of the legislature failed to unite upon a candidate for senator, the contest could not have resulted as it did. During most of the ballots, there were enough protectionist votes to name a senator, but the votes were divided. Division among the protectionists cannot but be fatal to protection. New Hampshire has a lesson which should be heeded, in Massachusetts.

From the Boston Herald.

The radical character of Mr. Hollis's past utterances has been disquieting to serious-minded people in New Hampshire and adjoining states. He appears to have sympathized with the I. W. W. in Lawrence, with the extreme free trade cause everywhere, and to be thoroughly committed to the radical program. But Mr. Hollis's basic affilia-

tions are with the conservative element and the probabilities are that this radicalism of his really belongs to the "catching the car" order, and that once on its rear platform, he will stand in a reposeful and dignified way. While the ethics of such a course may be open to some question, it should be acknowledged that President Wilson's radical manifestations are perchance susceptible of a not dissimilar interpretation.

TARIFF AND RETAIL PRICES.

From the Fall River Herald.

In the course of the cotton Tariff hearing, Chairman Underwood is reported to have said that one of the purposes of a downward revision would be to save the purchasers of cotton cloths the difference in the Tariff. This amount in the aggregate he placed at \$80,000,000. To this Simeon B. Chase of this city replied that the retailer made the price to the consumer, and that a reduction in the Tariff would not accomplish all that the committee hoped for the purchaser's benefit. The truth of this conclusion has been shown in the removal of the leather Tariff. We were told that shoes would be cheaper if manufacturers could buy their raw material free of duty, but the person who buys a pair of shoes today does not get them at any lower price than he paid for them before the leather Tariff was removed. The difference of Tariff that entered into a single pair of shoes was too little to disturb the price. That will be true of cotton goods. The price per yard over the counters of the dry goods stores is not likely to be changed because of

a lower Tariff. Not only will the difference due to the new Tariff be small in itself, but there are a number of agencies between the docking of foreign goods and the retailer who will be concerned in any new profits that may accrue from importing goods under a revised Tariff. Especially in fine and fancy goods of which the Tariff proposed would make a material difference in the price to the consumer, if he were to be given all of the saving, there is an element in price-making that is indifferent to the Tariff. That element is the style of the goods. If the weave and the pattern strike the popular fancy the retailer is able to get a price in which the Tariff cuts a small figure proportionally. A reduction of the Tariff that will encourage foreign competition with American made goods will come out of the profits of manufacturing. It may amount to the sum quoted by Mr. Underwood, but the purchaser in the retail stores will get no great share of it.

TAFT'S LAST VETO.

From the Boston Advertiser.

One of Mr. Taft's last acts was to veto the sundry civil bill, because of a clause which that bill contained, limiting the use of the appropriation available for the office of the attorney general, so that he could not proceed against labor organizations or against farmers who were organized. The veto was wholly upon this clause in the bill. The discrimination was quite unwarranted. It was an absurd proposition to bring up in congress and it was absurd for congress to pass it. It is well that the President had the courage and the

wisdom to veto it. Should the day ever come when certain special classes in this country are able to place themselves above the law, it will be a dark day for America and for all those things for which the nation stands. No class should seek immunity from the law; and when it is granted one class the safety of the whole country is imperilled.

From the New York Tribune.

Ex-President Taft finished his term of office well by vetoing the sundry civil bill because of the provision in it forbidding the use of any money appropriated for the enforcement of the anti-trust act in the prosecution of labor unions or farmers' organizations. There should be only one law for all classes and one enforcement of the law for all classes. This vetoed sundry civil bill provision would have made one law for the rich and another law for the poor, if we may call the labor unions and the farmers' unions poor. And it is just as bad in principle to afford loopholes for one class as it is to afford loopholes for the other. Moreover, the method of providing them was sneaking and dishonest. If any one is to have a license to restrain or destroy trade, let it be given to him openly by an amendment of the Sherman act itself.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

It is not a question here whether or not the anti-trust laws are wise and just, but whether laws are to apply to all the subjects of government alike, where their acts or the effect of their acts is the same, and whether in the enforcement of laws a distinction is to be made between those engaged in one occupation

and those employed in another. Anti-trust laws are intended to prevent or to punish injury. If injury is not caused the law touches nobody. If it is caused, why should one "organization or individual" be immune from prosecution for its violation more than another? In this veto President Taft took his stand upon a fundamental principle of free government.

WOOL AND COST OF LIVING.

From the Watertown, N. Y., Standard.

Wool has come again to trouble the Democratic party. The Wilson bill killed the sheep industry of the country and turned to foreigners the wool industry. Manufacturing languished and business became so bad that the people lacked the money to take advantage in the very small reduction in the price of clothing. The shortage in sheep raised the price of mutton. So the price of labor was reduced and the price of one of the staple foods of the land advanced. Then the country put out the Democratic party, placed a duty on wool, raised the Tariff on woolen goods and since that time we increased our food supply, increased our earnings, paid little more for clothing, lived so well that the demand, as compared with the supply in foods the working man never saw under the Wilson bill, increased so rapidly that prices went up, but—we have had the price.

And now the Democrats after all this experience are ready to again reduce the sheep, raise the price of mutton and turn over the woolen business to foreign manufacturers. They may have discovered some magical way of preventing like causes producing like results. They

are not fully agreed upon the extent of annihilation. Mr. Bryan wants free wool and Mr. Underwood the bill vetoed by President Taft. Mr. Bryan as a Cabinet member may not chide, direct or instruct Congress. Mr. Underwood should have his way unless President Wilson sides with his Secretary of State.

An inadequate Tariff on raw wool will make the farmer quit raising sheep. There will come a shortage in meat with higher cost for all meat. The wool schedule will have an influence upon the cost of living.

WOOL GROWERS AND MANUFACTURERS.

From the New York Commercial.

The New York Evening Journal has been demanding radical cuts in the tariff on woolen goods to lessen the cost of living. It did not matter what became of the mills and the millions of dollars invested in the industry, but it has heard from the farmers and sheep men of the Middle and Far West and a great white light dawned on its vision last Wednesday. It now begs Congress to spare the sheep and to retain a relatively high tariff on wool because free wool means less mutton and dearer mutton, while the tariff on wool adds less than a dollar to the cost of a good suit of clothes and the ultimate consumer would not receive the slight difference in any event.

To prove the case for the sheep raisers, the Journal uses the figures which the Commercial printed several months ago, and it takes the same position as to the ultimate effect of free wool on the cost of living. But the Journal does not tell the whole story. If woolen goods are not protected by substantial duties they will not be made in this country and the farmer will have no domestic market for his wool. Protection would be worth nothing to him because he would have to sell abroad in competition with the rest of the world. The tariff cannot be revised in that way.

Any industry that requires protection for its raw material must be protected from top to bottom, and the Journal should make this point as clear as it has

made the case for the sheep raiser. It may go against the grain to say a word for the woolen manufacturer, but the case is not complete without it.

INDUSTRIAL FRAGMENTS.

By Roland Ringwalt.

History is full of military data, and meager on industrial topics. There is a glimpse of bridgebuilding in Caesar, and some trace of the wood work and woolen products, the metal and stone achievements of Hebrews. In the book of Job there is a brief description of mining as it was practiced in days long antedating Solomon's temple. But the Scriptural fragments, numerous as they are, are simply fragments; industrial questions are rarely prominent; the labors of the potters in Chronicles are not told as the experiments of Robinson Crusoe are; the conditions of workshops are not given in detail; the vineyards and the yarn manufactures are not described as they would be in the report of a present day inspector.

So powerful a book as Curtiss' "Industrial Development of Nations" devotes only one chapter to "Commerce of the Nations of Antiquity," because there is not much material to be had. Long after the fall of Rome and the end of the Crusades we may hunt and be disappointed. There will be some account of the rich tapestry and the gilded missal, the skill that wrought the arches and altars of cathedrals will be mentioned, a curious book goes into the blacksmithing of re-

mote days, but, after all, even the best of all this is the material, not the men. What manner of men were the artisans of olden days, how did they live, what did they do in their leisure hours? They are not as real to us as the Greeks of Xenophon or the Indians of Parkman. Does the average reader feel that he knows anything of personal interest about the toilers of the Middle Ages except what he owes to the genius of Shakespeare and Scott?

For this lack of material we can easily account. In the first place the warrior and the priest often despised the carpenter or the smith, and did not think him worthy of a place in their chronicles. Gray wrote:

Let not ambition mock their useful toil,
Their humble joys, or destiny obscure,
Nor grandeur hear with a disdainful
smile

The short and simple annals of the
poor.

because educated men were prone to look down on the wage earner. An eighteenth century duchess kissed a butcher because she wanted his vote for her candidate, but would she have taken an evening from the card table to read an account of a tinker's life, even had the tinker been John Bunyan? While labor was slowly rising from the servile condi-

tion, while the harsh old laws forbade workmen to seek to raise wages, while the statutes forbidding them to leave their native parish were yet in memory, it was hard to win notice for the despised class. Only by slow degrees do we find out how difficult it was for the English mechanic to make his way over to America, and how many of the Germans who came were held in bondage for years to pay their passage money. Defoe, to whom everything was of interest, cared for the life and surroundings of wage earners, but the heroes of eighteenth century fiction are not masons and shoemakers. Sir Charles Grandison is a noble aristocrat, Tom Jones is reared in a country gentleman's house, Roderick Random has the schooling of the upper classes. Samuel Johnson openly stated that a landlord was justified in evicting tenants who would not vote as he bade them, and neither Johnson nor Burke dreamed that George Stephenson was so near.

But the aristocrat's disdain for the handworker is only an element—surely the most conspicuous—perhaps not the most important. Today with reporters calling at factory door and at the mouth of the mine no one can understand the care once taken to guard trade secrets. A manufacturer with a good process watched it as a fond mother watches her sick baby, and the precautions at times suggested the wizards in dens and caves. Considering that the landed proprietor and the University dons looked on the mechanic as unworthy of a place in literature, and that the mechanic of talent dreaded a man with pen and ink almost as much as a poacher dreaded a game

keeper, it is not wonderful that we miss a great deal we should like to read. A dozen other trades might be well nigh as interesting as that of the printer had each given us a Franklin and an autobiography.

In this year which expects to see the Panama canal finished we might, with some pleasure and profit, look over the journal of the man who in 1810 went along the Mohawk valley to investigate a proposed canal route from the Hudson to the lakes. De Witt Clinton gives us valuable data as to the Empire State of those good old times, and morally at least the world does not appear to have radically altered.

Four commissioners were ready in June, 1810, but Clinton was annoyed by the disappearance of a servant named Thomas Smyth to whom he had paid a month's wages in advance. So much for the possible irregularities of labor, and on the Fourth of July Clinton's ire was stirred by seeing a Washington Benevolent Society, the president whereof had not been ardent as a patriot during the Revolution. Politics were not ideally pure, for the ballot boxes in the third ward of Schenectady were kept over night at a tavern. Republican tickets were taken away, Federalist tickets inserted, and Clinton's comment is as follows: "The tavern keeper and some other accomplices perpetrated the atrocious deed. The present incumbent looks as if he were capable of any iniquity of the kind." Can it be that Clinton, who so deplors the drunkenness among the Federalists, never encountered any of it among the members of his own party?

The pastoral simplicity of those golden days was illustrated near

Caughnawaga Village. Haymakers on the lowlands gazed at the nearing batteaux, and threw a pitchfork at the strangers. It fell in the water, but had it struck, some one might have lost his life as a result of this joke. Wishing to teach a moral lesson, the boatmen went ashore, and, as the haymakers had fled, broke all the rakes and forks.

Real estate prices varied then as now. A tavern keeper in 1790 had bought 180 acres on the Mohawk flats for \$7.50 an acre, while land on the bottoms, rarely for sale, cost \$100 an acre. Overproduction was not unknown in those days of simplicity, for the party came to "a small village of two or three stores, two taverns, asheries for making pot and pearl ashes, and about eight houses." Breakfast was not unalloyed pleasure. "The swarms of flies which assailed the food, were very disgusting, and custards which were brought on the table, mal apropos exhibited the marks of that insect as a substitute for the grating of nutmeg."

No old time journal would be complete without a bit of superstition, and this one is too pretty to be omitted. A Canadian Tory, seized by Continental troops, was executed as a spy. His friends begged that they might have his body for interment, and while preparations were being made a large black snake darted through the window, ran under the coffin, and disappeared. The German residents of that section were convinced that the snake was an evil spirit, eager to seize on his victim, and this little incident was considered an omen favorable to the Revolutionary cause.

From this sublime and awful les-

son it is rather prosaic to descend to eggs at a shilling a dozen and butter at fifteen cents per pound. Next comes a half familiar tale of inexperienced projectors and the needless bills that followed; nor is it startling to learn that the Island Lock Navigation Company did not, as a dividend payer, meet the expectations of the stockholders. Coarse worsted stockings cost 11 New York shillings, and cotton half stockings 6s 6d.

Utica had just passed through a genial row with an important landed family, and public sentiment had forced down the price of lots. There was no pent-up Utica about a bank which was favorably disposed toward a plan for quintupling the capital stock. Abraham Bradbury, an English Friend, was renowned as a cheesemaker, and also raised hogs. For his farm of 163 acres he paid \$500 per annum, and "notwithstanding his high rent" cleared more than a thousand a year. The Oneida Manufacturing Company spun cotton; the girls employed looked unhealthy; the stock was quoted at 140 per cent. Rome was a town on a level; no sign of seven hills could be found, and Clinton asked if it was named in compliment to Lynch, a local celebrity, whose creed was that of Rome. Mr. Lynch, too, had his cares, even in that day of peace and unity. His enemies vowed that the canal by draining a swamp had benefited the Lynch estate. Lynch demanded \$7,000 for his land pierced by canal, then sought \$5,000, and was awarded one dollar. This may have made Rome howl, or it may have made a Roman holiday—at least it was talked of along the canal.

Glimpses of old forests and the song of birds meet us often enough to show that Clinton might have been company for Audubon or Irving. An old dame who kept an inn offered to entertain the party without charge if certain improvements were made on the canal route. Under that roof the diary records a story of a local scandal, a woman who had indirectly caused the death of three men—it might have given Defoe a dozen pages for *Moll Flanders*. Censure is passed on a swindler who cheated the Indians in bargains, juggled real estate out of their hands, rose to the bench, "and is a prominent Federalist." (No guilty Federalist can escape.) Within two pages there is a fine contrast—the picturesque Indians on a night fishing expedition, and the unpicturesque surroundings of an old house which had attracted fleas, presumably from the Indians. Passing from the ridiculous to the sublime, we come to a wretched tavern—drunkards, dogs, vermin, misery—and then Clinton going out for the majesty of a night scene on the river. Naturally enough, there is a comment on the descent of the falls of Oswego. A tavern keeper turns out to be the second in command in Shay's rebellion; he is "a civil man of moderate intellect," and "an ardent Federalist." His rent was \$200 a year. Another inn, "not much superior," cost \$300.

Salt statistics are so interesting that one would like to copy them. Clinton thinks that he sees the remains of an old Indian fort, and this may have pleased him as the ancient Roman camp pleased Jonathan Oldbuck. A Frenchman, a mason and cooper, in a boat twice the size of a

canoe, passed. "His blankets were sails;" two of his three boys rowed, he coasted along the lake. He had four chairs, a kettle, pans, etc.; three or four barrels, two dogs, a fishing spear, and iron frame for pine lights, a crab net, fishing lines and gun. With these accommodations he provided for his large family—the whole exhibiting poverty, filth and happiness." A Yankee land squatter made an unfavorable impression on Clinton, who may have seen through him and detected him as a Federalist. A girl could make a straw hat worth six dollars in nine days. There was a fine row between New Yorkers and Canadians over timber. A landlord, a Republican, overcharged, and defended his action thus: "What odds does it make to you—the State pays for it?" There was a ball, "and one of the boatmen broke it up by cutting off a dog's tail, and letting the animal loose among the young women, whose clothes it besmeared with blood. This exhibits a picture of barbarous manners that would hardly be practical at Kamschatka." On returning to the inn, Clinton found all the family sober, and most of them ill with dysentery. At another town dull weather dulled the spirits; one of the commissioners had a warm argument with the landlady, and the others "took care to fan the flame."

A tavern keeper (a brother Mason) was polite to Clinton. Clinton observed "some violent Federal hand bills, principally against me, and as I took one of them in my hand, he was so disconcerted that he broke a decanter." Here is a tender memory of the good old times:

"The Yankee coopers who

brought our boat from Mynderse's asked \$15 instead of \$10 for their services, which last was the usual and proper price. The commodore objected to the demand, but finally gave them \$12.50. He stated that they did not know how to row, and that they were continually running the boat zigzag from one side of the river to the other. To which one of them immediately replied that their object in so doing was to give the Commissioners the most ample opportunity of exploring and examining the river."

Fate smote two luckless speculators who bought land at three cents an acre, could not keep up their payments, and yielded the land which soon rose to a shilling per acre, and then bounded in price. Drivers at a camp meeting played the hoodlum, to Clinton's wrath and horror. A sensation followed the tale of an aged pastor who, in seeming health, insisted on making his will because he was going to die the next day at midnight, and did die as he predicted. Health conditions, swamps, lakes and malaria call for comment. A high officer of the United States government had reflected on the State of New York, and the high officer in question was, so Clinton intimates, regardless of George Washington's example. Clinton had a fine sense of duty—his contempt for those who do not agree with him on natural history and antiquities is commendable. A store with three inscriptions, in English, French and German, was noted. Local pride burned in the breast of an old woman on the banks of the Seneca who declared that the region was healthy. "We have only a disease called typhus." Clinton ad-

mired an ingenious clock which designated the second, the minute, the day, the month and the year; showed the revolutions of the planets and their satellites, and had a musical apparatus that could play twenty-four tunes.

At a village called Speed an old man spent at least five hours in the tavern, drank copiously, and spoke most disrespectfully of Jefferson and Madison. The intemperance of Federalists may have accounted for the final extinction of the party. Near Geneva, Clinton notes: "The country is well settled; we could see houses intermixed in all the stages of improvement, from the rough cabin to the elegant villa, and stumps and fruit trees in the same field—spectacles not to be seen in any other country. In the first stage of cultivation, when the trees are cut down a cabin is erected. In the second stage a neat log house, with sometimes two stories. The third erects a frame house, and the fourth a large painted or brick house. A Yankee lays out his money on his house, the inside of which he never finishes—a Dutchman on his barn. The former always builds on roads, the latter on flats or in valleys." On the Oneida Reservation Clinton saw Louis Dennie, who had been captured by the Mohawks, adopted into the tribe, and who had an Indian spouse. Glass manufacturing seemed to be overdone.

Near Gayga Creek this observation is made: "The turnpike was hitherto so bad that two gates were thrown open. We met three men with two yoke of oxen drawing a machine for smoothing the road. It filled up the ruts as rapidly as the

oxen could draw it. This, and the scraper, afford great facilities for making and mending roads." A vigorous young porcupine was shown by a man who expected to sell it for \$50. The journey was gladdened by meeting an old man of eighty-eight who could, "when young, lift a barrel of pork with a finger;" but this is offset by the remarkable veracity of the Mohawk farmer, who said that the great frost of the 18th of July did not reach their lands. Various Tories in the Mohawk country disguised themselves as Indians, joined the British, and wrought havoc." Since the war several have returned, and "they are Federalists, except one, who was then too young to form fixed principles."

This delightful journal might well be read and re-read. It brings before us a statesman, a man bold in enterprise, steadfast under trial, a bitter partisan, but a man who could look over party walls. When young Lincoln was busy with canals and internal improvements, he said: "My desire is to live in history as the De Witt Clinton of Illinois," nor was the ambition a low one. Now, with the Panama canal nearly finished one reels at the prospect of a century of modern commerce and transportation. If Clinton's journal of 1810 is quaint to us how will the readers of a century to come look on the Isthmian wandering of Roosevelt and Taft? By 2013 the engineering plant of today may seem as antiquated as the ships of Columbus.

You don't see it proclaimed any more that Tariff reduction will reduce the cost of living, do you?—Albany Journal.

PARTY LINES IN CONGRESS.

Washington Cor. Boston Transcript.

Curiosity as to how the new House of Representatives will break, as between progressives and conservatives, regardless of party lines, may now be measurably satisfied by an analysis of the membership. Every man comes to the House with some kind of a label but this does not always signify that he can be counted for a certainty for or against a given proposition. A canvass of the various factions has been made and this shows a respectable minority of members outside the Democratic party who can be depended upon to uphold the advanced policies of President Wilson if they do not go too far into the radical field, and also to oppose a too conservative course on the tariff or other issues of the Republican leaders.

The ranks of progressivism outside of the Democratic party fall under several designations. One man is written down politically as an Independent; others call themselves Progressive-Republicans; others combine the party names of Washington and Republican; still others call themselves straight Washington Party men and the others are Progressives with a capital P.

Forty-seven Independent Statesmen.

Forty-seven members fall into one or the other of these classes. According to the list of members-elect of the next House which was prepared by the House officials there will be 144 Republicans in attendance. All of the men who appear in the list which is to follow are classed by the Democratic authorities as

members of the Republican party, but only a few of them speak of themselves as Republicans. Those who keep the party name invariably put the hyphen and the word Progressive before it. So it is that from the total number of Republicans written into the present Congressional Directory as such, there must be subtracted forty-seven which represents the strength of the contingent which either to a great degree or entirely has separated itself from Republicanism as it was understood in the past.

The next House of Representatives, therefore, will stand: Democrats, 291; Republicans, 97; Progressives, progressive Republicans and Washington party men, 47; total, 435.

Republican leaders, Progressive leaders and Democratic leaders have been "analyzing the situation," and have been taking stock of "support and opposition." The strength given to the combined elements of Progressivism and progressive Republicanism is sufficient, Democratic progressives say, to make certain that if there is a defection of conservative Democrats because of any legislative recommendation of President Wilson, the defection can be made good by an appeal to progressives of various kinds on the other side of the centre aisle.

In the Senate it is probable that Senators Bristow and Poindexter will write themselves down as Progressives and Senator Clapp may do the same thing. There is some doubt about the newly elected senators Norris of Nebraska and Sterling of South Dakota. Senators La Follette, Cummins, and several others will continue to call themselves Pro-

gressive-Republicans. There is enough significance in the number of divisions into which former Republicanism is divided to make clear how easy it will be for Congress to lose sight, on some measures, of party lines. In truth in Congress today there are only two parties—Liberal and Conservative.

THE SUGAR QUESTION.

From the Oardele, Ga., Rambler.

A great statesman remarked once, "I don't know much about the Tariff, but if we buy a suit of clothes for \$20, made in England, we get the clothes and England gets the money; but if I pay \$30 for the same kind of a suit made in America, we get the clothes and the money both."

The sugar problem reminds us of this illustration at the present time. We are sending \$100,000,000 every year out of this country for sugar, every dollar's worth of which could be kept at home if the Tariff was high enough to stimulate home production. Sugar is the cheapest article of food we have and is the only article of necessity which has not advanced. Under the old regime a pound of meat would purchase one and a quarter pounds of sugar, now a pound of meat will buy nearly three pounds of sugar. In the face of the fact that we use such an enormous amount more than we produce this looks like something is wrong. We had better pay a cent a pound more for sugar, so as to induce our farmers to make it than send the enormous amount of money out of the country. The \$200,000,000 paid by the Federal government as pensions is a tremendous tax, but is not as great a drain on the country as

the \$100,000,000 sent abroad to buy sugar. The pension money is spent at home, but the sugar money is gone to stay.

THE PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Robert Mills Thompson, in the Irish World.

Some will object to having it said that the President is not well informed. Take, then, one of the sentences in his inaugural: "A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government the facile instrument in the hands of private interests." Let us test the statement by its first clause. Are we cut off from our proper part in the commerce of the world? A letter from an expert in Finance, written from New York to our Public Ledger, calls attention to the fact that in 1902 we exported to South America only \$39,000,000 worth of American products, but that in 1913 the total was \$115,500,000. He adds:

"In the eleven years since, the United States began a foreign trade development, which has amazed the merchants and financiers of Europe. . . . In the beginning of the present century this country entered upon a new industrial and commercial epoch. . . . The reason for this sudden development, which has far surpassed the forecast made about ten years ago, are to be found in the facility with which American artisans adapt themselves to labor-saving machinery, and in the willingness with which American manufacturers adopted improved machinery. . . .

About three years ago Europe, and especially England, began to sit up and take heed of the manner in which the exportation of American manufactured products had increased."

This writer goes on to state that our export of manufactures in the last fiscal year amounted to \$1,020,417,687, and that of all sorts of merchandise to almost exactly \$2,400,000,000. He adds that "four years from now it is likely to be found that we have at last matched, and probably surpassed, Great Britain's record, and will have wrested from her the supremacy in the world of commerce." But the President hardly can have known these facts and expectations, when he wrote that our tariff "cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world."

CONGRESSMAN PETERS.

Washington Cor. Boston Transcript.

From the obscure position of a minority congressman in his first term, Representative Andrew J. Peters of Massachusetts in six years has become one of the most prominent and powerful of New England Democrats in Congress. Yet, fortunately enough, Mr. Peters does not owe his prestige altogether to the political changes which landed his party in power. He made an excellent record in the minority and when the Democrats gained control of the House he had so demonstrated his ability as a careful legislator that he was chosen the New England member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

In this position Mr. Peters has not been content to rest upon his laurels as a member of Ways and Means, but has interested himself actively in many other matters of legislation other than those appertaining particularly to the business of the Ways and Means Committee, whose chief function is to con-

sider tariff matters. His concern with general legislation has been important and most of the measures with which he has been identified have been enacted into law or have made definite progress toward enactment.

As a member of the Committee on Ways and Means in the Sixty-Second Congress Mr. Peters was active in bringing forward the Canadian reciprocity bill, which was warmly favored in Massachusetts, and in framing and presenting the bills revising the chemical, the cotton, the wool and the steel schedules and in urging the passage of the farmers' free list bill. Mr. Peters, while acting with his party, is not a radical on the tariff, but has aimed faithfully to reflect the sentiment of his State, which unquestionably favors reductions in the rates, but not to the point where established industries giving employment to tens of thousands would be endangered. In the present work of the committee, with both branches of Congress Democratic, Mr. Peters may be counted to use his utmost influence in favor of rates that will not threaten the industries of his State—which cannot be said of all the members of the committee.

GOVERNMENT BY GUESSWORK.

Cor. of New York Tribune.

At the recent Presidential election out of about 16,000,000 votes the Democratic ticket received a little over 6,000,000, cast by Democrats, Republicans, protectionists, free traders, radicals, conservatives, mercenaries, etc., all actuated either by partisanship, availability of candidate or personal interest. The party platform and candidate advocated certain economic policies, but the ballot permitted the voter to express his views only as to candidates. Upon this heterogeneous minority vote, utterly expressionless as to any economic or governmental policy, Mr. Wilson and a Democratic Congress claim that the people have declared for a reduction of the tariff and for a government administered by so-called progressives. Here we have government by guesswork, and very poor guesswork at that, for the election was carried not upon any eco-

nomie question or governmental policy, but solely upon the availability of the respective candidates.

BRITISH INCOME TAX.

London Cor. American Economist.

The history of the income tax in England should be instructive to Americans as showing how a tax which begins modestly grows until it becomes a burden. The first mention of this form of tax in English history is in 1435 and 1459, when it was imposed for war purposes. It was introduced again in 1798, as a war tax, and lasted until 1815. The present income tax dates from 1842, when it was imposed by Sir Robert Peel to make up for the loss in revenue caused by the abandonment by England of the Protective Tariff. In the beginning it was quite a modest affair—14 cents to the \$5 on all incomes above \$750. It continued at 14 cents until 1853, when it fell to 10 cents. In 1874 it was only 2 cents, and for many years it fluctuated between 10 and 12 cents. In Gladstone's time it was an axiom that the income tax in times of peace should not go above 12 cents.

DEMOCRATIC ECONOMICS.

From the Duluth News-Tribune.

In economics, the Democrats, of late years, have had just one principle—soak it to the rich. They have not, however, as yet worked out any plan whereby this can be done without also soaking it to the poor. In fact, in practice, the rich usually are able to dodge the missiles aimed at them. The one thing the Democrats forget is that the only possible basis of actual prosperity lies in increasing the average purchasing power of the people below the class an income tax would reach. An income tax will not increase this average, and it is to be doubted if Free-Trade will do it. It hasn't in England nor anywhere else it ever was tried. It does not matter how cheap things are if a man has no money. Living is always cheap in times of depression or panic and correspondingly hard. A dollar a day will buy a good deal, even at present prices; but nothing a day will not feed the sparrows.

The Protectionist.

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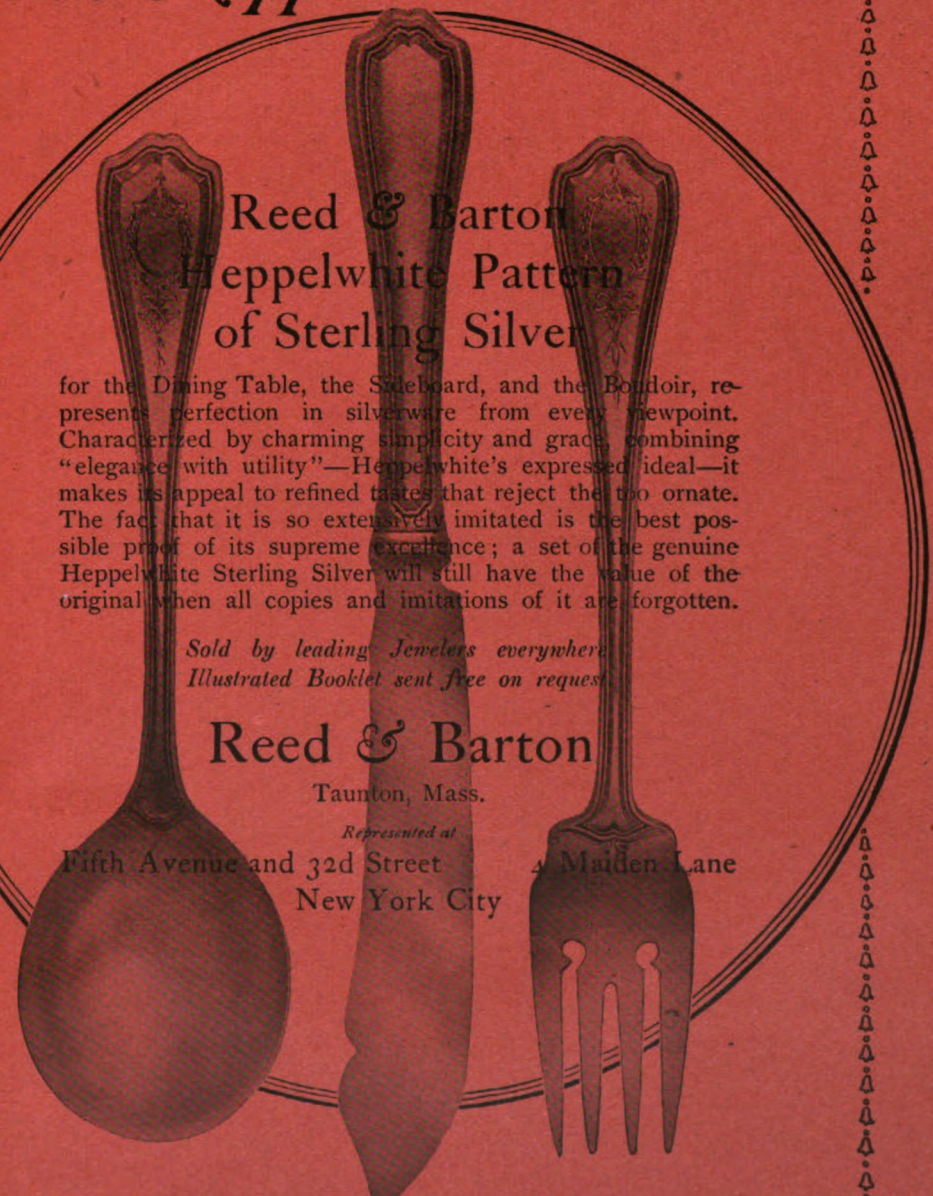
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